

THE PAINTINGS OF MEI QING (1624-1697)

VOLUME I

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ABSTRACT

Mei Qing (1624-1697), one of the most original painters in seventeenth-century China, created a unique style of depicting the topography of the Chinese landscape, especially that of Mt. Huang. He has been recognized as one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school, along with Hongren (1610-1664) and Shitao (1642 - 1707).¹ Also he once was praised as the leader of painting of actual landscape in the Ming and Qing dynasties. But, hitherto no extensive and critical studies on his paintings have been undertaken.

The present study is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, Mei Qing's background, poet-painter career and those of many of his painter friends are discussed, laying the historical groundwork for further study of his paintings. On the basis of poems and paintings by Mei Qing and by Shitao, the relationship between these two artists is explored in detail. In the second chapter, we learn that Mei Qing's paintings are derived from various sources: contemporary Anhui paintings, ancient masters, topographical paintings and prints, and particularly nature itself. Through an analysis of Mei Qing's dated paintings, three stages of stylistic development are suggested in the third chapter, so providing a framework for dating nine undated works and for judging sixteen forgeries in the fourth chapter. After an exploration of the formation of the Mt. Huang school, a clearer and more precise definition of the school is proposed in chapter five. Through a comparison between Mei Qing's renditions of Mt. Huang and those by the other masters of the school, Mei Qing's poetic-fantastic imagination is completely revealed. In the final chapter, four important followers of Mei Qing are discussed to manifest the influence of his paintings. The significance of Mei Qing's role as a leader of painting of actual landscape in later Chinese landscape painting is further argued in the conclusion.

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INTRODUCTION

Mei Qing 梅清 (1624-1697) was known as one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school. The idea of grouping certain painters concerned with "Mt. Huang" was first put forward in 1924 by the famous artist and critic Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1864-1955) in his book entitled *Huangshan huajia yuanliu kao* 黃山畫家源流考 (*A Study of the Origins of the Painters of Mt. Huang*).¹ A few years later, around 1930, according to most of Huang Binhong's inscriptions regarding the painters of "Mt. Huang," his wife Song Ruoying 宋若嬰 edited a booklet, entitled *Huangshan huayuan lue* 黃山畫苑略 (*A Short History of the Mt. Huang Academy of Painting*), in which more than one hundred and thirty painters originating from the Anhui area during the Tang to the Qing dynasties were grouped together as the "Mt. Huang Academy of Painting". In 1936,² Pan Tianshou 潘天壽 (1899-1971) in his *Zhongguo huihuashi* 中國繪畫史 (*The History of Chinese Painting*) had also mentioned the term "Mt. Huang School" (Huangshan Pai 黃山派), but with a somewhat narrower definition. He suggested that Shitao 石濤 (1642-1707) was the founder of the school, and he only mentioned Mei Qing, Cheng Ming 程鳴 (18th century), and Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611-1671) as important followers of Shitao. In addition, Pan claimed that the painters of the Mt. Huang school emphasized the importance of "natural endowments" (*tianzi* 天姿), "effort" (*renli* 人力), "spirit" (*qiyun* 氣韻), and "erudition" (*xueyang* 學養). Moreover, during the 1920s and 1930s, because several painters chose Mt. Huang as their common subject, such as the well-known He Tianjian 賀天健 (1890-1977), Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1897-1967), Qian Songyan

1. Only one hundred copies of this book were published. Unfortunately, no copy of it is available for this study, therefore, its detailed context is unknown. However, its contents may be surmised from *A Short History of Mt. Huang Academy of Painting* edited a few years later by his wife. See Huang Binhong 黃賓虹, *Guhuawei fu Huangshan huayuan lue* 古畫微附黃山畫苑略 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, reprint 1961).

2. The term "Mt. Huang School" was pointed out in the second edition of Pan Tianshou's 潘天壽 *Zhongguo huihuashi* 中國繪畫史 which was published in 1936 by Shangwu yinshuguan in Shanghai. The first edition of this book in which the term "Mt. Huang School" was not used, was published in 1926. It is recorded in the preface of the third edition of this book that many alterations and supplements were made from the first edition to the second edition. The contents of the second edition are the same as that of the third edition, which was published by the Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe in 1983.

錢松喆(1899-1985), and Chang Dai-chien 張大千 (1899-1988), the term "Mt. Huang School" gradually became popular. The phenomenon can be seen from Chang Dai-chien's inscription on a hanging scroll dated 1935, depicting one of the famous scenes of Mt. Huang, the Nine Dragon Pool:

The peaks of Mt. Huang are thrusting....Jianjiang 漸江 (Hongren 弘仁, 1610-1664) captured their bone structures (*gu* 骨); Shitao captured their spirit (*qing* 情), and Qushan 瞿山 (Mei Qing) captured their everlasting change (*bian* 變). Nowadays, people discussed the painting history of Mt. Huang, therefore the "Mt. Huang School" has been known, but no one can surpass these three masters.³

Since then the term "Mt. Huang School" has been used in books and essays about Chinese painting, especially those concerning early Qing painting. In 1957, He Tianjian, an artist and critic, wrote an essay entitled "Huangshanpai he huangshan 黃山派和黃山" (Mt. Huang School and Mt. Huang), in which he also ranked Mei Qing with Hongren and Shitao as one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang School. "Shitao captured the spirit (*ling* 靈) of Mt. Huang," he commented, "Mei Qushan (Mei Qing) the shadows (*ying* 影), and Jianjiang the quality (*zhi* 質)."⁴ Apart from mentioning these three masters, He Tianjian did not discuss the other painters of the school, nor the formation and the definition of the school. In Marilyn and Shen Fu's *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (1973), they suggested, "...because of the number and quality of the painters the area fostered, one could speak of a Huang-shan school in the geographical sense."⁵ Although the term "Mt. Huang School" has been recognized since 1930s, there is no common definition of the school.

Recently, two exhibitions which concentrated on the painters of the late Ming and early Qing who were active near the Mt. Huang area, have been held in the west and the east, indicating the importance and the growing popularity of this group of painters. These two exhibitions also

3. National Museum of History ed., *The Paintings and Calligraphy of Chang Dai-chien* (Chang Dai-chien *shuhua ji* 張大千書畫集) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1980-1985), vol. 4, p. 125, Pl. 103.

4. He Tianjian 賀天健, "Huangshanpai he Huangshan" 黃山派和黃山. *Renmin ribao* 人民日報, 18 January 1957.

5. Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 9.

revealed that an exact definition of "Mt. Huang School" still did not exist. The first exhibition, held at several museums in the United States during 1981-82, was entitled *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. In the catalogue, the term "Anhui School" was used to refer to almost every artist from Anhui province during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. This classification was based on the artists' geographical origin rather than on their style or subject matter. Some renditions of the scenery of Mt. Huang were included in this exhibition, such as those by Hongren, Dai Benxiao, and Mei Qing.⁶

The second exhibition and symposium was held in Hefei, Anhui, in 1984 to commemorate the 320th anniversary of Jianjiang's death.⁷ Although the term "Mt. Huang School" was used in the title for the symposium, no definition of the school was provided beforehand. The definition of the term even became one of the main topics raised in the symposium. Some scholars suggested that the term "Mt. Huang School" could include the "Anhui School" (Anhui *Pai* 安徽派) or the "Xin'an School" (Xin'an *Pai* 新安派), whereas others argued that these three schools all have their own characteristics. Some suggested using "Wannan School" (Wannan *Pai* 皖南派) to include all the schools from the southern area of Anhui, whereas some argued to use "Mt. Huang School" instead.⁸ The argument arose mainly because there were three different points of view: one focusing on geography, one on style, and one on subject matter. Nevertheless, there was no disagreement in praising Mei Qing as one of the three greatest masters to depict Mt. Huang.

Mei Qing's specific renditions of Mt. Huang and his unique quality of painting were already appreciated by his friends and relatives. One of his friends, Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711), a

6. For this exhibition, see James Cahill ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School* [hereafter *Shadows*] (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981).

7. For some selected paintings of this exhibition, see Ma Shiyun 馬世雲 and Zhu Xiukun 朱秀坤 eds., *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan* 明清安徽畫家作品選 (Anhui: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1988); for most of the essays written for the symposium, see Anhuisheng wenxue yishu yanjiusuo 安徽省文學藝術研究所, *Lun Huangshan zhuhuapai wenji* 論黃山諸畫派文集 [hereafter *LHSZHPWJ*] (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987).

8. For the argument about the definition of "Mt. Huang School", see *Lun Huangshan zhuhuapai wenji*, pp. 194-205, 320-329; Zhang Guobiao 張國標, *Xin'an huapai shilun* 新安畫派史論 (Anhui: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 134-147; also some essays published in the *Anhui ribao* 安徽日報 (May, 15, 1985), p. 3. The problem of the definition of the school is further discussed in the fifth chapter of this study.

scholar-critic, claimed that Mei Qing captured the beauty of the ever-changing clouds of Mt. Huang, and praised his pine paintings, ranking them in divine level (*Shenpin* 神品).⁹ Shi Runzhang 施閏章 (1618-1684), a scholar and critic, who was another close friend of Mei Qing, wrote that Mei Qing's brushwork was extensive and his style was unusual.¹⁰ Shitao, Mei Qing's close friend, argued that Mei Qing's painting was a model of the unrestrained style in their time. Mei Qing's paintings also attracted the attention of later critics. Qin Zuyong 秦祖永 (1825-1884), a nineteenth-century critic, remarked that Mei Qing's style is simple, plain, quiet and remote, and that his spirit contains an antique sense.¹¹ On an undated album by Mei Qing, the early twentieth-century painter Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844-1927) wrote, "Looking at Mei Qing's painting is just like reading the inscriptions on ancient bronze vessels: the longer one enjoys it, the purer it tastes."¹² To the eyes of most modern painters and critics, Mei Qing, like Hongren and Shitao, was famous for his depictions of Mt. Huang. In 1937, Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, an art historian and critic, even placed Mei Qing as the leader of the painting of actual landscape during the Ming and Qing dynasties.¹³

Although Mei Qing's unique style has always received recognition, his importance in later Chinese landscape painting had not been noticed until the 1930s. Unlike Hongren and Shitao, who have both been studied thoroughly,¹⁴ Mei Qing seems to have been ignored. First of all, the

9. Wang Shizhen 王士禎, *Juyilu* 居易錄 (Kangxi edition 康熙版, 1662-1722), vol. 17, p. 12.

10. Mei Qing, *Qushan shilue* 瞿山詩略 [hereafter *QSSL*] (Self-published edition, 1693), preface by Shi Yushan.

11. Qin Zuyong 秦祖永, *Tongyin lunhua* 桐陰論畫 (Taipei: Wenguang tushu, n.d.), 2nd section, vol. shang (上), p. 11.

12. Wu Changshuo's colophon is on one of Mei Qing's undated landscape albums. This album was formerly in the Yamaguchi collection. When I wrote a letter to Yamaguchi to ask for photographs of it in spring 1991, I was replied by Nakagawa kenichi 中川憲一, one of the members of Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, that Yamaguchi's collections had all been sold. Unfortunately, I could not be informed of the present whereabouts of his collections. The album can be seen in Kei Suzuki's *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings* [hereafter *Comprehensive*] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982), vol. 4, JP 34-075.

13. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Zhongguo huihuashi* 中國繪畫史 (Shanghai Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), p. 120.

14. The studies on Shitao are numerous, such as Richard Edwards ed., *The Painting of Tao-chi* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1967); Richard Vinograd, "Reminiscences of Chin-huai: Tao-chi and the Nanking School." *Archives of Asian Art*, 31 (1977-1978); Chou Ju-hsi, "In Quest of the Primordial Line: Genesis and Content of Tao-chi's Huayu lu" (Doctoral dissertation, Princeton University); Fu Baoshi

perception of Mei Qing's individual style may well have been confused by the large quantity of forgeries. Like Shitao, Mei Qing was a popular artist and often forged. In his own time, Mei Qing's close friend Yu Shou 俞綬 already pointed out: "Everybody makes much effort to collect Mei Qing's paintings, even though his genuine works have been mixed with forgeries."¹⁵ The problem of forgeries of Mei Qing's paintings has become more serious during the present century. Since some of Mei Qing's important works have been published, it has become easier for forgers to copy or imitate his paintings, particularly his famous album, *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, which was first published in 1910, and then re-published in 1923, 1934 and 1935.¹⁶ Secondly, only a few documents concerning Mei Qing's life have survived, making the study of his life or paintings difficult. Only one copy of Mei Qing's complete poetry collection, *Qushan shilue* 瞿山詩略, published in 1693, has survived. Because this collection is housed in the rare book section of the Beijing Library, access to it is limited.¹⁷ No study based on Mei Qing's complete poetry collection has been published. Thirdly, Mei Qing did not write much on the theory of painting, nor did he distribute his paintings widely. He enjoyed fame only in a localized setting and remained largely unknown in wider circles. Apart from what he painted for his own interest, Mei Qing mainly painted for his close friends and his relatives. Therefore, his paintings have not been widely

傅抱石, *Shitao shangren nianpu* 石濤上人年譜 (Shanghai, Jinghu zhokanshe, 1948); Zheng Zhuolu 鄭拙廬, *Shitao yanjiu* 石濤研究 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1977). For the studies on Hongren, see Jason C. Kuo, *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen* (New York: SMC Publishing Inc., 1990), which is based on his *Painting of Hung-jen* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980); Zheng Xizhen 鄭錫珍, *Hongren, Kuncan* 弘仁髡殘. In *Zhongguo huajia congshu* 中國畫家叢書 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963); Wang Shiqing 汪世清 and Wang Cong 汪聰, *Jianjiang ziliaoji* 漸江資料集 (Anhui: Renmin chubanshe, 1964, rev. ed., 1984).

15. QSSL, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 2, pp. 11-12.

16. The 1910 edition is entitled *Mei Qushan Huangshan* 梅瞿山黃山 quoted from Sally W. Goodfellow, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), p. 310; the 1923 edition is entitled *Mei Qushan Huangshan shengji tuce* 梅瞿山黃山勝跡圖冊 by Wenming shuju in Shanghai; the editions of 1934 and 1935 are both entitled *Mei Qushan Huangshan shijiu jingce* 梅瞿山黃山十九景冊 by Shangwu yinshuguan, in Shanghai.

17. This collection contains thirty-three volumes of poems and another six volumes of poems as an appendix.

distributed among collectors or critics. As his nephew Mei Jing 梅靚 mentioned, many people persistently asked Mei Qing for paintings, but their requests met with little success.¹⁸ Mei Qing considered himself primarily as a poet editing and publishing his poems at least three times, in 1674, 1686, and 1693.¹⁹ During his lifetime, his fame as a painter was surpassed by his fame as a poet. Finally, Mei Qing has also been overshadowed by his close friend Shitao, who is today regarded as the leading genius in later Chinese painting. Most scholars, such as Chu-tsing Li and Victoria Contag, have thought that Mei Qing was strongly or directly influenced by Shitao.²⁰

Because of the lack of sources concerning Mei Qing, no comprehensive study on Mei Qing's paintings has been undertaken. In He Tianjian's article of 1957, entitled "Mt. Huang School and Mt. Huang", Mei Qing's style and sources were briefly discussed for the first time.²¹ Three years later, in an introduction for a publication of several of Mei Qing's paintings, entitled *Mei Qushan huaji* 梅瞿山畫集, He Tianjian further divided Mei Qing's brushwork into two types: one was broad and loose; the other was thin and delicate.²² However, he never referred to any specific painting by Mei Qing, and wrote, "I know very little about the life of Mei Qing."

Oswald Siren was the first western scholar to discuss Mei Qing and his painting at length. In *A History of Later Chinese Painting* (1938), Siren commented that: "Mei Qing is hardly less interesting than any of his more famous fellow provincials, the so-called Four Masters of Anhui, and at times even more original as a painter." "The records about his life are very short," he noted, "but his works are quite numerous, particularly in Japan and distinguished by a definite personal

18. QSSL., "Tianyange zengyanji 天延閣贈言集" (The collection of poems written to Mei Qing by his friends), vol. 2, pp. 18-20.

19. The first part of Mei Qing's poetry collection is entitled *Tianyange shanhoushi* 天延閣刪後詩 [hereafter *TYGSHS*] (Kangxi edition), which contains poems written before 1674 and was published in 1674; the second part of Mei Qing's poetry collection is entitled *Tianyange houji* 天延閣後集, which contains poems written before 1686 and was published in 1686. In 1693 he published his complete poetry collection, entitled *Qushan shilue*, which contains both the first and second parts of his poetry collection and additional poems written between 1686 and 1693.

20. Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* [hereafter *Thousand*] (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1974), pp. 186-199. Victoria Contag, *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century* (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Limited, 1969), p. 25.

21. He Tianjian, "Huangshanpai he Huangshan." (Mt. Huang School and Mt. Huang).

22. Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* 梅瞿山畫集 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1960).

style."²³ In fact, most of Mei Qing's paintings are in China and not in Japan, but most of them had not been published when Osvald Siren wrote this book. Later in *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (1956-58), Siren further praised Mei Qing, saying, "...Mei Qing also reveals a remarkable creative faculty, in fact he renews or surpasses the models of the Yuan period which were his stylistic guides."²⁴ Having seen a limited number of Mei Qing's paintings, however, Siren could only offer a general statement about his art.

Owing to his great originality, Mei Qing was considered an individualist by most of the later western scholars, such as Victoria Contag in her *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century*²⁵ and Sherman E. Lee in his *Chinese Landscape Painting*.²⁶ Mei Qing was also known as a poet-painter. He often inscribed poems on his paintings in a way that reveals an intimate relationship between the two art forms. A contemporary scholar Wang Wan 汪琬 noted that: "his (Mei Qing's) poems look like paintings".²⁷ His friend Chen Zhuo 陳焯 also claimed that, "I can understand Yangong's (Mei Qing's) poems through his paintings."²⁸ James Cahill, a modern scholar, comments on a painting of Mei Qing by saying: "This is a scholar-poet's painting, the work of a sensitive and gifted amateur with a fanciful turn of mind."²⁹ Similarly, Josef Hejzlar suggests that: "Apart from rocks there are magnificent pine groves--Mei Qing was a poet of pines. Mei Qing is a typical painter-literatus..."³⁰

In addition to these brief comments on Mei Qing's style, several catalogue entries on Mei Qing have been written for recent exhibitions. Chu-tsing Li wrote a long catalogue entry on Mei Qing in his *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* (1974) and there is also one in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636* (1992), edited by Wai-kam Ho. In both entries, Mei Qing's style is

23. Osvald Siren, *A History of Later Chinese Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, reissued 1978; first published by the Medici Society in London in 1938,), vol. 2, pp. 104-5.

24. Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956-58), vol. 5, pp. 119-120.

25. Victoria Contag, *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century*, p. 25.

26. Sherman Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1954), p. 98.

27. *QSSL*, vol. 17, Preface by Wang Wan.

28. *Ibid.*, preface by Chen Zhuo.

29. James Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1967), p. 55.

30. Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours* (London: Cathay Books, 1978), p. 24.

analyzed vis-a-vis his 1680 album entitled *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng* in the Rietberg Museum. Unfortunately, not knowing any of Mei Qing's early works, some of Chu-tsing Li's suggestions on Mei Qing's paintings were questionable.³¹ For instance, unaware of works painted by Mei Qing before the 1680 album, Chu-tsing Li suggested that Mei Qing was strongly influenced by Shitao's works.³² Like Chu-tsing Li's entry on Mei Qing, Sherman E. Lee and Henry Kleinhenz's entry on Mei Qing in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (1980),³³ Jane DeBevoise's entry on Mei Qing in James Cahill ed. *The Shadows of Mt. Huang* (1981),³⁴ Edmund Capon and Mae Anna Pang's entry on Mei Qing in their *Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties 14th-20th Century* (1981),³⁵ Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee's entry on Mei Qing in their *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (1988),³⁶ and Maxwell K. Hearn's entry on Mei Qing in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636*³⁷ all dealt only with the particular paintings of Mei Qing under consideration in the catalogues. Some forgeries signed with the name of Mei Qing were even considered as genuine works in some of these catalogues.³⁸

31. As Chu-tsing Li thought that the 1680 album in the Rietberg Museum was the second earliest work by Mei Qing, he wrote: "...except for a painting dated 1654, in the Tientsin Museum, it is the earliest dated work by Mei Ch'ing extant." "The fact that at the present time, only one work of Mei's datable to the period before 1679 is known," he continued, "with most of his extant works dating in the 1680's and 1690's, is indication of his late blossoming." But, in fact, there are at least ten extant datable works that were painted before 1679 by Mei Qing (see the discussion on the early and middle stages of Mei Qing's style in the third chapter), and the style of the 1680 album is different from that of the early works. The 1680 album is a typical work of Mei Qing's middle stage. The painting in the Tianjing (Tientsin) Museum dated by Li as 1654 was actually dated 1695, a date which was misread as 1659 by E. J. Laing in her *Chinese Paintings in Chinese Publications 1956-1968* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1969). Some questionable suggestions by Chu-tsing Li on Mei Qing's works are discussed in the third chapter, in which the Rietberg album is discussed. For Chu-tsing Li's entry on Mei Qing, see his *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines*, pp. 186-199; also Wai-kam Ho ed., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636* [hereafter *Century*] (Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1992), vol. II, pp. 158-163.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

33. See *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, pp. 307-310.

34. *Shadows*, pp. 127-133.

35. See Edmund Capon and Mae Anna Pang, *Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties 14th-20th Century* (Victoria: Wilke and Company Limited, 1981), cat. no. 49 and 50, pp. 110-113.

36. See Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, International Arts Council, 1988), cat. no. 43, pp. 165-166.

37. *Century*, vol. II, pp. 155-158.

38. For these forgeries are discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

In *The Dictionary of Ming Biography* (1976), Yu-ho Tseng Ecke was the first scholar to write a brief biography of Mei Qing.³⁹ The knowledge of Mei Qing's life and painting was extended in a more detailed article entitled "Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu 梅清生平及其繪畫藝術" (Mei Qing's Life and Art) written by Yang Chenbin 楊臣彬 during 1985-1986.⁴⁰ His discussion on the latter half of Mei Qing's life is very brief. Basing his discussion on a few available paintings, Yang Chenbin could only roughly divide Mei Qing's paintings into three stages, and his division was made according to Mei Qing's age rather than on the basis of any stylistic analysis of his works. In 1986, a booklet entitled *Mei Qing* was written by Mu Xiaotian 穆孝天. Dealing not only with Mei Qing's life and painting but also with the subject of his calligraphy and poetry, Mu Xiaotian tried to present a more complete image of Mei Qing as a poet-painter and a master of the Mt. Huang School. He discusses Mei Qing's depictions of Mt. Huang mainly through Mei Qing's own poems.⁴¹ Although Mu Xiaotian contributed to the knowledge available on Mei Qing, he, like Yang Chenbin, only compiled part of the literary documents and discussed only a few paintings depicting the scenery of Mt. Huang. On the basis of the above writings, Donald E. Brix wrote a thesis entitled "The Life and Art of Mei Qing" in 1987, focusing on the periodization of Mei Qing's paintings and their art historical context. Having had limited opportunity to read Mei Qing's poetry and to see Mei Qing's paintings, his study too could only contribute to a partial understanding of Mei Qing's paintings and life.⁴²

No further extensive and critical studies on Mei Qing's life and works have been published since then. Fortunately, during the years 1986-1990, and especially in 1990, more than thirty paintings of Mei Qing, many of which are albums, have been illustrated or catalogued for the first time by the Group for the Authentication of Ancient Works of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, in

39. See L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang eds., *The Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 1056-57.

40. This article was separated into two parts, published in *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (1985), no. 4, pp. 49-57 and (1986), no. 2, pp. 84-93.

41. Mu Xiaotian, *Mei Qing* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986).

42. Donald E. Brix's thesis was presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School University of Southern California for the M. A. degree in 1987.

Beijing.⁴³ A new era of research on Mei Qing's paintings is opened up with these publications and several others.⁴⁴

This study was not only inspired by Mei Qing's numerous specific depictions of Mt. Huang, but also challenged by the huge quantity of forgeries. After studying most of Mei Qing's paintings in several museums in different countries and also his complete poetry collection in Beijing Library, I am attempting to present a fuller and clearer understanding of Mei Qing's life and painting. I also hope that through this study, Mei Qing's specific style will stand out more clearly and his significant role in later Chinese painting will be established. This study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter will be a discussion on Mei Qing's background, his poet-painter career and his relationship with many painter friends, based on the writings of Mei Qing and those of his contemporaries. This will provide the historical groundwork for further study on Mei Qing's painting in the following chapters. The effect of Shitao's and Mei Qing's friendship upon their individual painting styles will be analyzed through a comparison of paintings from the late 1660s and early 1670s and a close reading of literary documents.

In the second chapter, the various sources of Mei Qing's painting will be explored. Mei Qing was inspired by contemporary art theory and Anhui painting which emphasized the importance of emulating ancient masters and depicting actual scenery. Several paintings in the manners of his

43. This is a serial publication entitled *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tu mu* 中國古代書畫圖目 [hereafter *ZGDSHTM*] (*Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*). Compiled by Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 中國古代書畫鑑定組 and published by Beijing's Wenwu chubanshe during 1986-1992, nine volumes altogether. The fourth volume published in 1990 contains twenty-three paintings of Mei Qing, some of which are illustrated and some are not, in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.

44. These publications, which contain the reproductions of Mei Qing's paintings, include: Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集 [hereafter *ZGMSQJ*], Huihua bian 9 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988); Liaoning Provincial Museum ed., *Liaoningsheng bowuguan canghua* 遼寧省博物館藏畫 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986); Anhui Provincial Museum ed., *Anhuisheng bowuguan* 安徽省博物館 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1988); Tianjin Art Museum ed., *Tianjinshi yishu bowuguan* 天津市藝術博物館 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984); The National Palace Museum ed., *Lanqian shanguan minghua mulu* 蘭千山館名畫目錄 (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 1987); Gao Yun 高雲 and Huang Jun 黃峻 eds., *Zhongguo minjian micang huihua zhenpin* 中國民間秘藏繪畫珍品 (Jiangsu: Meishu chubanshe, 1989). Some paintings in these publications are signed with the name Mei Qing, but are not genuine works by Mei Qing. For the discussion of these forgeries, see the fourth chapter of this study.

favorite ancient models will be analysed so as to see how Mei Qing had transformed the ancient styles. Also a comparison between Mei Qing's depictions of Mt. Huang and some photographs of Mt. Huang will be made to see how Mei Qing translated topography into art. In the third chapter, through an analysis of most of Mei Qing's dated paintings, three stages of stylistic development will be defined. This will provide a framework for dating nine undated works and for judging sixteen doubtful works in the fourth chapter. In order to elucidate Mei Qing's individual style, it is imperative to point out some forgeries as examples to manifest the differences between Mei Qing's genuine works and the forgeries.

In the fifth chapter, after a discussion of the spectacular scenery and the history of Mt. Huang, the formation of the Mt. Huang school will be explored, and a clearer definition of the school will be proposed. Through a comparison between Mei Qing's renditions of Mt. Huang and those by the other important painters of the school, Mei Qing's poetic-fantastic imagination will be revealed by his way of simplifying and exaggerating the specific features of Mt. Huang. In the final chapter, through a comparison of Mei Qing's works with those of his followers, the unique quality of Mei Qing's paintings will stand out more clearly. Also through a discussion of Mei Qing's influence on his followers, the significant role of Mei Qing in later Chinese landscape painting will be established more firmly.

CHAPTER I

MEI QING'S LIFE AND FRIENDS

To fully understand Mei Qing's paintings, it is important first to understand him. No thorough studies on Mei Qing's background, life and friends have been made, as there are very few literary documents concerning him. Fortunately, by exploring the single copy of his poetry anthology as well as the writings of his friends, we can learn something about his background, important events, interests, thought, personality, and the relationships between him and his friends; also on the basis of these writings, a chronology of Mei Qing's life is presented in Appendix I.

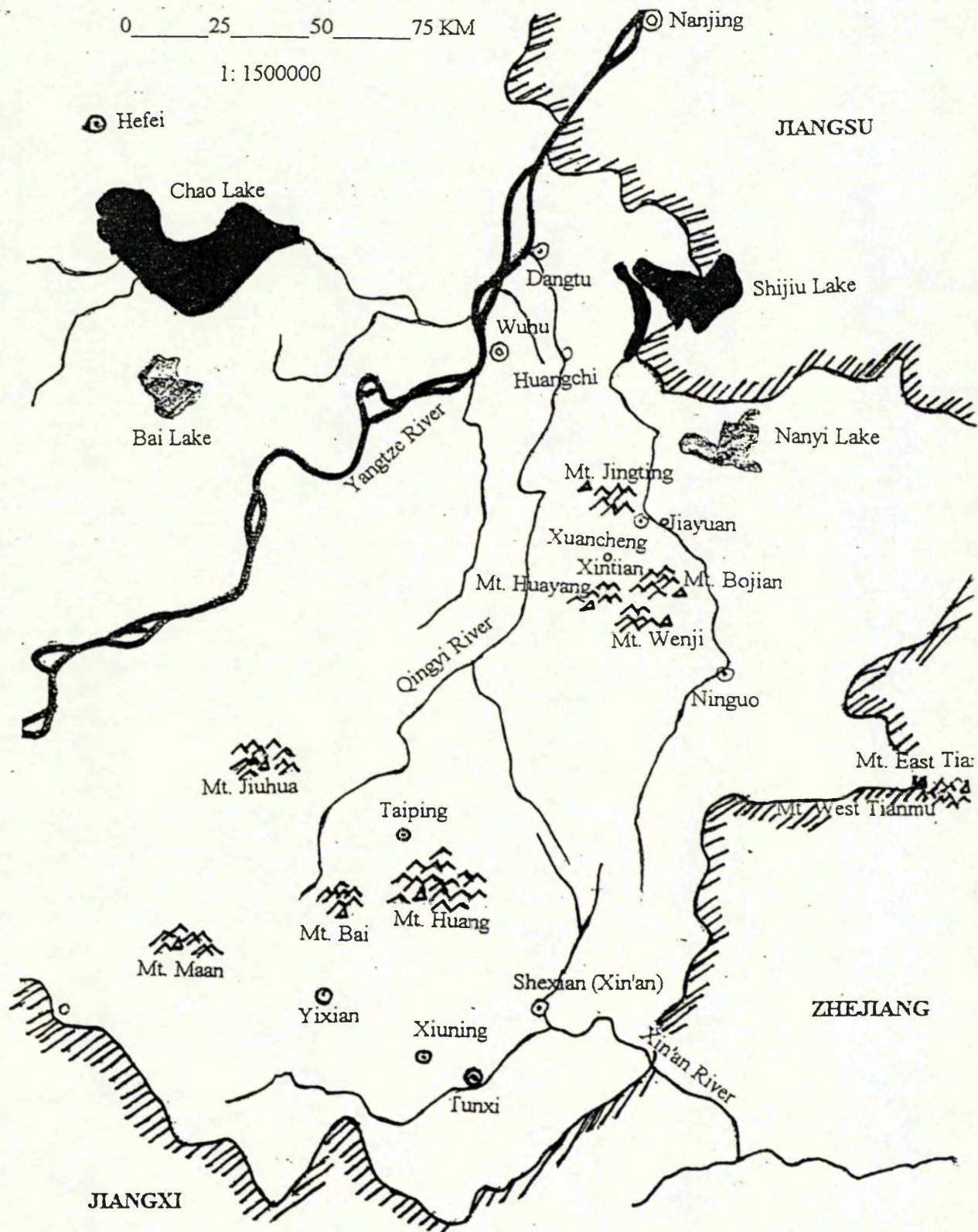
1. Mei Qing's Background and Life

Mei Qing was born on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month in 1623 and died in 1697.¹ He was a native of Xuancheng 宣城, Ningguo Prefecture 寧國府, in the southeastern part of modern Anhui province (Map 1: A Sketch Map of the South and the East of Anhui). His literary name (*zi* 字) was Yuangong 淵公, and his style name or sobriquet (*hao* 號) was Qushan 瞿山. His original name was Mei Shixi 梅士羲, but later, prompted by one of his dreams he changed his name to Mei Qing.² He also called himself by various other names, such as Meichi 梅癡 (Crazy about the plum), Quxing 瞿矜 (The name of an ancient scholar secluded in Xuancheng), Bojian shanzhongren 柏硯山中人 (A man living in Mt. Bojian), Baifa laowanpi 白髮老頑皮 (An old

¹ QSSL, vol. 14, p. 5. Mei Qing was born in the twenty-fourth of the twelfth month in the third year of Tianxi 天啓 (that is 12th February, 1624). It is referred to in one of his poems, of which the title is *Recalling on the Twenty-fourth of the Last Month in the Renzi Year* (*Renzi layue niansiri ganhuai* 壬子臘月念四日感懷), in it he wrote: "I dare to be born on this day, now I am old and crazy...." *Qushan shihue* is the complete collection of Mei Qing's poems, which was edited in chronological order and published in 1693 by Mei Qing himself. It is composed of thirty-three volumes, with some appendices, and the only surviving copy is in the Beijing Library. It is the first-hand document to understand Mei Qing's background, life, thought, personality, and friends. Moreover, it records basic information regarding Mei Qing's inscriptions on his own paintings or others' paintings. Mei Qing's death was recorded by his close friend Wang Shizhen 王士禎, see Shi Nianzeng 施念曾 and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 eds., *Wanya sanpian* 宛雅三篇 (Xiban caotang edition 西阪草堂藏版, 1749), vol. 8, p. 10 (quoted from *Canwei xuji* 蠶尾續集, preface by Wang Shizhen).

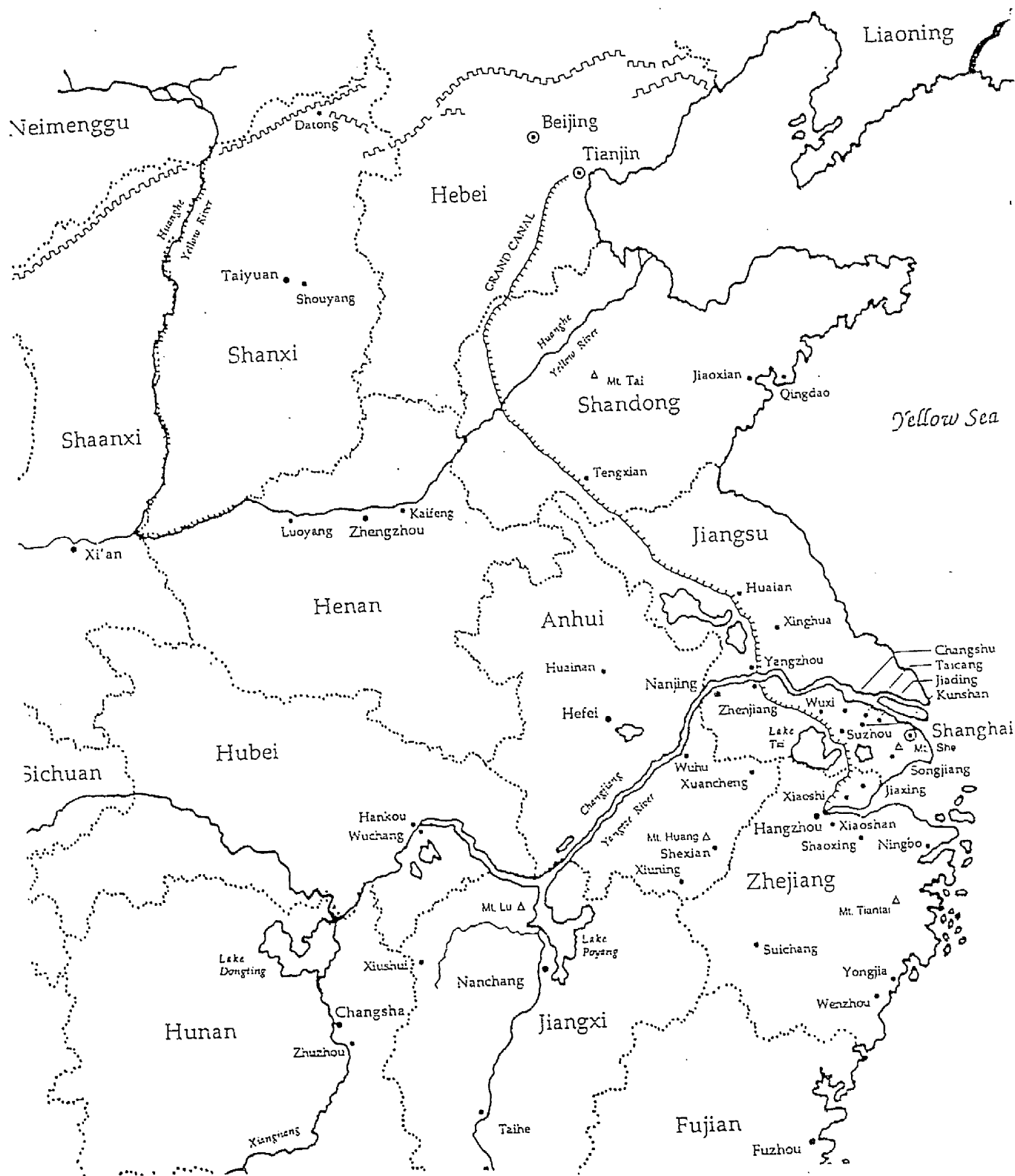
² See *Wanya sanpian*, vol. 8, p. 10 (quoted from *Jiang Benjun zhuanlue* 姜本俊傳略).

(MAP 1: A SKETCH MAP OF THE SOUTH AND THE EAST OF ANHUI)¹



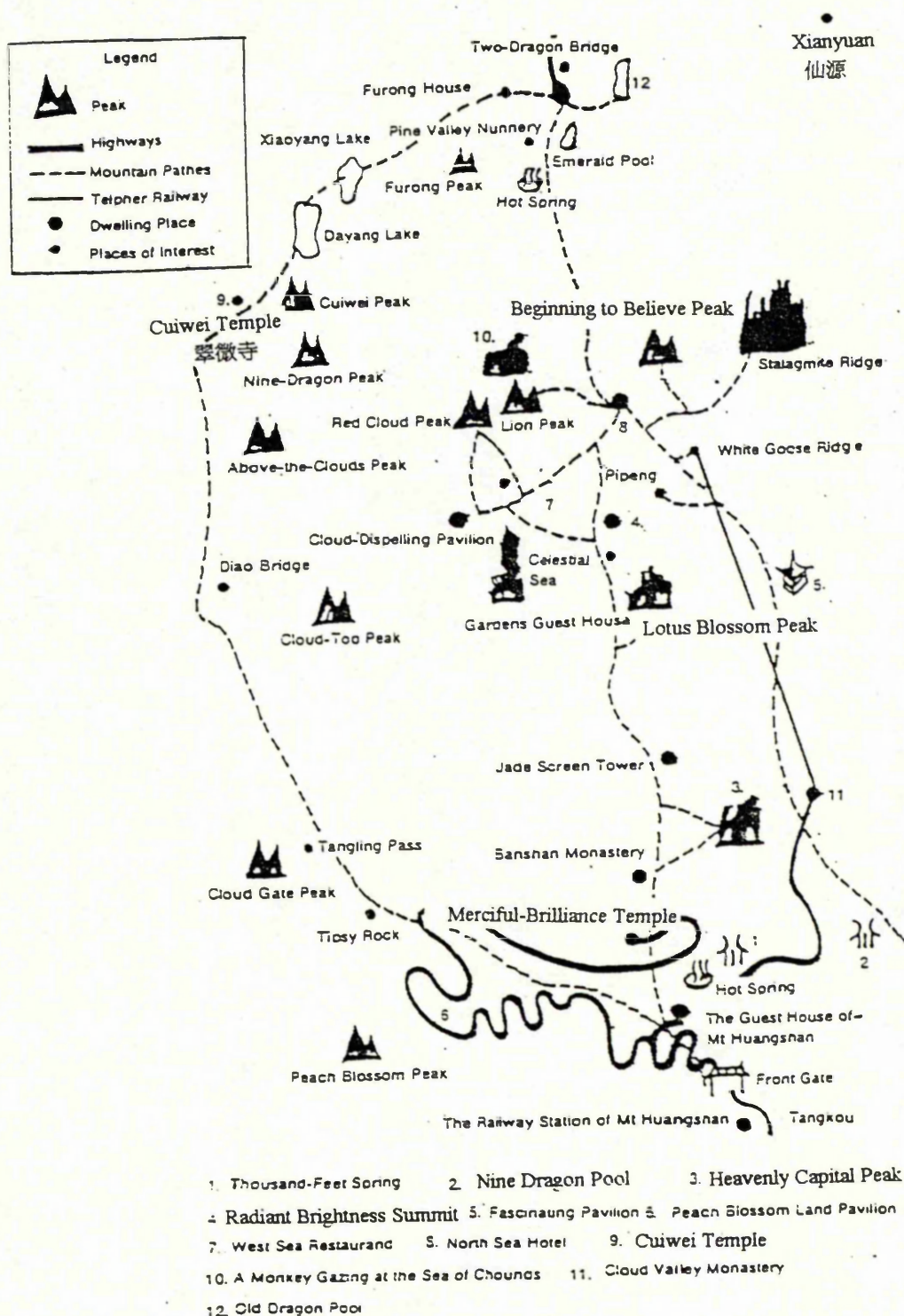
¹Traced from Chang Chi-yun, *Atlas of The Republic of China* (Taipei: National War College, 1960), vol. V, p. 20.

(MAP 2: EASTERN CHINA)²



² Adapted from Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*, p. 10.

(MAP 3: A SKETCH MAP OF MT. HUANG)³



³ Adapted from the entrance ticket printed by the Bureau of Mt. Huangshan Gardens Administration

stubborn man with white hair), etc. At least two possibilities are suggested for Mei Qing's use of his sobriquet "Meichi". One was suggested by Xie Lansheng 謝蘭生, an early nineteenth century critic and collector, who thought that Mei Qing had loved and learned the style of Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354, *hao* Dachi daoren 大癡道人), thus he chose "Dachi" to refer to the connection between Huang Gongwang and himself.³ Xie Lansheng's suggestion was possible, as Mei Qing painted at least six paintings in the style of Huang Gongwang.⁴ The other explanation is offered by Yu-ho Tseng Ecker, a modern scholar, who has written, "One of Mei's special interests was the plum blossom; hence one of the names he gave himself: Mei-ch'ih (befooled by the plum)."⁵ There are at least two plum blossoms painted by Mei Qing; one, undated, is in the Beijing Palace Museum, and the other, dated 1692, is in the Honolulu Academy of Arts. Apart from these two extant works, there are two other plum paintings by Mei Qing that are recorded in the writings of his friends.⁶ Besides, plum trees and plum blossoms are often presented in Mei Qing's landscape paintings and writings. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that he loved plum blossoms very much. The third possibility is suggested in this study: as Mei Qing often inscribed "I love Old Meihua daoren 梅花老道人..." on his paintings and often emulated the style of Meihua daoren, the style name of Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354), he might have called himself "Meichi" to show that he was fascinated by Wu's style.⁷

The reason for another special name "Quxing" might have been because around 370 A.D. an anonymous recluse secluded himself in a stoneroom called "Quxing Stoneroom 瞿硎石室" which

³ Xie Lansheng 謝蘭生, *Changxingxingzhai shuhua tiba* 常惺惺齋書畫題跋 (Macao: Wenji tushu, 1974).

⁴ For those paintings painted in the style of Huang Gongwang by Mei Qing, see the Appendix III: The List of Mei Qing's Paintings and Calligraphy.

⁵ About the opinion by Yu-ho Tseng Ecker, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 1057.

⁶ One of these two paintings was recorded by Wang Shizhen, see Wang Shizhen, *Juyilu*, vol. 17, p. 12. The other plum painting was recorded separately by Shi Runzhang 施閏章 and Gao Yong 高詠, see Shi Runzhang, *Shi Yushan xiansheng quanji* 施愚山先生全集 (Dongting kanben 棟亭刊本, 1708), "Yushan xiansheng shiji 愚山先生詩集", vol. 23, p. 7. and Wu Chao ed., 吳潮 *Xuancheng xianzhi* 宣城縣志 (1888 edition), *Yiwenshi* 藝文詩, vol. 33, Gao Yong, pp. 7-8.

⁷ Mei Qing imitated the style of Wu Zhen at least fifteen times. For details of these paintings, see Appendix III.

was located in Mt. Wenji 文脊山 (Map 1), in the border of Xuancheng;⁸ hence Mei Qing called himself "Quxing" to show both his admiration of this recluse and his love of his hometown. Mei Qing started to use a seal, "Quxingyuan 瞿硎淵", on his earliest extant work dated 1649 (Pl. 348), and many other seals with legends which refer to "Quxing", such as "Quxingzi 瞿硎子", "Quxing shanren 瞿硎山人" and "Quxing shishizhongren 瞿硎石室中人", on his second earliest extant work dated 1657. He also wrote a poem to describe the Quxing Stoneroom,⁹ and portrayed a hermit in the Quxing Stoneroom at least twice (Pl. 1).¹⁰ Quxing Stoneroom was one of the famous sites in Xuancheng, so it is illustrated in the gazetteer of Ningguo Prefecture (Pl. 2).¹¹ If we compare Mei Qing's rendition of Quxing Stoneroom with the illustration of the gazetteer, we can see Mei Qing not only simplified the surroundings of the Stoneroom but also exaggerated its loftiness and austerity.

Apart from these names, Mei Qing used many different seals on his paintings (Mei Qing's seals are edited in Appendix III). These seals provide important clues to his personality, thought, taste, and his ideas about painting. Among the seals he used, some of them can reveal his attitude

⁸ The name of this recluse was unknown. He was called "Quxing xiansheng 瞿硎先生" (Mr. Quxing), because around the end of Taihe 太和 reign (366-371) he often secluded in Mt. Wenji, in which there was a stoneroom named "Quxing". Huan Wen 桓溫, an officer of high rank, once came to see him, and found him was sitting calmly inside the stoneroom with the cover of deerskin. Huan Wen and all his subordinates did not know what the recluse was doing. The recluse finally died in the mountain. Huan Wen ordered Fu Tao 伏滔 to commemorate him with an engraved inscription. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 ed., *Jinshu* 晉書. In Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 comp., *Zhongguo xueshuleibian* 中國學術類編 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1982), vol. 94, p. 2457.

⁹ *QSSL*, vol. 13, p. 10.

¹⁰ Donald E. Brix, "The Life and Art of Mei Qing", Fig. 46. It is pity that no clear reproductions of this painting are available, as its whereabouts are unknown. Except for this, there is one hanging scroll also entitled *Quxing Stoneroom*, in ink on paper, in the collection of Beijing Palace Museum. Unfortunately, this painting has never been published and is not purchasable from the museum. The scroll is only listed in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua mulu* 中國古代書畫目錄 [hereafter *ZGGDSHML*] (*Catalogue of Authenticated Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*). Compiled by Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiangding zu. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4205. The author studied this *Quxing Stoneroom* in the Beijing Palace Museum, on which Mei Qing wrote a poem to describe his mood of visiting the stoneroom. This painting was painted when Mei Qing was old, as one of the seals stamped on this painting reads "Laoqu shipian hunmanxing 老去詩篇渾漫興" (My poems are written spontaneously when I am old.) For the details of this scroll, see Appendix IV.

¹¹ Lu Quan 魯銓 and Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 eds., *Ningguo fuzhi* 寧國府志. In *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書, no. 87 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), p. 41.

towards painting, such as: Wofa 我法 ([Using] my own method), Laogengkuang 老更狂 (The older the crazier), Guren zaiwo 古人在我 (The ancients are inside me), Youxi sanmei 遊戲三昧 (Excursion into the secrets of nature), Bubo jinren ai guren 不薄今人愛古人 (Do not despise contemporaries, and love the ancients), Wushi wuyi 吾適吾意 (Following my own will), Huasong 畫松 (Painting pine trees), Laoqu kanshan yanbeiqing 老去看山眼倍青 (Mountains look more green when I am old) and Cangzhi mingshan chuanzhi qiren 藏之名山傳之其人 (Keeping [works] as the treasure in the famous mountain and passing them to the [right] man).¹² Some of his seals strongly reveal his personality, such as Huangshan yipian yun 黃山一片雲 (A piece of cloud on Mt. Huang), Bojian guyun 柏峴孤雲 (A piece of lonely cloud on Mt. Bojian), Fuyun 浮雲 (Floating clouds) and Quying 去盈 (Discarding fullness).

The Mei clan had moved to Xuancheng from Wuxing 吳興 in Zhejiang province among 898-901, when Mei Qing's ancestor, Mei Yuan 梅遠 (Weiming 維明), became an official there.¹³ In subsequent generations, the family spread out over Xuancheng and produced numbers of scholars and artists.¹⁴ In the Northern Song (960-1126), the most prominent member of the Mei clan was Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002-1060), whose style name was Shengyu 聖俞. He was a secretary of state and a famous poet.

During the Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing dynasties (1645-1912), the clan became famed for its literati. For instance, the three brothers Mei Jifang 梅繼芳, Mei Jiying 梅繼英, and Mei Jixun 梅繼勛 together compiled an anthology that was entitled *Xunchiji* 墳簞集. Mei Qing's grandfather, Mei Shouji 梅守極, obtained his *juren* 舉人 degree in 1576. Mei Shouji 梅守箕, a brother of Mei Qing's grandfather, and his six sons were together known as the "Linzong qizi

¹² This seal doesn't appear in any works that are examined in this study. It is listed in Shanghai Museum ed., *Zhongguo shuhuaqia yinjian kuanzhi* 中國書畫家印鑑款 (*Seals and Signatures of Chinese Calligraphers and Painters*) (Shanghai: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), p. 869.

¹³ *Wanya shanpian*, vol. 2, p. 1.

¹⁴ In one of Mei Qing's poems entitled *Walking to the Entrance of Mt. Bojian* (*Bojian shankouxing* 柏山口行), where the graveyard of Mei clan was situated, Mei Qing mentioned several prominent members of the clan from the Song to the Ming dynasties. See *QSSL*, vol. 14, pp. 7-9.

林中七子" (Seven Sages of the Grove), since all of them had collections of poetry;¹⁵ and one of them, Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚 (Yujin 禹金, 1549-1618), was a famous scholar, dramatist, poet, and bibliophile.¹⁶ Another uncle, Mei Yingzuo 梅膺祚 (Dansheng 誕生, fl. 1570-1615) was a leading lexicographer of the late Ming dynasty, who developed the system of 214 radicals that became standard in Chinese dictionaries.¹⁷

Mei Wending 梅文鼎 (Dingjiu 定九), Mei Qing's nephew, was praised by the Kangxi 康熙 emperor for his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics.¹⁸ Among Mei Qing's and younger generations, many members of the clan were less well-known scholars and poet-painters, such as Mei Shixuan 梅士璫 (Xiangxian 象先), Mei Zhe 梅喆 (Buxian 逋仙), Mei Mengfu 梅夢紱 (Jichi 季赤), Mei Su 梅素 (Suwu 素五), Mei Lei 梅磊 (Shaosi 杓司), Mei Langzhong 梅朗中 (Langsan 朗三), Mei Yijun 梅以俊 (Ziyan 子彥), Mei Juan 梅鋟 (zi Erzhi 爾止, hao Tongyai 桐崖), Mei Zhi 梅直 (Mushan 木山), Mei Geng 梅庚 (zi Ouchang 耦長, hao Xueping 雪萍), Mei Chong 梅冲 (Peiyi 培翼), and Mei Wei 梅蔚 (Baofang 豹方). The paintings of Mei Geng, Mei Chong, and Mei Wei are dealt with in the sixth chapter in which some important followers of Mei Qing are discussed. Mei Qing's contemporaries often praised the prominence of the Mei clan. For instance, in one poem written to Mei Qing's uncle Mei Fanzuo 梅蕃祚 by the well-known scholar, Wang Shizhen 王士禎, who also became one of Mei Qing's best friends, it reads: "Everyone in Jing region 荆地 was proud of his own possession of jade, but no-one can be compared with the Mei clan, since each of its member blossoms just like plum trees."¹⁹

Before Mei Qing's grandfather moved to Xuancheng, the Mei family lived at the base of Mt. Bojian for many generations.²⁰ The family had other country villas at Wandong 宛東, which Mei

¹⁵ Ibid., see also Yang Chenbin, "Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu", p. 50.

¹⁶ For the biography of Mei Dingzuo, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 1057-1059.

¹⁷ For the biography of Mei Yingzuo, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 1061-1064.

¹⁸ For the biography of Mei Wending, see *Qingshi liezhuan* 清史列傳 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1928), vol. 68, pp. 11-14.

¹⁹ *QSSL*, vol. 14, p. 9. Jingshan 荆山 is southeast of Huaiyuan xian 懷遠縣 in Anhui province; it is an area famous for Jade.

²⁰ *TYGSHS*, vol. 5, p. 1. Most of the important poems in *Tianyange shanhoushi* were selected and edited in Mei Qing's complete poetry collection, *Qushan shilue*.

Qing moved to in 1654, and Huangchi 黃池 (see Map 1 in page 13) where Mei Qing spent his wonderful childhood with his three older and one younger brothers.²¹ Mei Qing's brothers were: Mei Zhiyan 梅之彥, Mei Wuxin 梅無歆, Mei Lǔxian 梅履賢, and Mei Su 梅素, who was the youngest and had the closest relationship with Mei Qing. As a child, Mei Qing already showed his great talent and interest in painting and poetry, but his father forbade him to learn either. This was because neither painting nor poetry was the subject of the civil examination, on which Mei Qing's father wanted him to concentrate.²² Mei Qing passed the *tongzishi* 童子試 (basic civil examination) and entered the official school when he was sixteen years old; his father died during the same year.²³ During the next three years Mei Qing was able to learn poetry though he was often unwell. Mei Qing said that he had learned poetry from Fang Yushan 方余山 (wen 文) whose technique for learning poetry was to sing or chant poems.²⁴

At that time Mei Qing began to form what ultimately became an extremely large circle of friends. Mei Qing studied and exchanged poems with some people who held the same interests and lived in the same area, but who were of different ages. Most of them became Mei Qing's good friends, such as Tang Yunjia 唐允甲 and Yu Shou 俞綬. Mei Qing also discussed poetry with many of his relatives who were good at writing poems, such as his cousin Mei Shixuan, and some of his nephews, such as Mei Lei, Mei Langzhong, and Mei Wending.²⁵ In the summer of 1642, Mei Lei, who was three years older than Mei Qing,²⁶ came to see Mei Qing whereupon they had a competition for reciting poems. They both recited hundreds of poems every night. Later, some of

²¹ *QSSL*, vol. 11, p. 7. See also *Wanya shanpian*, vol. 8, p. 10 (quoted from *Jiang Benjun zhuanlue*).

²² *QSSL*, self-preface, p. 1. In this self-preface, Mei Qing wrote down some important events from his early age to the *guiyou* 癸酉 (1693) year, four years before he died.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ It is quite common in traditional Chinese society for a family to have many children and for the eldest child to be much older than the youngest one of the same generation. The Mei clan was a big family, therefore Mei Qing had many uncles, cousins, nephews, and so on. Many of Mei Qing's nephews were older than he was. For instance, Mei Lei was Mei Qing's nephew but he was three years older; Mei Geng was a son of Mei Qing's nephew but he was only sixteen years younger than Mei Qing. See *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, preface by Mei Lei.

Mei Qing's classmates heard about this and came to attend the competition. They were Shi Runzhang 施閏章 (1618-1684), Ni Zheng 倪正, Wu Sugong 吳肅公, Cai Yao 蔡瑤, and Wang Lu 王露.²⁷ For Mei Qing, who came to have very close friendship with all of them, it was a happy time.

When Mei Qing was young, he was described as clever, studious, open-minded, handsome, and he was known for his vast knowledge.²⁸ Chen Zhuo 陳焯, a friend of Mei Qing, wrote that when he first met Mei Qing in 1662 he felt that he was in the presence of an immortal spirit.²⁹ Shi Runzhang, a well-known scholar-poet and Mei Qing's close friend, wrote in 1671:

Yuangong (Mei Qing) grew up in an illustrious family. His bearing is dignified, with the appearance of Shubao 叔寶.³⁰ At the time, thousands of volumes of books were collected in his home. He himself much enjoyed singing and shouting poems. Many drunkards and poets were very often entertained in his home.³¹

The passage portrays Mei Qing early in life, describing not only the background of Mei Qing's family but also his bearing, appearance, interests, and hospitality.

In 1642, Mei Qing and his family moved away from Chaxia 茶峽, their old dwelling in the city of Xuancheng, to a cottage named Jiayuan 稼園 (see Map 1), three *li* 里 east of Xuancheng.³² Mei Qing mentioned later on, around 1648, that the reason for moving away was because of his hate of the clamorous city:

When I was young, my ambition was with the fields. I did not enjoy living in the clamorous city...Although this area is not far away from the city, the lanes are narrow and winding, and the old trees are deep and remote. It separates one from the world of men if you look around.³³

Apart from this, it might also have been partly connected with the political situation of that time.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, preface by Min Dufei 閔度斐 and vol. 3, preface by Ni Zheng. See also *Wanya sanpian*, vol. 8, p. 10 (quoted from *Yizhi* 邑志: *Wenyuanzhuàn* 文苑傳).

²⁹ *QSSL*, head vol. preface by Chen Zhuo.

³⁰ "Shubao" may refer to Qin Shubao 秦叔寶, who was a very brave general during the period of Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (627-649).

³¹ *TYGSHS*, preface by Shi Runzhang.

³² *QSSL*, self-preface, p. 2; *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, p. 1.

³³ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, p. 1.

Due to political corruption and the decay of the economy and society, there occurred a peasant uprising on a great scale during the last few years of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Meanwhile the Qing army emerged and invaded from the northern region. In 1642, the southern peasant army led by Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 invaded the regions near Hefei 合肥 and Nanjing 南京 (Map 1), which are both not far from Xuancheng. Mei Qing was described by his nephew, Mei Lei, as "short but vigorous, being versed in swordsmanship, archery, and riding, with the capability of pacifying the country."³⁴ Mei Qing was deeply affected by the turbulence of that time. He thought hard about how to restore order, so he did not only give up attaining the civil examination but he also took up archery and horse riding.³⁵ But no other documents have been found to indicate any further action of his in this regard. If Mei Qing did something to defend the Ming dynasty, he might have been afraid of writing this down, or perhaps those passages were deleted upon publication. As the early Qing rulers tried hard to control the thoughts of the leftover literati, there was a strong possibility of being jailed if one's writings implied any loyalty to the Ming dynasty or any criticism of the Qing rulers. In 1642 when the unrest was becoming violent, Mei Qing and his family may have chosen to move to a more isolated village to avoid the peasants' revolt and the fighting between Ming and Qing troops.

After moving to Jiayuan, Mei Qing concentrated on studying, writing poems, and painting; sometimes he also farmed. In most of the poems which he wrote during the period he lived in Jiayuan, he described the hardships of the peasants. But from some poems, we can find that Mei Qing still had strongly conflicting emotions. For instance, in one poem written in 1642, Mei Qing compared himself with Jia Yi 賈誼 (Jia Luoyang 賈洛陽 201-169 B.C.), a famous scholar and critic of the Western Han. The poem reads:

I heard that Jia Yi was already famous for literature when he was only twenty, but
although I am now twenty I have done nothing good. I have stayed at the poor house

³⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, preface by Mei Lei.

³⁵ *QSSL*, self-preface, p. 2.

with white eyes (contempt); though I want to do something, I am afraid of being laughed at...³⁶

我聞賈洛陽，二十擅文辭
我今丁斯年，枯槁胡所爲
白眼守窮廬，欲動畏人嗤

...

Mei Qing worried that he had not achieved anything substantial. Although he did not write down what he really wanted to do, as we have mentioned, it seemed that he wanted to do something to pacify the social unrest. Mei Qing was considered by some as an *yimin* 遺民 (leftover subject), but his political inclinations are difficult to understand from the documents that remain. Although Mei Qing wrote thousands of poems, he seemed to try to avoid expressing his feelings or thoughts about the rulers and political matters of both the Ming and the Qing dynasties.

In 1649, when he was twenty-seven years old, Mei Qing moved from Jiayuan to Xintian 新田, facing Mt. Huayang 華陽山 and Mt. Bojian (Map 1); there his family's finances were worse than before, but he worked even harder on painting landscapes, writing calligraphy, composing poems, and attending literature gatherings. "I spread ink and swept my brush whenever I was free," he wrote.³⁷ Around 1654, his friend Qian Guangxiu 錢光繡 also pointed out:

Mei Qing secluded himself in the east (meaning Jiayuan) and paid much attention to learning about archaeology, poetry, and calligraphy....This year I passed by his retreat at Xintian....There was no place he did not paint and no time he did not compose poems.³⁸

Several times Mei Qing wrote that "my interest is among mountains and valleys," and most of his poems described the scenes where he had been. Around 1648 he even wanted to buy a boat and live on the lake, as he was attracted to the mountains and valleys of Yue 越 (modern Zhejiang province 浙江省).³⁹ After moving to Xintian, he realized that he could neither live as a hermit nor enjoy himself freely among the mountains and valleys, since he needed to support his family financially. It seemed that the only way for him, having been raised as a traditional Confucian, was

³⁶ TYGSHS, vol. 2, p. 3.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 1.

³⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, preface by Qian Guangxiu.

³⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, preface by Min Dufei.

to attend the civil examination. His difficult situation then can also be seen from the statement of his close friend Shi Runzhang:

Later, owing to the civil chaos, his family's fortunes declined; he abandoned his efforts to take the civil examinations and retreated into Jiayuan. As he lived among valleys gloomily and was uncertain about what to do, finally, he started to take the civil examination.⁴⁰

To support his family, Mei Qing was compelled to end his seclusion and turn to the quest for official status. There might be two other possibilities for his change. One was that the society was becoming more stable and the Qing rulers used many methods to employ the intelligentsia. The other was the success of his nephew Mei Wending at court and his close friend Shi Runzhang's attainment of the *jinshi* 進士 degree in 1649. These were a great encouragement to him.

He was recommended by his county as a *juren* in 1654, when he was thirty.⁴¹ One could attend the highest examination, for the *jinshi* degree, after one held the *juren* degree. During the same year, Mei Qing went to the capital (modern Beijing, see Map 2: Eastern China in page 14), where the *jinshi* examination was held every three years, to attend the highest examination for the first time. He failed repeatedly in his attempts to qualify for the *jinshi* degree. There are different opinions about how many times Mei Qing really participated in the examination. Yu-ho Tseng Ecke wrote: "It is said that he tried ten times, which would place the last time he journeyed to Peking (Beijing) for the metropolitan examination in 1682, *i.e.*, when he was sixty years of age by the Chinese way of counting."⁴² But Yang Chenbin 楊臣彬 suggested that Mei Qing travelled to the capital to take the *jinshi* examination only four times, namely in spring of the years 1655, 1658, 1661, and 1667.⁴³ And Mu Xiaotian 穆孝天 only mentioned Mei Qing having failed several times for the examination, without pointing out exactly how many times.⁴⁴ Mei Qing's complete poetry collection, which also contains the poems his friends wrote to him, indicates that he took the *jinshi*

⁴⁰ Ibid., preface by Shi Runzhang.

⁴¹ *QSSL*, self-preface, p. 2.

⁴² *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, p. 1056.

⁴³ Yang Chenbin, "Mei Qing shenping ji qi huihua yishu", p. 53.

⁴⁴ Mu Xiaotian, *Mei Qing*, p. 5.

examinations held in the spring of 1655, 1658, 1661, 1667, 1670, 1676, 1679, 1682 and 1685, nine times altogether.⁴⁵ In 1692, when Mei Qing recalled all the places he had visited, he wrote: "I had a very difficult time travelling to the capital nine times. 九上長安岐路多"⁴⁶ It is very likely that Mei Qing implied that he had failed the *jīnshì* examination nine times all together.

It is more important not to know exactly how many times Mei Qing took the examination, but to know when he completely gave up his attempts to take the examination. Mei Qing probably could not paint freely during the period that he was preparing for the examinations, and knowing when he abandoned the pursuit of official advancement might be important for understanding the development of his paintings. The change in Mei Qing's mood would probably have directly affected the style of his paintings. The development of Mei Qing's style will be discussed in the third chapter. As we shall see, about three fourths of Mei Qing's extant dated works were dated after 1685 and the style of his paintings appeared to be freer since 1685, when he abandoned his pursuit of further official advancement.

Mei Qing's insistence on taking the *jīnshì* examination had been known by his relatives and friends, but, except Mei Qing himself, maybe none of them knew exactly how many times he really took it. Even Mei Qing himself never clearly mentioned this in his writings. When Mei Qing's friends and relatives wrote about the number of years or the times Mei Qing had been occupied with the examination, they usually mentioned it in round figures. For instance, Mei Zhifeng 梅枝鳳, Mei Qing's cousin, said Mei Qing had been troubled by the examination for "more than thirty years".⁴⁷ Actually, it would be just thirty years if we accept that 1685 was the last year he took the examination. Yu-ho Tseng Ecker's suggestion might also follow some writings by Mei Qing's friends, such as Huang Yuji 黃虞稷 and Mei Qing's nephew Mei Man 梅璠 who both said

⁴⁵ For the examination in 1655, see *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyan ji 天延閣贈言集", vol. 1, pp. 7, 17; for 1658, see *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyan ji", vol. 1, p. 25, vol. 4, p. 13; for 1661, see *TYGSHS*, vol. 7, p. 1; for 1667, see *QSSL*, vol. 11, p. 1, and "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 2, p. 18, vol. 4, p. 12; for 1670, see "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 2, p. 5 & 10; for 1676, see *QSSL*, vol. 18, p. 1, also "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 4, p. 8; for 1679, see *QSSL*, vol. 21, pp. 3-5 & 7; for 1682, see *QSSL*, vol. 22, p. 6; for 1685, see *QSSL*, vol. 24, p. 6.

⁴⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 32, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 28, preface by Mei Zhifeng, p. 1.

Mei Qing "shishang gongche 十上公車", meaning that he attended the *jinshi* examination ten times.⁴⁸ It is probable that ten is only a rough number for several or many. As Huang Yuji and Mei Man were not very close to Mei Qing, it seems unlikely that they knew exactly the number of times Mei Qing took the examination. Even if we believe that Mei Qing went to the capital to attend the examination ten times, the last time could not be 1682, as Mei Qing did not attend the examination on every possible occasion. After his third failure in 1661, Mei Qing seemed to have decided to give up the examination, as we cannot find any mention of the next examination held in 1664 in his writings.⁴⁹ Nor did Mei Qing take the examination held in spring 1673, either, as his mother had died in October 1672.⁵⁰ Therefore, if Mei Qing really took the examination ten times as Yu-ho Tseng Ecke suggested, the last time would have to have been in 1688, and not in 1682 as she assumed.

Equally, Yang Chenbin's assumption that Mei Qing went to the capital only four times to attend the examinations held in the spring of 1655, 1658, 1661, and 1667 was obviously wrong, since he did not consult materials relating to events that happened to Mei Qing after 1674. Yang Chenbin himself told the author personally in October 1991, that he could not find the poems written by Mei Qing after 1674. In his book entitled *Mei Qing*, Mu Xiaotian, though he pointed out some poems by Mei Qing, never mentioned anything about Mei Qing's poetry collections. He may have had no chance to read through any of Mei Qing's poetry collections, so he took care not to specify the number of times Mei Qing failed the *jinshi* examinations.

Before he went to the capital to take the *jinshi* examination for the first time in the winter of 1654, Mei Qing and his family moved again from Xintian to Wandong 宛東 where the family resided at Pinglü Pavilion 平綠閣 that later was renamed Tianyan Pavilion 天延閣. Mei Qing's family lived at Tianyan Pavilion for more than thirty years, after which in winter 1685 Mei Qing

⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 21, preface by Huang Yuji, p. 2; also see "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 4, p. 4, a poem by Mei Man.

⁴⁹ For those poems Mei Qing wrote between 1661 and 1664, see *TYGSHS*, vols. 7, 8 & 9.

⁵⁰ From the poems Mei Qing wrote between the winter of 1672 and the spring of 1673, it is certain that Mei Qing did not travel to the capital at that time. For these poems, see *QSSL*, vol. 14.

and his youngest son, Mei Xi 梅熹, moved back to the old dwelling Chaxia Villa 茶峽草堂, in the city of Xuancheng,⁵¹ which he had left in 1642. After Mei Qing moved to Chaxia Villa, he finally gave up attending the *jinsshi* examination. The examination had bothered Mei Qing since 1655, but he did not have any other choice, as he wrote in 1661 after his third failure, "It is pity that I can not either escape to the remote mountains or freely travel to the five sacred mountains. On the contrary, I need to be busy with the examination every three years."⁵² After the failure in 1661, he regretted that he had spent so much energy on the examination, and started to travel widely. For instance, he travelled the regions near Zhejiang and Jiangsu in 1662,⁵³ and during 1665 and 1666 he also took a boat trip to Qinhuai 秦淮 (near Nanjing 南京), Caishi 采石 (today Dangtu 當塗 county in Anhui province), Mt. Jiuhua 九華山 (in Jiangxi province), and Wankou 宛口.⁵⁴ For those places that Mei Qing had ever been are pointed out either on Map 1 or on Map 2.

Despite his apparent decision not to attend the examination in 1664, strangely, in 1667 Mei Qing again took the examination as he himself later described in May 1667, "I hurriedly travelled to the capital. 余之踉蹌北上也"⁵⁵ Although some poems he wrote after the fourth failure in 1667, described how his ambition for passing the examination had diminished, he still continued to attend the examination. There might be two reasons for this: first, as Mei Qing enjoyed travelling among mountains and rivers, attending the examination became a way for him to travel around the northern area;⁵⁶ furthermore, both Mei Qing's illustrious background as a member of the literati class and that most of his relatives and friends were officials in the court may have put pressure on him to take part.⁵⁷ Apart from attending the examination and travelling around, Mei Qing also became more involved in poet-scholar gatherings, working on literary projects, visiting friends, writing poems, and painting landscapes.

⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 26, pp. 1-2.

⁵² *TYGSHS*, vol. 7, p. 2.

⁵³ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 1; see also *QSSL*, self-preface, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *QSSL*, vol. 10, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 11, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 12, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. 9, p. 2.

After attending the examination held in spring 1670, Mei Qing climbed to the top of Mt. Tai 泰山 (in Shandong province, see Map 2) on his way back home. Mt. Tai often appears in Mei Qing's writings, as he was eager to climb it as early as 1657.⁵⁸ Not until 1670 did he have the chance to visit it for the first time. Mei Qing's first trip to Mt. Tai was described by his nephew Mei Juan: "Mei Qing [in Mt. Tai]...spread wine to the sky, chanted for a long time, and looked around. Some people thought his sound was the shouting of the male phoenix, and some thought it was the singing of dragons...."⁵⁹ Apparently Mei Qing was deeply impressed by the scenery of Mt. Tai, as he wrote, "...Mt. Tai is my teacher...岱宗大夫爲吾師" in one of his poems;⁶⁰ however, no paintings by Mei Qing depicting the scenery of Mt. Tai have been found.

After travelling from Mt. Tai, Mei Qing often visited Shitao 石濤 (1642-1707)⁶¹ and his elder brother Hetao 喝濤, who were living on nearby Mt. Jingting 敬亭山 (Map 1). In a poem to Hetao, Mei Qing mentioned that Hetao's temperament was quiet and he protected Shitao during travelling from Xiang River 湘江, Mt. Lu 廬山 (in Jiangxi province, see Map 2), to Mt. Jingting.⁶² Mei Qing's friendship with Shitao was especially close during the 1670s, as they often exchanged poems and paintings. In a poem Mei Qing wrote to Shitao in 1670, he said: "...I painted the clouds of Mt. Tai.... You painted the clouds of Mt. Huang.... When are you travelling to the top of Mt. Tai? Look! now I am very eager to climb Mt. Huang."⁶³ Mt. Huang attracted Mei Qing's attention from an early age; as early as around 1650, he had written, "I have clearly seen Mt. Huang in my dream; I have missed it for thirty years. 夢裏分明見黃海, 惆悵余懷三十載"⁶⁴ As a matter of fact, he had tried twice to climb it before 1678; however, as Mei Qing himself described, the first time he was

⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 12, preface by Mei Juan.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 10, p. 2.

⁶¹ According to the recent study by Wang Shiqing 汪世清, Shitao must have been born in May or June of 1642 and have died around October of 1707. See Wang Shiqing, "Qinfeng wenji zhong youguan Shitao de shiwen 虬峰文集中有關石濤的詩文". *Wenwu* 文物, no. 12 (1979), pp. 45-46.

⁶² When Shitao and Hetao lived in Xuancheng, Hetao also became Mei Qing's close friend. For the poem, see *QSSL*, vol. 12, p. 8. About the relationship between Shitao and Hetao, see Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*, pp. 9-10.

⁶³ *QSSL*, vol. 12, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴ *TYGSHS*, vol. 3, p. 8.

hindered by a heavy rain, and the second time by very cold weather.⁶⁵ Not until June 1678 did he finally climb Mt. Huang for the first time. Mei Qing was so fascinated by the spectacular scenery of Mt. Huang, that he composed a long travel poem in one hundred lines, to describe what he saw and felt on his first trip there (this travel poem of Mt. Huang in one hundred verses is translated in Appendix II).⁶⁶ Apart from this long travel poem, Mei Qing also composed many poems to describe the scenic spots of Mt. Huang and he often inscribed these poems on his paintings of Mt. Huang (most of these poems are translated in Appendix IV). Unfortunately, only one dated painting depicting a scenic spot of Mt. Huang from Mei Qing's first trip has been found.⁶⁷ Apart from this, an album, depicting several views of Mt. Huang, was recorded to send to Deng Xing 鄧性 (Tianwei 天謂), the magistrate of Xuancheng, after Mei Qing's first trip there.⁶⁸

Although Mei Qing's first visit to Mt. Huang was in June 1678, there are at least two works both signed with the name of Mei Qing that purport to show Mt. Huang after he had travelled there. These two works both bear dates earlier than June 1678, one being dated 1663 and the other 1672. According to the evidence of Mei Qing's writings, however these two works obviously were not painted by Mei Qing himself. These two works are further discussed in chapter four.

Not only some forgers but also those scholars who wrote articles or entries on Mei Qing did not know exactly when Mei Qing travelled to Mt. Huang for the first time. Most scholars thought Mei Qing climbed the mountain as early as 1672, because one album dated 1672 and entitled *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* 梅瞿山黃山全景精品, has been generally considered as genuine, and was published as such in 1939 and again in 1974.⁶⁹ On account of this, 1672 was unanimously agreed as the year that Mei Qing first travelled to Mt. Huang. Mu Xiaotian alone

⁶⁵ *QSSL*, vol. 20, p. 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 20, preface by Xie Qixiu 謝起秀, and pp. 1-9.

⁶⁷ This painting dated 1684, is entitled *Refining Cinnabar Platform* 煉丹臺, hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, in Yurinkan Collection, Kyoto. It is impossible to examine this painting, as no clear reproduction of this painting is available in this study. The reproduction of this painting can be found in Donald Brix's M.A. thesis, but it is unclear.

⁶⁸ *QSSL*, vol. 20, preface by Deng Xing.

⁶⁹ This album was first published by Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 in 1939 in China; the second time was also republished by the same publisher, but in Taiwan in 1974.

wrote: "It is hard to state exactly how many times Mei Qing did climb Mt. Huang, because he did not often date his paintings and there are no other documents to look through."⁷⁰ Yang Chenbin pointed out two poems, one of which is entitled *Tiandu xing tihua ji Cheng Zhongshan* 天都行題畫寄程中山 (*Inscribing A Painting to Mail to Cheng Zhongshan Before Travelling to the Heavenly Capital Peak*) and the other *Cuiwei Peak* 翠微峰 written around 1671-1672, and the inscription on a leaf entitled *Cuiwei Temple* from Mei Qing's 1690 album, depicting sixteen views of Mt. Huang, to support his assumption that Mei Qing's first visit Mt. Huang was between 1671 and September 1672,⁷¹ but he might have read only the titles of these two poems, and not their contents.

In the first poem which was inscribed on a painting for his friend Cheng Zhongshan who lived beneath Mt. Huang (see Map 1, 2 and 3), Mei Qing wrote:

The height of the Heavenly Capital Peak is four thousand *ren*;⁷²
 Who, even with flapping wings, can ascend its summit?
 An Immortal spiralled up by the cloudy car;
 Like floating with the wind, it's fast enough to catch the shadow of lighting.
 Thirty-six peaks welcome the visitor;
 Fuqiu was the first immortal who lived there.
 He lived in the middle peak to refine jade;
 And he put red cinnabar and purple solution in blue jug.
 After drinking, Emperor Huangdi flew away by a flying dragon;
 People today still recall this palace of Huangdi.
 Cheng's family lives beneath the Heavenly Capital Peak.
 The shadow of the peaks looks like hibiscus running over in the cup;
 The colour of the various plants reflect in the edges of cliffs.
 You can pick up them anytime, as they are so near;
 You are the one after Fuqiu.

天都之高四千仞，摩囊誰能升絕頂
 游盤仙者雲車整，飄如御風掣電影
 三十六峰從引領，始居者誰浮丘公
 當年鍊玉棲中峰，碧壺紫液丹砂紅
 黃帝飲之乘飛龍，至今常憶軒轅宮
 程子家住天都下，芙蓉影向杯中瀉
 巖際五芝顏色射，咫尺採之時命駕

⁷⁰ Mu Xiaotain, *Mei Qing*, p. 40.

⁷¹ Yang Chenbin, "Mei Qing shenping ji qi huihua yishu", p. 53.

⁷² One *ren* equals about 2.4 meters. The actual height of this peak is about 1820 meters.

浮丘之后君其亞⁷³

Mei Qing did describe the Heavenly Capital Peak and recalled his friend Cheng Zhongshan, but this poem does not indicate that Mei Qing himself visited the peak. In another poem describing Cuiwei Peak, Mei Qing wrote:

Chilly fog causes the sad appearance of the twilight at dawn;
A few people travelled silently.
Walking along a path to the remote mountain;
The old hill is suitable for musing.
The sound of wind among pines tells the temple is near;
Playing the *qin* at the stone door is tranquil.
Where is the immortal now?
It is pity to see the myriad ravines in the season of autumn.
寒煙淒曉色，寂莫幾人游
一徑入遙翠，安禪當古丘
松潮傳錫近，石戶對琴幽
仙者今何適，空憐萬壑秋⁷⁴

It is possible that Mei Qing visited Cuiwei Peak, without being able to visit the whole of Mt. Huang. Cuiwei Peak and Cuiwei Temple are located on the northwestern outskirts of the Mt. Huang area (see Map 3: A Sketch Map of Mt. Huang). Apart from these two, none of the other poems written during the same period mention anything about the scenes of Mt. Huang. It is possible that Mei Qing tried to visit Mt. Huang around 1671-1672, but for some reason he could only visit the area near Cuiwei Temple and Cuiwei Peak. That may be the reason why in 1690 he inscribed the leaf depicting Cuiwei Temple: "Cuiwei Temple is an outer peak of Mt. Huang, where I have been almost twenty years ago. Grasping my brush to paint it, I cannot overcome a feeling of sadness. 翠微寺爲黃山別峰，予遊已二十年矣，握筆寫山不勝悵惘"⁷⁵ If Mei Qing did visit some other areas of Mt. Huang, he may well have written some poems to describe them, just as he did when he first visited it in 1678.

⁷³ *TYGSHS*, vol. 13. We do not know whether it was Mei Qing's intention to omit one line in this poem or if it was a printing error.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* 梅清黃山圖冊 (Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang), (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980), leaf 12.

In the twentieth volume of Mei Qing's *Qushan shilue*, which compiles all the poems describing the scenes of Mt. Huang and Mt. Bai (Baiyue 白岳), Mei Qing wrote a preface:

I have three times been to Xianyuan longing for Yellow Sea (i.e. Mt. Huang): once I was hindered by a heavy rain; one was hindered by a very cold winter; finally, in the sixth month of the *wuwu* (1678) year I was able to stand the heat to reach its centre, that is the happiest event of my life.

余曾三至仙源懷黃海也，一阻於雨，一阻於歲寒，戊午六月始得冒暑以探其源，爲生平快事⁷⁶

Xianyuan is located on the northern outlying parts of the Mt. Huang area (see Map 3). From this self-preface and those poems describing the scenes of Mt. Huang, we learn that Mei Qing must have been very excited to travel around Mt. Huang for the first time. Although Yang Chenbin also has argued that Mei Qing only visited Mt. Huang twice, he dated the first time around 1671-1672, not in 1678 as Mei Qing wrote in this preface. He did read Mei Qing's poems written before 1674, but he could not read those written after 1674. My own conclusion is that it is possible that Mei Qing had been to Cuiwei Temple and Cuiwei Peak around 1671-1672, but he may have been hindered by the heavy rain or by the cold weather from reaching the main area of Mt. Huang.

In 1671 Mei Qing's poetry was scheduled to be published, and Shi Runzhang wrote a preface for it, in which he pointed out: "On reading his (Mei Qing's) poems one can determine their dates [of composition] and verify their places." Shi continued, "In times of leisure in between chanting and singing his verses he did landscapes. What he painted has a very unusual air..."⁷⁷ Shi Runzhang admired the unusual quality of Mei Qing's paintings, also he pointed out that Mei Qing was then spending more time on poetry than on painting. As Mei Qing's mother had died in October 1672, the poetry collection was not published until 1674. It is entitled *Tianyange shanhoushi* 天延閣刪後詩 and contains the poems written by Mei Qing prior to 1674. From 1673, Mei Qing began the work of compiling the local histories, including *Wanling zhi* 宛陵志 (*The History of Wanling*), *Wanling xuzhi* 宛陵續志 (*The Continuous History of Wanling*) *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志 (*The History of Jiangnan*) and *Xuancheng xianzhi* 宣城縣志 (*The History of*

⁷⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 20, self-preface, p.1.

⁷⁷ *TYGSHS*, preface by Shi Runzhang.

Xuancheng). For more than ten years, he was charged with the compilation and revision of the sections on mountains and rivers, people, art and literature in these works.⁷⁸ During those years he also travelled to Nanjing, Kunshan 昆山 (in Jiangsu 江蘇 province), Hangzhou 杭州, Qinhuai (see Map 2), and so on, to visit friends, with whom he often exchanged poems and paintings.

During the 1660s and 1670s, Mei Qing and some of his friends living in the same area held a regular gathering for discussing paintings and poems. The society included Shi Runzhang, Tang Yunjia, Wu Sugong, Cai Yao, Shen Bi 沈泌, Mei Geng, Lü Dingsheng 呂定生, Wang Yuchu 王玉楚, Gao Yong 高詠, Mei Zhi 梅直, Wang Lu, and Shitao.⁷⁹ Again in 1687 Mei Qing gathered some more friends to hold another poetry and painting gathering named "Huaguohui 花果會".⁸⁰ Some poems written by members of the gathering were edited by Mei Qing and entitled "Huaguohui changheshi 花果會唱和詩", were also compiled as one of the appendices in Mei Qing's complete poetry collection, entitled *Qushan shilue* 瞿山詩略. In 1691, with the help of his relatives, such as Mei Ziwei, Mei Mengfu, Mei Wending, Mei Juan, Mei Geng, and Mei Chong, Mei Qing edited *Meishi shilue* 梅氏詩略 which comprised poems by 108 members of the Mei clan from the Tang to the Ming dynasties.⁸¹

After Mei Qing moved to Chaxia Villa, he seemed to spend more time on writing poems, in that almost every year he edited a volume of poetry. Apart from this, he had an ambition to revise his early poetry collections, *Tianyang shanhoushi* (poems written before 1674) and *Tianyang houji* 天延閣後集 (poems written between 1674 and 1686). Such an ambition finally came true in 1693. These two earlier collections of poetry were burnt by a thief on May 2nd of that year;

⁷⁸ *QSSL*, vol. 14, p. 7 & vol. 23, p. 1. Mei Qing started to compile *Wanling zhi* in 1673, *Wanling xuzhi* in 1682, *Jiangnan tongzhi* in 1683, and *Xuancheng xianzhi* in 1686. See also Mei Qing ed., *Meishi shilue* 梅氏詩略 (Kangxi edition), preface by Mei Qing, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Details about the members of painting and poetry gatherings can be found in both Mei Qing's and Shitao's writings, see *QSSL*, vol. 27, p. 1; Shitao mentioned this society on the colophon of his painting entitled *Qingxianglaoren shanshui juan* 清湘老人山水卷, see Wang Shiqing, "Longfeng wenji zhong youguan Shitao de shiwen", p. 46.

⁸⁰ *QSSL*, vol. 27, p. 1.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 30, p. 7; also vol. 33, preface by Mei Ziwei 梅子蔚; and see Mei Qing's preface on *Meishi shilue*, p. 1.

therefore, Mei Qing decided to delete some unimportant poems from these two poetry collections and add some selected poems written between 1686 and 1693. Mei Qing entitled it *Qushan shilue*.⁸² This work comprises thirty-three volumes, with another four volumes of poems written to him by his friends, entitled "Tianyange zengyanji 天延閣贈言集", one volume of poems by those gathered at Tianyan Pavilion entitled "Tianyange lianju changheshi 天延閣聯句唱和詩", one volume of poems by those gathered at Mt. Jingting in 1671 entitled "Jingting changheshi 敬亭唱和詩", and one volume entitled "Huaguohui changheshi", all of which were edited in chronological order. Apart from these poems, a self-portrait painted in 1693 by Mei Qing was also included (Pl. 3). In the inscription on this self-portrait, Mei Qing laughed at himself for portraying himself when he was so old, and said that in retrospect he seemed to have done nothing except drinking.

In Mei Qing's later writings, he often reminisced about his wide-ranging travels as a young man. In 1681 he wrote that his foot prints covered over half of China and he also composed twelve poems to recall the twelve different areas he had visited.⁸³ In another poem he described how he travelled hundreds and thousands of *li* to visit famous mountains and rivers.⁸⁴ Among those mountains and rivers Mei Qing had been, it seemed that Mt. Tai and Mt. Huang had impressed him most, especially Mt. Huang. Mei Qing often recalled Mt. Tai in his poems. Mt. Tai might also have often been depicted by Mei Qing during his early and middle periods, but unfortunately, none of these paintings have been found. Mt. Huang became the main theme of his paintings after he visited it.

After his first trip to Mt. Huang in June 1678, Mei Qing always thought of travelling there again. In spring 1686 when Mei Qing was in Shacheng 沙城, along with Yuan Qixu 袁啓旭 (Zhongjiang 中江) and five other friends, they planned to travel to Mt. Huang, but for some reason

⁸² Ibid., vol. 33, preface by Mei Ziwei, p. 1, and Mei Qing's self-preface p. 4.

⁸³ Ibid., vol. 22, pp. 1-6.

⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 32, pp. 2-3.

Mei Qing could not travel with them.⁸⁵ In April 1690, he and Mei Chong, one of his nephew's sons, travelled to Mt. Huang for the second time,⁸⁶ which was also the last time, as no writings indicate that he went there a third time. In one of his important Mt. Huang albums, painted in 1692 for his friend Jiatang 稼堂 (Pan Lei 潘耒), Mei Qing inscribed: "My friend Jiatang is going to travel to Mt. Huang. It is pity that I can not manage a third trip there, as I am getting old and weak; therefore, I paint this album to express my willingness to travel with him."⁸⁷ Mei Qing's deep fascination with Mt. Huang played a crucial role during his most prolific period of painting, the 1690s. As he himself wrote in February 1693, "After travelling from Mt. Huang, its scenic spots have become the major subject of my painting...."⁸⁸ According to the extant works and the recorded works by Mei Qing, he painted at least eight dated albums with the views of Mt. Huang from 1690 to 1695, two albums separately in the years of 1690, 1692 and 1695, and one album separately in 1693 and 1694;⁸⁹ besides, a set of eight hanging scrolls was recorded to be painted in 1695.⁹⁰ Apart from these dated works, Mei Qing painted at least four undated albums depicting the scenes of Mt. Huang. Moreover, many particular scenes of Mt. Huang became favorite themes of Mei Qing's larger paintings, such as Wenshu Temple 文殊院, Lotus Blossom Peak (Lianhua feng 蓮花峰), Heavenly Capital Peak (Tiandu feng 天都峰), White Dragon Pool (Bailong tan 白龍潭) and Refining Cinnabar Platform (Liandan tai 煉丹臺). For some scenic spots of Mt. Huang see Map 3 in page 15.

⁸⁵ Ibid., vol. 26, p. 3; and Wang Shihong 汪士鋐, *Huangshanzhi xiji* 黃山志續集, vol. 8, pp. 30-31 & 34-35. In *Anhui congshu*. See also Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang).

⁸⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 29, pp.10-15.

⁸⁷ Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* 梅清黃山圖冊 (Ten Views of Mt. Huang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1961).

⁸⁸ Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang).

⁸⁹ For the basic information of these albums, see Appendix IV.

⁹⁰ See Xu Bangda 徐邦達, *Lidai liuchuan shuhua zuopin biannianbiao* 歷代流傳書畫作品編年表 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), p. 400 (quoted from Hu Jitang 胡積堂, *Bixiao xuan shu hua lu* 筆嘯軒書畫錄)

While many paintings exist from 1695, only one fan painting exists and one album is recorded from 1696,⁹¹ which indicates that Mei Qing's health may have continued to worsen. On hearing of the death of Mei Qing in 1697, his friend Wang Shizhen wrote: "In the *dingchou* 丁丑 year of the Kangxi reign (1697) I was in the capital and heard that Yuangong had passed away. His marvellous paintings which are filled with the spirits are henceforth ended forever."⁹²

Mei Qing had five sons, excluding one who died at about five years old, whose names were Jizhou 季周, Songling 松齡, Zhongling 鍾齡, Wei 蔚, and Xi 熹.⁹³ Songling and Zhongling died early, before 1683, and Jizhou died in 1687. Mei Qing's wife died in 1684.⁹⁴

2. Mei Qing's Friends

Mei Qing started to form a large circle of friends when he was about sixteen to twenty years old. At that time, he often studied and exchanged poems with his classmates and many other people with similar interests living in the same area. As we have mentioned, in 1671 Shi Renzhang observed that, "He (Mei Qing) himself much enjoyed singing and shouting poems. Many drunkards and poets were very often entertained in his home." During the 1660s and 1670s, besides attending the society of poets and painters in Xuancheng, Mei Qing also often gathered with his friends and some visiting poets and painters at Tianyan Pavilion, Echo Hill Pond (Xiangshan Pond 響山潭), Mt. Bojian, and Mt. Jingting.⁹⁵ He also met many new friends during his travels to the capital and other areas, such as Mt. Tai, Mt. Huang, Nanjing, Yangzhou, Kunshan, and Hangzhou. From 1687

⁹¹ The only extant painting, dated in autumn 1696 and entitled *Pine and Stream* (*Songxi tu* 溪松圖), is in the collection of the Museum of Chinese History, Beijing, for the reproduction see *ZGGDSHTM* vol. 1, Museum of Chinese History, no. 364; the other painting dated 1696 was an album of pine paintings painted for Wang Shizhen, which was recorded by Kuai Jiazhen 瞿嘉珍 in one of the colophons from an album depicting ten views of Mt. Huang. See Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (Ten Views of Mt. Huang).

⁹² *Wanya sanpian*, vol. 8, p. 10 (quoted from Wang Shizhen, *Chanwei xuwen*, preface).

⁹³ For their names, see *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyanji", the first page of volumes 2, 3 & 4.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 28, pp. 2-3, vol. 23, p. 7, and vol. 27, p. 9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, "Tianyang lianju changheshi", "Jingting changheshi", and "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 1, pp. 12, 14 & 15 and vol. 4, pp. 12-13; see also *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, p. 12, vol. 3, pp. 3 & 14, vol. 5, p. 6, vol. 6, p. 14, and vol. 15, p. 33.

he started to hold regular gatherings of some twenty to thirty poets and painters at his own place at Chaxia Villa and elsewhere.⁹⁶ From Mei Qing's extant paintings and poems and the poems his friends wrote to him, it is apparent that Mei Qing made hundreds of friends in his life, and these friends included poets, painters, officials, leading scholars, Buddhists, and hermits. His closest friends were poets and painters who may have influenced Mei Qing directly or indirectly. Some of them are discussed here.

Although Mei Qing failed repeatedly in the *jinsshi* examination, he was admired by many famous officials and leading scholars, especially Wang Shizhen 王士禎 and Xu Yuanwen 徐元文.⁹⁷ Wang Shizhen (*zi* Zizhen 子貞, *hao* Ruanting 阮亭 or Yuyang 漁洋, 1634-1711) was a leading scholar and critic, whose writings include *Daijingtang ji* 帶經堂集, *Yuyangshanren jinghualu* 漁洋山人精華錄, *Juyilu* 居易錄, *Chibei youtian* 池北偶談, *Canwei xuwen* 蠶尾續文, and so on.⁹⁸ The preface of Mei Qing's *Meishi shilue* was written by Wang Shizhen,⁹⁹ and Mei Qing's paintings were often mentioned in Wang Shizhen's writings. For instance, he praised the way Mei Qing had captured the beauty of the ever-changing clouds of Mt. Huang, and he said the plum blossoms painted by Mei Qing looked antique, unusually-shaped, and superior to those painted by Wang Mengduan 王孟端 (Wang Fu 王紱, 1362-1416).¹⁰⁰ Wang Shizhen also ranked Mei Qing's landscape in the marvellous category, and pine trees in the divine category; he even said Mei Qing painted the best pines on earth, and wrote two poems to praise them.¹⁰¹ Mei Qing often sent not only his poems but also his paintings to Wang Shizhen.¹⁰² Even in 1696, one year before

⁹⁶ For the names of the members and poems written for the gatherings, see *QSSL*, "Huaguohui changheshi".

⁹⁷ Wu Chao, *Xuancheng xianzhi*, vol. 18, p. 24.

⁹⁸ For the biography of Wang Shizhen, see *Qingshi liezhuan*, vol. 9, pp. 43-45.

⁹⁹ Wang Shizhen, *Juyilu*, vol. 17, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11; see also *Wanya sanbian*, vol. 8, p. 10 (quoted from *Canwei xiji*, preface); *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 3, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰² *TYGSHS*, vol. 7, p. 10; *QSSL*, vol. 16, p. 11, vol. 19, p. 11, vol. 21, pp. 5 & 7, and vol. 24, p. 8.

his death, Mei Qing was still painting an album of pine trees for Wang Shizhen.¹⁰³ Their friendship started around 1667 and lasted throughout Mei Qing's life.¹⁰⁴

Xu Yuanwen (zi Gongsu 公肅, hao Lizhai 立齋) and his brother Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1619-1694) were both friends of Mei Qing. They were both scholar-officials.¹⁰⁵ Xu Yuanwen once came to visit Mei Qing, and they went to Mt. Jingting together, where they composed and chanted poems.¹⁰⁶ In 1675, Mei Qing and Mei Geng, a son of Mei Langzhong, were invited to Kunshan by Xu Qianxue, to commemorate the completion of his new garden named Danyuan 澹園. Xu Qianxue asked Mei Qing to paint the new garden for him. Apart from depicting the garden in a horizontal format, Mei Qing also wrote four poems on the painting.¹⁰⁷

Many of Mei Qing's close friends were poets whom he knew from an early age, such as Shi Runzhang, Ni Zheng, Yu Shou, Xu Dun, and Shen Bi. Shi Runzhang (zi Shang bai 尙白, hao Yushan 愚山)¹⁰⁸ was often praised together with Mei Qing, as they both were well-known for literature and poetry around the Xuancheng area.¹⁰⁹ Mei Qing was mentioned several times in Shi Runzhang's anthology entitled *Shiyushan xiansheng quanji* 施愚山先生全集, and Shi Runzhang was also often recorded in Mei Qing's *Qushan shilue*. From their writings, we can learn that they met and wrote to each other very often.¹¹⁰ Shi Runzhang was one of Mei Qing's best friends. Upon Shi's death, Mei Qing wept and wrote two poems in his memory. As Mei Qing himself wrote, they had a very intimate relationship for fifty years.¹¹¹ Mei Qing often painted for Shi Runzhang.¹¹²

¹⁰³ This is recorded in a colophon by Kuai Jiazhen 瞿嘉珍 in the *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (Ten Views of Mt. Huang).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., the colophon by Zhang Kaifu 張開福.

¹⁰⁵ For the biography of Xu Yuanwen, see *Qingshi liezhuan*, vol. 9, pp. 35-39. For the biography of Xu Qianxue, see *Qingshi liezhuan*, vol. 10, pp. 7-11.

¹⁰⁶ Wu Chao, *Xuancheng xianzhi*, vol. 33, p. 10; *QSSL*, vol. 13, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ For two of the poems see *QSSL*, vol. 17, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ For the biography of Shi Runzhang, see *Qingshi liezhuan*, vol. 70, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰⁹ *QSSL*, vol. 23, preface by Yuan Quxu, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁰ See Shi Runzhang, *Shi Yushan xiansheng quanji*, "Yushan xiansheng shiji", vol. 12, pp. 5 & 13, vol. 23, p. 7, vol. 26, p. 18, vol. 29, p. 4, vol. 30, p. 3, vol. 31, pp. 7, 8 & 11, vol. 35, p. 15, vol. 38, pp. 3, 6 & 9, vol. 39, pp. 4 & 12, and vol. 40, p. 5; *TYGSHS*, vol. 5, p. 2 & vol. 6, p. 13; *QSSL*, vol. 12, p. 6, vol. 13, pp. 7, 8, 12 & 15, vol. 15, pp. 5 & 7, vol. 16, p. 7, vol. 18, pp. 7 & 8, vol. 19, pp. 2, 5, 7 & 11, vol. 20, pp. 5 & 7, and vol. 21, pp. 5 & 7.

¹¹¹ *QSSL*, vol. 24, p. 9.

For instance, in 1677 Mei Qing painted *Ten Thousand Pine Trees* (*Wan song tu* 萬松圖) to celebrate Shi's sixtieth birthday.¹¹³ When Mei Qing's *Tianyange shanhoushi* was published, Shi wrote the main preface for it, in which Shi wrote: "What he painted has a very unusual air. I have been friends with Yuangong (Mei Qing) since I was very young."

Ni Zheng (*zi* Fanggong 方公, *hao* Guanhu 觀湖 or Zhuguanjushi 竹冠居士) was a hermit, versed in calligraphy, poems, and astronomy. Mei Qing and Ni Zheng met and wrote to each other very often. Ni Zheng wrote prefaces for Mei Qing's second and third volumes of poetry collection which were written at Jiayan and Xintian during the years 1642 to 1654. Mei Qing often painted for Ni Zheng, who admired Mei Qing's ability in poetry and painting.¹¹⁴ Ni Zheng in turn wrote a poem for Mei Qing's fortieth birthday.¹¹⁵ In 1691 when Mei Qing was sixty-nine years old, on a snowy night, he wrote thirty-three poems on a horizontal sheet of paper to recall thirty-two of his old friends (Pl. 4),¹¹⁶ including Ni Zheng. In the preface for these thirty-three poems, Mei Qing wrote: "...they are my old friends, and half of them are my teachers...同爲老友,半屬吾師" Most of these friends were scholars, poets, officials, and painters, such as Wang Wan 汪琬, Wu Sugong, Cai Yao, Chen Zhuo 陳焯, Song Cao 宋曹, Tang Yansheng 湯燕生, Wang Shizhen, Shen Bi 沈泌, Zhang Ziwei 張子蔚, Wu Fangweng 吳舫翁, Zhang Fengxiang 張鳳翔, Huang Yutai 黃俞邵, Song Shiyong 宋實穎, Liu Juyan 劉遵庵, Dai Benxiao 戴本孝, Zha Shibiao 查士標, and Cheng Sui 程邃.

Xu Dun 徐敦 (*zi* Zhiwu 秩五, *hao* Banshan 半山) lived in seclusion as a monk. Xu Dun also attended the gatherings of the painters and poets society, held in Xuancheng around the 1660s and

¹¹² Ibid., "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 1, pp. 20-21 and vol. 3, p. 1.

¹¹³ This painting is recorded in 1862 in a colophon by Xiyuanzhuren 西園主人 from Mei Qing's album entitled *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*, which now is separated into two albums, in the collection of Rietberg Museum, Zurich.

¹¹⁴ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, preface by Ni Zheng and p. 7; *QSSL*, "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 8 and vol. 2, pp. 12 & 13.

¹¹⁵ *QSSL*, "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 21.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., vol. 31, pp. 1-5. For the reproduction of these poems, see *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 7, Nanjing Museum, no. 561.

1670s. His personality, poems, and paintings were much admired by Mei Qing. One of Mei Qing's poems reads, "My wall is full of poems by others, and more than half are written by Banshan. He is a real poet outside the secular world, and an old master of painting living in the mountains."¹¹⁷ They met and wrote to each other very often, especially when Mei Qing was young.¹¹⁸ Their close friendship may well have influenced their individual styles of painting, but no definite evidence of this can be found. Mei Qing once praised a poem by Xu Dun as having the idea of painting,¹¹⁹ which quality might have inspired Mei Qing.

Yu Shou 俞綬 (*zi* Quwen 去文, *hao* Jianying 澗影) was a poet, whose collection of writings was entitled *Jianying shiwenji* 澗影詩文集 in sixty volumes. No copy of it is available for this study. When they were young Mei Qing and Yu Shou often wrote to each other and met.¹²⁰ During 1642 to 1649 when Mei Qing secluded himself at Jiayuan, he painted a picture entitled *Fushulou* 父書樓 for Yu Shou.¹²¹ Yu Shou wrote the preface for the fourth volume of Mei Qing's poetry collection.¹²²

Shen Bi (*zi* Xinzhai 昕齋, *hao* Fangye 方鄴) was also one of the members attending the gatherings of poets and painters in Xuancheng around the 1660s and 1670s. After 1670 Mei Qing wrote to and met Shen Bi very often. For instance, they visited Echo Hill Pond together at least twice.¹²³ In 1671, Mei Qing wrote a poem to Shen Bi, in which he said, "Shen's fame in art has been popular for twenty years. His poems can compete with Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) and Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852), and his calligraphy can match that of Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105)."¹²⁴ In 1688 Mei Qing sent a snow painting to Shen Bi.¹²⁵ Shen Bi was especially amazed by Mei Qing's pine paintings. Once he wrote: "The pine trees painted by Mei Qing appear so divine...the

¹¹⁷ *TYGSHS*, vol. 5, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 7 and vol. 6, pp. 13 & 14; *QSSL*, vol. 9, p. 10 and "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 23.

¹¹⁹ *TYGSHS*, vol. 5, p. 7.

¹²⁰ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, p. 6 and vol. 5, p. 6 and *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 19 and vol. 2, p. 11.

¹²¹ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, p. 7 and *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 2, p. 10.

¹²² *TYGSHS*, vol. 4, preface by Yu Shou.

¹²³ *QSSL*, vol. 13, p. 6, vol. 15, p. 7, vol. 16, pp. 7 & 10, vol. 19, p. 7, vol. 25, pp. 4, 6 & 7, and vol. 29, pp. 12 & 13.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 6.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 28, p. 6.

brushwork looks so natural."¹²⁶ In addition to Shen Bi, many other friends of Mei Qing also wrote poems to praise Mei Qing's pine-paintings. Mei Qing edited all the poems by his friends that praised his pine paintings in one volume of his "Tianyang zengyanji".¹²⁷

Apart from Shi Runzhang, Ni Zheng, Yu Shou, Xu Dun, and Shen Bi, there were still many close friends with whom Mei Qing also met very often, such as Tang Yunjia (Gengwu 耕郢), Cai Yao (Xiaoyuan 曉原), Yuan Qixu (Zhongjiang), Wang Maolin (Jiaomen 蛟門), Wu Sugong (Qingyan 晴岵) and Wang Lu (Kansi 堪斯). Mei Qing also befriended many other people, though he did not meet or write to them very often, such as Xu Jien (Shichen 世臣), Qian Guangxiu (Shengyue 聖月), and Huang Yunhe (Mingxian 鳴仙). Among Mei Qing's friends, most of them were poets and some of them were painters, such as Xiao Yuncong (Hongren, Jiang Zhu 江祝, Wang Hui 王翬, Dai Benxiao, Cheng Sui, Zha Shibiao, and Shitao. Mei Qing met Xiao Yuncong, Hongren, and Shitao when he was still becoming a painter. Therefore, their styles might have had some influence on him, though no definite traces of this can be found.

Mei Qing made friends with the Anhui painter Xiao Yuncong (1596-1673), when he was very young. Xiao Yuncong (*zi* Chimu 尺木, *hao* Mosi 默思) was a native of Wuhu 蕪湖 (Map 1), somewhat to the northeast of Anhui.¹²⁸ Xiao was about twenty-seven years older than Mei Qing. He was already a famous painter when Mei Qing first met him. In 1656 or 1657, in a poem to Xiao, Mei Qing wrote: "There are not more than two hundred *li* between the Wan River 宛水 and the Wu River 蕪江, but we have not seen each other for more than ten years. I feel regretful when I recall the time we were together."¹²⁹ In the same poem, Mei Qing praised Xiao as the greatest painter around the Wu River, and compared Xiao's paintings with those of the Tang painters Wang Wei

¹²⁶ Ibid., "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 3, p. 11.

¹²⁷ Ibid., "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 3.

¹²⁸ For the life and paintings of Xiao Yuncong, see Wang Shicheng 王石城, *Xiao Yuncong* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1979); Zhang Guobiao, *Xinan huapai shilun*, pp. 101-106; and *Shadows*, pp. 67-68.

¹²⁹ *TYGSHS*, vol. 5, p. 12.

王維 (701-761) and Zheng Qian 鄭虔 (fl. 737). Although none of Xiao's paintings were imitated by Mei Qing, he had been sent at least two paintings by Xiao.¹³⁰ The contents of these two paintings are unknown, but we can presume that Mei Qing as a younger artist might have learned something from them.

Xiao Yuncong was interested in depicting actual scenes. For instance, in 1648, he designed an album for woodblock prints, which contains forty-three scenes of famous scenic spots in Taiping Prefecture 太平府 in Anhui province immediately to the north of Mt. Huang. Again, in 1656 Xiao painted *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* (*Guiyu yiyuan tu* 歸寓一元圖), which depicted several famous scenes of Wanling 宛陵 (the ancient name for Xuancheng). The long hanging scroll is now in the collection of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich.¹³¹ One year later, in 1657 Mei Qing painted *Ten Views of Wanling* (*Wanling shijing* 宛陵十景),¹³² which includes two scenes that can also be found in Xiao's scroll. If we compare these two scenes "Mt. Jingting 敬亭山" and "Xiashi 硤石" in both Xiao's scroll (Pl. 5) and Mei Qing's album (Pls. 6 & 7), we can see that not only the formats but also the brushwork and compositions are quite different from each other. Although Xiao's brushwork is thin and fine whereas Mei Qing's is unrefined, it is possible that Xiao's idea of depicting actual sites stimulated or impressed Mei Qing.

Hongren (zi Liuqi 六奇, hao Jianjiang 漸江, 1610-1664) a native of Shexian 歙縣 (in the south of Anhui, see Map 1), was the central figure in seventeenth century Anhui painting.¹³³ In 1658 he travelled to Hangzhou, Wufu, and Xuancheng, where he stayed at Mei Qing's Tianyan pavilion. He wrote a poem entitled *Tianyange* (Tianyan pavilion) to Mei Qing, in which he wrote: "It is more than a year since we saw each other."¹³⁴ This indicates that they first met each other at

¹³⁰ QSSL, "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 1, pp. 4 & 21.

¹³¹ For further discussion of this painting, see *Thousand*, pp. 172-179; also Albert Lutz and Huang Qi, *Chinesische Szenen 1656/1992* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg Zurich, 1992), pp.18-41.

¹³² *Century*, Pl. 144.

¹³³ For the further study of Hongren, see Jason C. Kuo, *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen; Shadows*, pp. 76-88; *LHSZHPWJ*, pp. 4-117 which includes twelve essays; and Zhang Guobiao, *Xin'an huapai shihun*, pp. 149-181.

¹³⁴ Yu Xiang 予向, "Jianjiang dashi shiji yiwen 漸江大師事蹟佚聞" part 2. *Zhonghe yuekan* 中和月刊 (Xinmin yinshuguan), vol. 1, no. 6 (1940), p. 59.

the latest in 1657. It is recorded that Mei Qing owned a painting entitled *Picking fungii* (*Cai zhi tu* 采芝圖), painted by Hongren, which bears an inscription by the famous contemporary scholar Zhu Zhucha 朱竹垞 (Yizun 彝尊, 1629-1709).¹³⁵ Hongren was about thirteen years older than Mei Qing, and was already a famous painter when Mei Qing met him; therefore, he too might have influenced Mei Qing. Hongren's interest in depicting the scenery of Mt. Huang, which he visited every year since 1656,¹³⁶ and his interest in the style of Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) very probably influenced Mei Qing, who depicted numerous views of Mt. Huang and who imitated the style of Ni Zan throughout his life.

Cheng Sui 程邃 (*zi* Muqian 穆倩, *hao* Qingxi 青溪, 1605-1691) was born in Xin'an (i.e. Shexian) into a literary family that owned a large collection of paintings and antiques.¹³⁷ Mei Qing knew Cheng Sui at the latest in 1670.¹³⁸ In 1679, Mei Qing, Cheng Sui, Liu Gonghan 劉公韓 (Yugu 愚谷) and some other friends gathered at Liumo Pavilion 留墨亭, which belonged to Fang Xiushan 方繡山, where Mei Qing met another painter Shixi 石溪 (*hao* Kuncan 髡殘, 1612-after 1692). Mei Qing praised Shixi's painting as outstanding, and said that Cheng Sui's paintings revealed the origin of the spirit.¹³⁹ Cheng Sui's handling of dry linear brushwork may well have inspired Mei Qing, as Mei Qing used dry brushwork throughout his life. Again in 1681, Mei Qing and Cheng Sui gathered with some other friends in Qinhuai 秦淮.¹⁴⁰ The purpose of this gathering might have been to compose poems to honour another contemporary painter Wang Hui 王翬 (*zi* Shigu, *hao* Gengyan sanren 耕煙散人, Qinghui zhuren 清暉主人, 1632-1717).¹⁴¹ Such meetings gave Mei Qing the chance to exchange ideas with other contemporary painters. According to

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 50 & 62.

¹³⁶ See Wang Jiazhen's colophon on Hongren's sixty views of Mt. Huang, in Beijing Palace Museum; Min Linsi 閔麟嗣, *Huangshan zhi dingben* 黃山志定本 [hereafter *HSZDB*], vol 2, p. 97. In Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 comp., *Anhui congshu* 安徽叢書, series 5 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1970).

¹³⁷ For the life and paintings of Cheng Sui, see *Xinan huapai shilun*, pp. 214-232; *LHSZHPWJ*, pp. 263-292; and *Shadows*, pp. 111-114.

¹³⁸ *QSSL*, vol. 12, p. 5.

¹³⁹ Ibid., vol. 21, pp. 5 & 6.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 22, pp. 7 & 8.

¹⁴¹ Guo Weiqu 郭味渠, *Song Yuan Ming Qing shuhua jia nianbiao* 宋元明清書畫家年表 (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu, 1958), p. 284.

Qinghui zengyan 清暉贈言, which contains poems written for Wang Hui by his friends, in 1672 Mei Qing had a discussion on a snow painting by Wang Hui with two other contemporary painters, Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690) and Da Chongguang 笪重光 (1623-1692).¹⁴² Besides, Mei Qing once inscribed a painting by Wang Hui, entitled *Imitating Dong Yuan's Ten Thousand Mountains among Fogs* (*Fang Beiyan wanshan yanai tu* 仿北苑萬山煙靄圖).¹⁴³ Around 1679, Mei Qing also tried to see Gong Xian 龔賢 (1620-1689), the greatest master of the Nanking School, but they did not meet.¹⁴⁴

Among the contemporary Anhui painters, Zha Shibiao (1615-1698) and Dai Benxiao (1621-1693) were both close friends of Mei Qing. Zha Shibiao (zi Erzhan 二瞻, hao Meihe 梅壑), a native of Haiyang 海陽, near Xiuning 休寧 (Map 1) just to the south of Mt. Huang, was recognized as one of the four greatest painters of the "Xin'an School" or "Haiyang School".¹⁴⁵ Mei Qing once invited Zha Shibiao to attend the Huaguo poetry and painting gathering.¹⁴⁶ Zha Shibiao was one of the thirty-two friends that Mei Qing recalled in 1691 when he was sixty-nine years old; in one of the thirty-three poems he said: "I admire Zha Erzhan (Shibiao) of Yangzhou very much."¹⁴⁷ Like Zha Shibiao, Mei Qing also chose Ni Zan as his favourite model throughout his painting career.

Mei Qing might have met Dai Benxiao (1621-1693) and his brother Dai Yixiao (1630-1706) 戴移孝 around 1683, when Mei Qing and Dai Yixiao both were working on the revision of *Jiangnan tongzhi*.¹⁴⁸ Dai Benxiao (zi Wuzhan 務旃, hao Ying'a 鷹阿) was a native of Xiuning.¹⁴⁹ Dai Yixiao once wrote a poem to praise Mei Qing's pine painting.¹⁵⁰ In a poem written in 1688 to

¹⁴² Xu Yongxuan 徐永宣 ed., *Qinghui zengyan* 清暉贈言 (Laiqingge cangban 來青閣藏版, 1836), vol. 9, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴³ *QSSL*, vol. 22, p. 8; Xu Yongxuan ed., *Qinghui zengyan*, vol. 9, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴⁴ *QSSL*, vol. 21, p. 11.

¹⁴⁵ For the life and the paintings of Zha Shibiao, see *Shadows*, pp. 102-110; *Xin'an huapai shilun*, pp. 181-202; and *LHSZHPWJ*, pp. 250-262.

¹⁴⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 30, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 23, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ For Dai Benxiao's life and paintings, see *Shadows*, pp. 115-118; *Xinan huapai shilun*, pp. 237-255; *Lun Huangshan zhuhuapai wenji*, pp. 118-178 & 293-303.

¹⁵⁰ *QSSL*, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 3, p. 10.

Dai Benxiao and Dai Yixiao, Mei Qing said: "Over the river I am missing you both, the younger and the elder are both my teachers."¹⁵¹ Dai Benxiao might have showed Mei Qing his depictions of Mt. Huang which he painted earlier than Mei Qing did, first in 1662 and again in 1675. Mei Qing recalled him in 1691, and wrote: "My friend Ying'a has learned to be an immortal. His beard grows as beautiful and silvery as snow."¹⁵²

Jiang Zhu 江注 (1625-after 1692), a cousin of Hongren, was a native of Shexian. His literary name was Yunning 允凝 and his style name was Huangshanzhang 黃山長. He was a close follower of Hongren, and he also liked to depict the scenes of Mt. Huang. Around 1660 he visited Mt. Huang with Hongren.¹⁵³ In 1675, Jiang Zhu visited Wanling, where Mei Qing was one of his close friends. According to their poems, they met on several occasions.¹⁵⁴ In one of Jiang Zhu's poems, he wrote that on a summer day Mei Qing gathered some friends, including Ni Zheng, Shen Bi, Zhong Yunxie 鍾允諧, Wu Sugong, Mei Yijun, Mei Su, and Mei Geng, at Shuang Studio 爽軒, where Mei Qing showed them his own collection of paintings and calligraphy. In 1690, Jiang Zhu invited Mei Qing, Mei Chong and some other friends to gather at Taiping Shisi 太平十寺 and boat there (see Map 1).¹⁵⁵ As Jiang Zhu had first visited Mt. Huang earlier than Mei Qing, it was possible that some of Jiang's depictions of Mt. Huang may have inspired Mei Qing.

Mei Qing's interest in depicting the actual scenery and in emulating the ancient masters was likely inspired by his frequent contact with contemporary painters, especially those active in Anhui. Among the contemporary painters with whom Mei Qing had the closest relationship was Shitao. Shitao, a descendant of the Ming imperial line who was given protection as a Buddhist monk, together with his so called elder brother Hetao settled in Xuancheng in 1666 after several years of

¹⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 28, p. 6.

¹⁵² Ibid., vol. 31, p. 2.

¹⁵³ Wang Shiqing and Wang Cong eds., *Jianjiang ziliaoji*, p. 219.

¹⁵⁴ QSSL, vol. 17, p. 12; Hongren and Jiang Zhu, *Huaji fu Jiang Zhu shiji* 畫偈附江注詩集, *Anhui congshu*, series 1, "Wanling shi 宛陵詩", pp. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8.

¹⁵⁵ QSSL, vol. 29, p. f1.

wandering through south China.¹⁵⁶ Shitao's early experiences in Xuancheng were also briefly recounted by his friend Li Lin 李麟 (1634-ca. 1707):

He (Shitao) moved from Wuchang 武昌 to Yue 越, and then to Xuancheng. Shi Yushan (Shi Runzhang), Wu Qingyan (Wu Sugong), Mei Yuangong (Mei Qing), and Ouchang (Mei Geng) were all famous scholars. When they met Shitao, they knew he was outstanding. At the time, there was a painting and poetry society in Xuancheng and he (Shitao) was invited to participate...when he was thirty years old.¹⁵⁷

Details about this painting and poetry society were also recorded in Mei Qing's writings, and in one of Shitao's inscriptions on a landscape. Shitao wrote:

Starting from when I was in Xuancheng, the painting society included Mei Qushan, Mei Xueping 梅雪坪 (Mei Geng), Gao Ruanhuai 高阮懷 (Gao Yong), Cai Xiaoyuan (Cai Yao), Lu Dingsheng, Wang Yuchu, and Xu Banshan (Xu Dun). They were all masters and friends of brush and ink.¹⁵⁸

As Mei Qing and Shitao both attended the painting and poetry society during the late 1660s and 1670s, they often had the chance to see each other's paintings. There is no doubt, based on the various extant documents, that Mei Qing and Shitao were close friends, but what effect their friendship had on their individual painting styles is a problem which has not been fully studied by art historians. There are three main different points of view on exactly who influenced whom.

The first, suggested by most scholars, is that Shitao's influence on Mei Qing was strong, if not absolute. For instance, Zheng Zhuolu 鄭拙廬 in his *Shitao yanjiu* 石濤研究 (*The Study of Shitao*) has suggested that Shitao's influence on the poetry and painting society in Xuancheng was important, and Mei Qing was a good example to prove it.¹⁵⁹ On the contrary, some have suggested that Mei Qing had a certain influence on Shitao's early style. For instance, Yang Chenbin has argued that Mei Qing influenced Shitao after the latter had moved to Xuancheng in 1666; he also suggested that when Shitao matured as an artist, he had some influence on Mei Qing's later

¹⁵⁶ About the life and paintings of Shitao, see Richard Edwards ed., *The Painting of Tao-chi*; Fu Baoshi, *Shitao nianpu*; Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*; *Lun Huangshan zhuhuapai wenji*, pp. 305-319 & 383-387; *Xin'an huapai shilun*, pp. 126-133.

¹⁵⁷ Wang Shiqing, "Longfeng wenji zhong youguan Shitao de shiwen", p. 46.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*, p. 14.

paintings.¹⁶⁰ Apart from these two opinions, some have pointed out that, "...it seems unwise to credit either artist as the definitive source for the other. Rather, we should recognize the reciprocity of a close relationship and assume the mutual give-and-take of ideas and style."¹⁶¹ Mutual influence might have existed between the two in their early stages, as they often exchanged paintings and poems during the late 1660s and 1670s. Shitao was about eighteen years younger than Mei Qing, so traditional Chinese social values would suggest that Mei Qing influenced the younger Shitao. However, these different suggestions can only be established on the basis of objective evidence. Most of the documents concerning the relationship between Mei Qing and Shitao are found in Mei Qing's poems and inscriptions on paintings.

According to the recent study by Wang Shiqing 汪世清, Shitao and Hetao came to Xuancheng in 1666.¹⁶² It is also suggested that Mei Qing and Mei Geng met Shitao as early as 1662, on their trip to Nanjing, where they visited Shitao and Hetao at Yizhi Pavilion 一枝閣,¹⁶³ and Shitao painted two album leaves for Mei Geng.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that Mei Qing also saw these two leaves by Shitao. One of the earliest documents concerning Mei Qing and Shitao is an undated inscription by Mei Qing on Shitao's handscroll *The Sixteen Lohans*, dated 1667, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Mei Qing's inscription reads:

Longmian 龍眠 (Li Gonglin 李公麟, 1049-1106) was the best in the *baimiao* 白描 (brushwork in lines only) method. I have seen many forgeries of his works, but none is genuine. The venerable Shitao painted the sixteen lohans, each of which has lofty spirit and endless heavenly charm. The brushwork and the ink are various. Shitao himself said it took him more than one year to finish this painting. I have put it on my desk and looked at it many times. I can not even capture one ten thousandth of it. What a creation of God!¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Yang Chenbin, "Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu (xu) 梅清生平及其繪畫藝術(續)." *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 2 (1986), p. 85.

¹⁶¹ Jane DeBevoise in *Shadows*, pp. 127-128.

¹⁶² See Wang Shiqing's two papers: "Qiufeng wenji zhong youguan Shitao de shiwen", and "Shitao xingji yu jiaoyou buzheng 石濤行跡與交遊補證." *Dagongbao* 大公報 (7 March 1982), p. 3.

¹⁶³ Yang Chenbin, "Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu", p. 56.

¹⁶⁴ *Shitao yanjiu*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁵ For the reproduction of the painting and Mei Qing's inscription, see Shimanaka Hōji 山崎中鵬二, *Bunjinga suihen* 文人畫粹編. *Chūgokuken* 中國篇 8, Sekitō 石濤 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987); *Century*, vol. 1, Pl. 153.

Although Mei Qing seldom painted figure painting, he was able to tell forgeries from the genuine works of Li Gonglin and he knew that Shitao's source for this painting was Li Gonglin. In one poem he wrote to Shitao in 1670, Mei Qing again compared Shitao's style to that of Li Gonglin:

Shitao's disposition looks like mists and clouds;
His painting reveals his profound ideas.
His painting is in the unusual style of Longmian;
Also he is good at the manner of Hutou (Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之, born c. 345).
He travelled around mountains and rivers for many years;
In search of quietness.
He depicted the actual scenes by his own observation;
But the actual image disappeared through his understanding.
His depiction of "Hot Springs";
Makes the viewers tremble with excitement.
I understand why his painting is so remote;
Because he studies the Chan.¹⁶⁶
石公煙雲姿，落筆起遙想
既具龍眠奇，復擅虎頭賞
頻歲事采芝，幽探信長往
得真在涉目，入解乃遺像
一爲湯谷圖，四座發寒響
因知寂觀者，所得畢蕭爽

Apart from comparing Shitao to the great fourth-century master Gu Kaizhi and the Northern Song master Li Gonglin, Mei Qing also praised Shitao's ability to capture the reality, but not necessarily the likeness, of the actual scenes. Mei Qing was amazed by Shitao's rendition of "Hot Springs", one of the famous sites at Mt. Huang. Unfortunately, the painting has not been found, otherwise it would be a good example for comparison with some of Mei Qing's works painted around this period.

After Shitao arrived in Xuancheng in 1666, he also wrote a poem to Mei Qing. He praised Mei Qing's thoughts as remote and said that his talent was known by everyone in the Jiangnan area.¹⁶⁷ Mei Qing's friendship with Shitao was especially close during the early 1670s. Around 1670 Mei

¹⁶⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 12, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*, pp. 11-12.

Qing often visited Shitao and Hetao at Jinlu'an 金露庵 and Wanjin'an 宛津庵, where they lived for a while.¹⁶⁸

In 1670, Mei Qing inscribed a painting by Shitao depicting Mt. Huang:

Shitao comes gracefully;
It (The house) is filled with spirit of prosperity.
In his hand he holds a scroll;
He said that it is the clouds of Mt. Huang.
There are thirty-six cloudy peaks;
Each peak stands just like the purple jade.
Although I am dripping with sweat, I have not looked through it;
I hold it and bring it home.
The Beginning to Believe Peak (Shixin Peak) is so unusual in the world;
My teacher (Mt. Huang) has been delayed for a thousand years.
Shitao's brush opens a fresh face;
His strength of brush can compete with that of five-divine men.
The Fuqiu Peak is calling me.
I want to travel there but I am worried that the paths are too crooked.
I can not climb to the top of Mt. Huang now,
But I am content to see this painting.
石公飄然至,滿座生氤氳
手中抱一卷,云是黃海雲
雲峰三十六,峰峰插紫玉
汗漫週未能,攬之歸一掬
始信天地奇,千載遲吾師
筆落生面開,力與五丁齊
贖面浮丘呼,欲往愁崎嶇
不能凌絕頂,躊躇披此圖¹⁶⁹

In the inscription, Mei Qing not only praised the strength of Shitao's brushwork but also referred to Mt. Huang as his teacher. Apart from these, Mei Qing also revealed clearly his desire to travel Mt. Huang. According to Wang Shiqing's study, Shitao visited Mt. Huang three times, in 1667, 1669 and 1676. After coming back from his second trip to Mt. Huang in 1669, Shitao painted a picture of Mt. Huang for Mei Qing, after which Mei Qing wrote a long poem to Shitao. In it Mei Qing again exposed his strong desire to travel to Mt. Huang. He wrote:

I climbed Mt. Tai for thirty thousand *zhang*....Shitao gave me this painting which is too illusory to be understood....I painted the clouds of Mt. Tai which float to Shitao.

¹⁶⁸ *QSSL*, vol. 12, pp. 7 & 9.

¹⁶⁹ Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*, p. 12; Fu Baoshi, *Shitao nianpu*, p. 49.



You painted the clouds of Mt. Huang which dye the clothes of Qushan....When are you travelling to the top of Mt. Tai? Look! now I am very eager to climb Mt. Huang!
 我涉岱宗三萬丈...石公貽我圖恍惚不可解...我寫泰山雲雲向石濤飛
 公寫黃山雲雲染翟山衣...何時公向岱巔遊看余已發黃山興。¹⁷⁰

In addition to seeing Shitao's several depictions of Mt. Huang and inscribing his *The Sixteen Lohans*, Mei Qing also inscribed some other paintings by Shitao. For instance, in 1674 Mei Qing inscribed Shitao's *Pine and Chrysanthemum* (*Song ju tu* 松菊圖) to his friend, Wu Mingyou 吳銘甫;¹⁷¹ in 1676 Mei Qing inscribed Shitao's painting entitled *Releasing the Crane* (*Fang he tu* 放鶴圖)¹⁷²; again in 1681 he inscribed a lotus painting of Shitao and sent it to Mr. Yi 翼.¹⁷³ In the inscription on Shitao's *Releasing the Crane*, Mei Qing, as an elder and close friend, not only praised Shitao's talent in painting, but also encouraged Shitao to work harder.

In 1679 Shitao visited Xuancheng and asked Shi Runzhang and Mei Qing to compose poems for the painting which he had painted on the wall of the Qingyin Pavilion 清音閣.¹⁷⁴ Although Shitao went back to Nanjing in the spring of 1680, his friendship with Mei Qing continued throughout Mei Qing's life. Shitao visited Xuancheng again in the autumn of 1687 and painted a landscape at Mei Qing's Tianyan Pavilion.¹⁷⁵ In 1692 before going back to Yangzhou, Shitao wrote a poem to Mei Qing from Beijing. The first verse of the poem reads: "Half of my life I have been travelling like the floating clouds; I have been thinking of you for nine autumns."¹⁷⁶ It is obvious that Shitao was tired of incessant travelling and missed friends like Mei Qing, whom he had not seen for several years. When Shitao came back from the capital, he mailed an album of landscapes by Mei Qing to his best friend in the capital, Bo Erdu 博爾都 (fl. 1700), a relative of the Qing

¹⁷⁰ *QSSL*, vol. 12, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 9; see also Fu Baoshi, *Shitao nianpu*, p. 52 (quoted from Mei Qing, *Tianyange houji* 天延閣後集, vol. 1). *Tianyange houji*, published in around 1686, can not be found at any library now, but most of the important poems in this collection are edited in *Qushan shihue* by Mei Qing himself in 1693.

¹⁷² *QSSL*, vol. 18, p. 5.

¹⁷³ Fu Baoshi, *Shitao nianpu*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55 (quoted from Cheng Linsheng 程霖生, *Shitao tihualu* 石濤題畫錄).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63 (quoted from *Zhongguo minghua waiji* 中國名畫外集, vol. 23).

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70 (quoted from *Qingxianglaoren shuhuagaomomiao* 清湘老人書畫稿墨妙 published by Youzheng shuju, vol. 1, p. 4).

emperor, who was good at poetry and painting, and interested in collecting calligraphy and paintings.¹⁷⁷

In 1693, when Mei Qing painted the album *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, he inscribed on leaf 5:B (Pl. 183) depicting Wulao Peak 五老峰:

Monk Shitao came from Mt. Huang, showing me several albums of his renditions of Mt. Huang. *Wulao Peak* was the strangest among the paintings. I have been to Mt. Huang, but I did not have the chance to see Wulao Peak.¹⁷⁸ I have not forgotten [Shitao's depiction of it], and with a brush in my hand I feel that I am grasping the general aspects of this peak.

石濤和尚從黃山來，曾寫數冊見示，中間唯五老峰最奇，予遊黃山竟未與五老一面，意中每不能忘，握筆時彷彿得之。¹⁷⁹

On another leaf (Pl. 180) depicting Heshi Dwelling 喝石居, Mei Qing also inscribed:

Heshi Dwelling was also a sketch by Old Shi (Shitao). I have not been there either; it is a villa of Mt. Huang. I have not used my small brush for a long time, but can not claim to be too old to handle it. When Old Shi sees this painting some day, please do not say that old Qu was imitating him.

喝石居此亦石公粉本也，予亦未到乃黃山別業，久不耐用細筆，又不甘以老態自居，他日石公見之，得毋謂老瞿效顰耶。¹⁸⁰

Unfortunately, the two paintings by Shitao have not survived, otherwise, we could make a comparison with these two leaves to see whether Mei Qing really imitated Shitao or not, and if so, how much Shitao influenced him. Among all the extant paintings and writings by Mei Qing, it was the only time that he recorded that he recalled the paintings of Shitao from memory. Scholars have often quoted these two inscriptions to suggest that Mei Qing was greatly influenced by Shitao. Actually, in both cases he relied on his memory of Shitao's paintings because he had not himself been able to visit the places. Had he been able to see them, he would not have painted them on the basis of Shitao's paintings.

¹⁷⁷ For the relationship between Shitao and Bo Erdu, see Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁷⁸ In addition to Mei Qing might have not visited the area near this peak, it could be also because the peaks of Mt. Huang are constantly enveloped in clouds, so that chances of seeing this particular peak are rare.

¹⁷⁹ For the reproduction of the painting, see Feitunlu 肥豚廬 comp., *Mei Qushan Huangshan shijinjing ce* 梅瞿山黃山十九景冊 (Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang), (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

In an inscription to one of the leaves in an album in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, dated 1694, Shitao mentioned many contemporary painters whom he admired:

Those who enter through the ordinary gate to reach the Tao of painting are nothing special. But isn't it difficult to achieve resounding fame for a time? For instance, the lofty antiquity (*gaogu* 高古) of works by those gentlemen, like Baitu 白秃 (Kuncan), Qingxi 青溪 (Cheng Zhengkui 程正揆), and Daoshan 道山 (Chen Shu 陳舒); the pure elusiveness (*qingyi* 清逸) of Meihe 梅壑 (Zha Shibiao) and Jianjiang (Hongren); the parched leanness (*ganshou* 乾瘦) of Goudaoren 垢道人 (Cheng Sui); the drenched moistness (*linli* 淋漓) and unusual antiquity (*qigu* 奇古) of Badashanren; or the untrammelled expressiveness (*haofang* 豪放) of Mei Qushan (Mei Qing) and Xuepingzi 雪坪子 (Mei Geng). These are all the ones who understand it in this generation. Only I cannot comprehend the idea of painting. Therefore my works are empty and hollow, dull and mute like this....¹⁸¹

Shitao noted the characteristic of unrestrained expressiveness in many of Mei Qing's paintings, and praised Mei Qing, together with Mei Geng, as models of the style of unrestrained expressiveness in his generation.

Mei Qing and Shitao continued their friendship at least until 1694, and saw each other's paintings often, especially around 1670. As Shitao was the younger, he was probably more anxious to show his works to the older painter and to ask for instruction or inscriptions. They admired each other and praised each other's paintings. From Mei Qing's writings we know that around 1670 he was really amazed at seeing the paintings depicting Mt. Huang by Shitao. But judging from Mei Qing's extant works, only in 1693 did he ever paint two album leaves on the basis of Shitao's descriptions of Mt. Huang. Between 1671 and 1692, there are no documents linking Mei Qing's paintings to those of Mt. Huang by Shitao.

To explore what kind of influence existed between Mei Qing's and Shitao's paintings, it is necessary to compare further the genuine works by the two. Unfortunately, it is rather difficult to make such a comparison, as not only were both Mei Qing and Shitao popular artists and often forged, but also only a few early paintings by each of them have survived. These may well be the

¹⁸¹ See Fu Marilyn and Fu Shen, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. I Sackler Collection*, pp. 52-53. The interpretation of the inscription is based on Fu's, but with some alterations and corrections. Mei Geng was not Mei Qing's brother. He was a son of Mei Langzhong 梅朗中 who was a nephew of Mei Qing.

reasons why this problem has remained unexplored. As Mei Qing and Shitao met each other very often during the late 1660s and early 1670s, when both of their styles were not yet completely formed, we may presume that their paintings would have more or less influenced each other during this period. Therefore, to study their paintings painted around that period might help us to understand their true relationship.

There are two early paintings by Shitao both dated 1667; one is *The Sixteen Lohans* (Pl. 18) and the other is *View of Mt. Huang* (Pl. 17).¹⁸² Apart from these two dated works, one undated album depicting twenty-one views of Mt. Huang, entitled *Landscapes of Mt. Huang*,¹⁸³ which was exhibited and published for the first time in the exhibition of "The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang" from April 1992, might also have been painted by Shitao around 1667, as the brushwork in this undated album is thin, dry, and immature, similar to those on Shitao's two 1667 works. For instance, if we compare the final leaf of the album (Pl. 19) with a section from *The Sixteen Lohans* (Pl. 18)¹⁸⁴, we will find that the brushwork and the handling of the plants on this album looks similar to that on *The Sixteen Lohans*. The plants appearing in both works are rendered with thin, long, and rounded branches. Since Shitao travelled to Mt. Huang first in 1667, and for the second time in 1669, this undated album might have been painted after his first or second trip to Mt. Huang. Some comparisons can be made between these three early works of Shitao and two dated works by Mei Qing, *Two Verdant Pines* dated 1667 (Pl. 22),¹⁸⁵ and *Boating on the Blue Stream* dated 1673 (Pl. 23).¹⁸⁶

The rocks in Shitao's 1667 *View of Mt. Huang* and *The Sixteen Lohans* are stylistically rendered by dry linear parallel or curved texture strokes, which cannot be found either in Mei Qing's 1667 pine painting or in his 1673 hanging scroll. Also the renditions of pine trees by Shitao

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 56, Pl. 21.

¹⁸³ *Century*, Pl. 158.

¹⁸⁴ *Century*, Pl. 153.

¹⁸⁵ Li Zhongyuan 李仲元 ed., *Shenyang Gugong bowuyuan cang Ming Qing huihua xuanji* 瀋陽故宮博物院藏明清繪畫選輯 (*Selected Paintings of Ming and Qing Dynasties: Collection of Palace Museum in Shenyang*) (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu, 1989), Fig. 43.

¹⁸⁶ Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 3, 1985), lot 40.

are completely different from those by Mei Qing during this period. For instance, the pine trees in the leaves 6 and 19 from Shitao's undated album of twenty-one views of Mt. Huang (Pls. 20 & 21) are rendered in a stiff manner with cursive trunks and round-shaped leaves, but those in Mei Qing's 1667 and 1673 paintings are depicted with straight trunks and horizontal-shaped leaves. These contrasts indicate that there is not much connection between the works of Shitao and of Mei Qing during the late 1660s and the early 1670s, despite the fact that they probably saw each other's paintings often.

As Fu Shen has suggested: "Like Shitao, Mei Qing also liked the dry linear style. Some of Mei Qing's trees and rocks look like those of Shitao. There was probably also some mutual influence between them, but it is rather difficult to point out definitely."¹⁸⁷ Also in Fu Shen's *Studies in Connoisseurship*, when he discussed one leaf from an album of landscape by Shitao (Pl. 24),¹⁸⁸ he has pointed out:

The compositional juxtaposition and dry brushwork remind one of the equally evocative landscapes of Tao-chi's contemporary and friend Mei Ch'ing (1623-1697). Mei Ch'ing's influence on the younger painter is evident in the composition of this leaf in particular and in the use of dry brushwork in the album in general.¹⁸⁹

Fu Shen has suggested that Mei Qing influenced Shitao in both composition and brushwork. He dated Shitao's album at 1701, four years after Mei Qing's death. Fu Shen has implied that the latter's influence on Shitao lasted even after death. It is open to dispute whether the compositional juxtaposition and dry brushwork of Shitao came from Mei Qing, since these two elements were both shared among many contemporary painters, especially the dry brushwork.

Although we can see some similarities between Mei Qing's and Shitao's paintings, such as the dry line, the dots, free strokes, soft and light colours, and two or three small figures in landscape paintings, it would be unwise to credit either artist as the definitive source for the other, as some of

¹⁸⁷ Shen Fu, "An Aspect of Mid-seventeenth Century Chinese Painting: The "Dry Linear" Style and the Early Work of Tao-chi". *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* no. 8 (December 1976), pp. 596 & 611.

¹⁸⁸ Fu Marilyn and Fu Shen, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 253, cat. no. XXVI: Leaf F. It is entitled *Passing through the Gorge*.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

these similarities are also the common characteristics of other contemporary Anhui paintings. The crucial point is that they shared a similar attitude toward nature, both believing that one should see nature with one's eyes before painting; therefore, they might have depicted nature from a similar point of view, especially Mt. Huang, as "Mt. Huang is my teacher" appears in both their writings. As we shall see, many other works by Mei Qing or by Shitao are all painted on the basis of their own direct observations of actual scenery translated through their own inner poetic imaginations. Most importantly, both Mei Qing and Shitao emphasized their own individual experience, so it would have been unlikely for either artist to imitate directly from the other. Further comparisons of Mei Qing's paintings with those of Shitao and with those of his other painter friends, who were also interested in depicting the scenes of Mt. Huang, are discussed in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES OF MEI QING'S PAINTINGS

Mei Qing's talent in painting was already known among his friends and relatives when he was young, although then he was mainly praised as a poet rather than a painter. From the poems written when he was twenty to twenty-five years old, we know that he at least painted *Fushu Pavilion* (*Fushu lou tu* 父書樓圖) for his friend Yu Shou 俞綬, a tree painting entitled *Qu Tree* (*Qushu tu* 瞿樹圖) for Ni Zheng 倪正, a landscape painting for his cousin Mei Zhi 梅直, and a snow painting for his nephew Mei Jisheng 梅季升.¹ Unfortunately, none of these paintings have survived.

As very few early paintings by Mei Qing have survived and as very few literary documents deal directly with the origins of his painting, it is impossible to know clearly whence or from whom Mei Qing's style was derived. Nevertheless, if we look through all of his paintings,² we shall see that imitations of the ancient masters and depictions of actual scenery formed the two major themes of Mei Qing's paintings, even from his early years. For instance, his second surviving work (Pl. 26, dated 1649) is a landscape painting painted in the manner of Li Cheng 李成 (919-967) and his third extant work dated 1657, is an album depicting ten scenic sites of Wanling 宛陵, his home town (Pls. 6-16). Judging from the two major themes of Mei Qing's paintings, we can suggest that Mei Qing was influenced by contemporary Anhui painting which emphasized the importance of emulating the styles of ancient masters and depicting actual scenery.

1. Contemporary Anhui Painting

Mei Qing was raised in an environment that valued scholastic and artistic achievement, which probably inspired his interest in painting. Some of Mei Qing's elder clan members were good at landscape painting, such as his nephew Mei Langzhong 梅朗中 (after 1606-1646), from whom Mei Qing may well have learned painting, as they often studied poetry together when Mei Qing was

¹ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, pp. 7-8 & 15-16.

² See Appendix IV of this thesis.

only a teenager.³ Mei Langzhong was praised by his contemporaries for his calligraphy, landscape painting and poetry.⁴ His own anthology was entitled *Shudai yuan ji* 書帶園集. As he died before he reached the age of forty, none of his paintings have been found to make any comparisons with Mei Qing's early works.

Mei Qing's family was known to have a substantial book collection. Although the content of the family library is unknown, it is possible that it also included some paintings. Apart from a handscroll by Li Gonglin,⁵ at least two extant ancient paintings are known to have been in Mei Qing's personal collection, one of which is a handscroll entitled *Orchid, Bamboo, and Rocks* (*Lan zhu shi tu juan* 蘭竹石圖卷) by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), and the other a two-handscroll set of figure paintings by an anonymous Song painter, entitled *Shangshan sihao huichang jiulao tu hejuan* 商山四皓會昌九老圖合卷.⁶ In addition to Mei Qing's own family's collections, he might also have had access to some other local collections of painting or to collections in other areas, such as Nanjing, Hangzhou, Yangzhou, Beijing, Kunshan and Xin'an, where he had travelled since he was young and had made many friends. Lacking such evidence it is now impossible to trace how great was the effect of local and other areas' collections on Mei Qing.

In the late Ming and early Qing periods, during which Mei Qing was born and grew up, a major school of painting emerged in Anhui--and especially southern Anhui (known in the Ming dynasty as Xin'an and Huizhou 徽州).⁷ This development was due in part to the region's economic prosperity and tradition of high-quality printing and painting materials. During the 1650s and 1660s, while older local schools such as the Suzhou 蘇州 and Songjiang 松江 schools were in decline, a school of painters from Anhui area comprised one of the principal currents in Chinese

³ See Mei Qing's own preface in his anthology, *QSSL*.

⁴ For the biography of Mei Langzhong, see *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志, *Mingdai sanqian yimin shiying sanbian* 明代三千遺民詩詠三編, *Nanlei xueyan* 南雷學案, *Guochao huashi* 國朝畫識.

⁵ *QSSL*, vol. 23, p. 5.

⁶ See Shanghai Museum ed., *Zhongguo shuhua jia yinjian kuanzhi*, pp. 866-873, no. 36 & 74.

⁷ There are some minor factors contributing to the emergence of the Anhui school, for these factors, see James Cahill ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, pp. 7-53, and *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644* (Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1982), pp.136-137.

painting, along with the nearby Nanjing school and the Orthodox school centered in southern Jiangsu. The "Anhui School" is a term created recently by Western scholars⁸ that is based on the traditional Chinese concept of the "Xin'an School," a term that properly designates the school of Xin'an or Huizhou, but which has been broadened to include also artists from other parts of Anhui.⁹

The typical style of the Anhui masters was based on a dry, angular, linear manner of drawing and on sometimes radical abstractions of natural form. Two factors help explain the stylistic directions of the Anhui school. One is the influence of the local woodblock-printing industry that had suddenly arisen in the late sixteenth century;¹⁰ several masters, such as Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547-after 1621), Xiao Yuncong (1596-1674), Zheng Zhong 鄭重 (fl. ca. 1565-1630), Hongren, Jiang Zhu, and Mei Qing, contributed designs for printed books and for molded images on ink-cakes that were later reproduced by woodblock printing.¹¹ The close relationship between Anhui painting and printing can be seen from the sparse and linear quality in both. Another factor is the permeating effect of the local terrain, especially the spectacular scenery of Mt. Huang, on the styles in which it was depicted. The spare, rocky peaks of Mt. Huang inspire linear renditions of angular forms.¹² Nevertheless, it would be going too far to suggest that all the Anhui painters were influenced by these two factors.

⁸ For instance, Chu-ting Li who used this term in his *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* and James Cahill in *Shadows of Mt. Huang*.

⁹ Jason C. Kuo suggests the term "Anhui School" is too broad to be useful, and should be used with caution, for it refers to the artists' geographical origin rather than to their specific stylistic affinity. See Kuo's *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen*, p. 107. The definitions of "Anhui School", "Xin'an School", and "Mt. Huang School" are discussed in the fifth chapter, in which the Mt. Huang school is the main topic.

¹⁰ A number of factors contributed to the sudden rise of Anhui woodblock prints in the late sixteenth century: see *Shadows*, pp. 25-33.

¹¹ Ding Yunpeng's woodblock-printed designs for ink-cakes can be seen in *Fangshi mopu* 方氏墨譜 edited by Fang Yulu 方于魯 in 1588 and *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 edited by Cheng Dayue 程大約 in 1606; Xiao Yuncong's illustration can be found in *Taiping shanshui tu* 太平山水圖, edited by Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選 in 1648; Zheng Zhong's illustration can be found both in *Tianxia mingshan tu* 天下名山圖 dated 1633, and *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志 edited by Cheng Hongzhi 程弘志 in 1674; woodblock-printed illustrations by Hongren, Jiang Zhu, and Mei Qing can be found also in *Huangshan zhi*.

¹² For a detailed discussion of these two factors, see *Shadows*, pp. 11, 14, 25-42.

An examination of both the brushwork and the compositions of Mei Qing's paintings confirms James Cahill's conclusion that, "Mei Ch'ing's bond with the other Anhui masters, on the contrary, is tenuous, being limited to such technical features as the dryness of his brushwork and his use of wavering line."¹³ Unlike most of the works by the other Anhui painters, the brushwork in Mei Qing's works is not so dry, spare and linear, and his compositions are not defined by the use of motifs as the angular hillock, flat-topped mountain, and withered tree. Although Mei Qing did not emulate the other Anhui painters either in brushwork or in composition, he certainly was affected by the important ideas of the Anhui painters. His imitation of Ni Zan's style throughout his life and his interest in rendering numerous views of Mt. Huang are both important characteristics of Anhui masters. A preference for Yuan literati styles was also characteristic of painters from other areas at that time.

Throughout most of the sixteenth century, many leading painters and their best paintings had been grouped in Suzhou, the center of the Jiangnan textile and handicraft industries; but by the end of the century, a new movement in painting had arisen in nearby Songjiang, while Suzhou school painting had fallen into decline. A group of artists, theorists, and collectors in Songjiang, among whom by far the most powerful spokesman and painter was Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), advocated reforms based on strong preferences, in both theory and practice, for the styles of the Yuan dynasty literati artists over those of the Song dynasty professionals and academicians. Painters in other centres responded strongly to Dong's advocacy, and began to emphasize and imitate the ancient literati models. The participation of Anhui painters in these developments is seen most clearly in their concern with the ancient masters, for the Anhui painters who followed Hongren in the second half of the seventeenth century carried Dong's emphasis on Yuan models to extremes.

It has been suggested that the relationship between the Anhui and Songjiang schools was a close one, as there were some contacts between the artists of these two schools. For instance, a

¹³ James Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting*, p. 55.

versatile painter from Anhui, Ding Yunpeng, lived in Songjiang from around 1577 to 1585,¹⁴ and discussed theoretical issues with Dong Qichang.¹⁵ Dong even wrote an epitaph for him.¹⁶ In *Huachanshi suibi*, Dong wrote: "I am not one who does not admire the Four Masters of Yuan. However, Dong Yuan and Juran are their origin, giving new vision to today's people. Ding Yunpeng believes that this constitutes a transformation of the whole conception of painting."¹⁷ Moreover, Dong Qichang highly praised two Anhui painters Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 (1565-1643) and Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575-1629) and seems to have been well acquainted with them.¹⁸ The strong connection between Anhui and Songjiang schools can be also seen in the grouping of Cheng Jiasui and Li Liufang with Dong Qichang and six other painters as "the Nine Friends of Painting" by Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1671), the early Qing poet and painter.¹⁹ Undoubtedly, owing to their close contacts with the Songjiang school, the Anhui painters could rapidly learn about the theories advocated by Dong's circle.

When analyzing the sources of Mei Qing's third earliest extant painting, the 1657 album entitled *Ten Views of Wanning*,²⁰ Maxwell K. Hearn says:

Mei Qing's wet style contrasts markedly with the dry-brush manner--exemplified by the works of Hung-jen (1610-1664)--that was to become the hallmark of the Anhui School. One explanation for this difference is that Mei Ch'ing was not exposed to artists from the She-hsien (Hsin-an) region around Mount Huang until later in his career.²¹

¹⁴ See Sewall J. Oertling II, "The Painting of Ting Yun-p'eng" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980), pp. 9, 17.

¹⁵ For Ding Yunpeng's biography and his relationship with the literati circle of Dong Qichang, see Sewall Oertling, "The Painting of Ting Yun-p'eng," ch. 1.

¹⁶ Dong Qichang, *Rongtai wenji* 容臺文集, in *Mingdai yishujia huikan* 明代藝術家彙刊. Taipei: National Central Library Press, 1968), chapter 7, p. 62.

¹⁷ Dong Qichang, *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆, vol. 2, pp. 45-46. In *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1973-1978), vol. 22, no. 5.

¹⁸ See Dong Qichang, *Rongtai ji*, vol. 6, pp. 46-47.

¹⁹ The other six painters are Wang shimin 王時敏, Wang Jian 王鑑, Shao Mi 邵彌, Bian Wenyu 卞文瑜, and Yang Wencong 楊文聰. See Wu Weiye 吳偉業, *Meicun ji* 梅村集. In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), no. 1312, p. 58.

²⁰ See Pls. 6-16 of this thesis.

²¹ *Century*, vol. II, p. 157.

In fact, as we have mentioned in the first chapter, Mei Qing was acquainted with many Anhui painters. Some of them had had contacts with Mei Qing since his early youth. For instance, Mei Qing knew Hongren, the greatest Anhui master from Shexian (She-hsien), at the latest from 1657 or 1658, therefore, Mei Qing must have known his style very well. The proper answer to the question of why Mei Qing did not display much preference for dry brushwork in his early works would be that he put much emphasis on using his own style of brushwork and ink, as he wrote on the colophon of this album (Pl. 16): "....Painters who are stuck with these established models may achieve only the outward appearance of these views, but will lack brush and ink" 畫家泥於成蹟,有形似無筆墨矣.

Maxwell K. Hearn continues,

Mei must have looked for inspiration to Nanking and Su-chou artists--Yeh Hsin (fl. ca. 1650-70), Chang Feng (d. 1662), and Shao Mi (ca. 1592-1642)--whose atmospheric, lyrical painting styles may lie behind the paintings in this album. Most likely, the thirty-four-year-old Mei Ch'ing had not seen a great many important paintings, relying instead on provincial works and woodblock prints for his models.²²

As Hearn has suggested, Mei Qing might have been inspired by the paintings of the Nanjing (Nanking) or the Suzhou (Su-chou) artists, because he often travelled to the areas of Nanjing and Suzhou. But there are no documents to support the assertion that he ever saw the paintings of Ye Xin 葉欣 (Yeh Hsin), Zhang Feng (Chang Feng) 張風, or Shao Mi 邵彌 (ca. 1592-1642). It is less possible that Mei Qing relied on works from Anhui province for his models, as his style, even in its early stage as is seen in this album, appears to have little connection with the Anhui painters either in brushwork or in composition. It is possible that Mei Qing was slightly influenced by the woodblock prints, because he was one of the painters who contributed designs for the views of Mt. Huang printed in the local gazetteer, *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志, compiled by Cheng Hongzhi 程弘志 in 1674. The scene Mei Qing designed is entitled *Zhibo Temple* 擲鉢禪寺 (Pl. 25).²³ It is possible

²² Ibid.

²³ For this illustration, see Cheng Hongzhi, *Huangshan zhi*, in *HSZDB*. In *Anhui congshu*, series 5, p. 14.

that Mei Qing's rendition of this scene was based on an other painter's depiction or his own imagination, since this illustration was printed in 1674 when Mei Qing had not yet visited the area of Mt. Huang. Mei Qing may have been particularly inspired by topographical prints that, along with topographical painting, enjoyed a vogue then, especially since Xin'an in Anhui was the principal centre of woodblock printing from the late Ming through the early Qing dynasties.

Apart from these possibilities, Mei Qing may have drawn his inspiration from Dong Qichang's ideas on painting and calligraphy. Mei Qing was only fourteen when Dong Qichang died in 1636, so it is unlikely that there was any direct contact between them; however, as mentioned above, not only did some of the Anhui painters have personal contacts with Dong, but also during the late Ming and early Qing Dong's influence was enormous; thus it is probable that Mei Qing heard of and accepted some of Dong's ideas, although not a close follower of Dong. When Chu-tsing Li discussed Mei Qing's *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng* (*Xuancheng sheng lan* 宣城勝覽),²⁴ dated 1680, he had a credible explanation about Dong's influence on Mei Qing:

Tung's (Dong's) influence was very extensive during Mei Qing's mature years, and many of Tung's ideas on painting and calligraphy were undoubtedly known to the Hsuan-ch'eng circle and to Mei himself. In the present album, the frequent references to past masters, the arbitrary use of forms, and the emphasis on brush and ink are probably elements that were derived, though indirectly, from Tung Ch' i-ch'ang.²⁵

Mei Qing may well have known of Dong's famous theory of "Southern and Northern Schools" when he was young, but his selection of ancient models was made from both Southern and Northern schools. Chinese landscape was seen by Dong Qichang as developing in two parallel currents, both having their origins in the Tang dynasty (618-906). The distinction is, however, not a geographical one, but is a distinction between two different approaches to painting. These are, basically, the technical approach of the professional painter, classified by Dong as the Northern school, versus the creative approach of the scholar-amateur painter. However, Mei Qing's frequent

²⁴ Some leaves from the album are discussed in this study, see plates 27-40.

²⁵ *Century*, vol. II, p. 163.

imitation of the old masters and his emphasis on brushwork and ink may well have been influenced by Dong Qichang's theory.

Dong Qichang stressed the necessity of adhering to ancient models:

Some say: 'one should establish one's own style.' This is not so. For instance, for willow trees one follows Zhao Qianli (Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 1127-1162) for pine trees one follows Ma Hezhi (active 1131-1162); for withered trees one follows Li Cheng. This cannot be changed for a thousand years. Even though one may transform it, one does not move away from the basic sources. How can anyone put aside the ancient methods and start on his own?

或曰,須自成一家,此殊不然,如柳則趙千里,松則馬和之,枯樹則李成,此千古不易,雖復變之,不離本源,豈有舍古法而獨創者乎?²⁶

Apart from emphasizing the necessity for the imitation and recreation of the ancient styles, Dong also argued that the right kind of imitation is insightful imitation, not merely straight copying:

While copying or tracing is easy, spiritual communion [with an old master] is difficult to express. Juran (active ca. 960-980) followed Dong Yuan (?-ca. 962). Mi Fu (1051-1107) followed Dong Yuan, Huang Gongwang (1269-1354) followed Dong Yuan, and Ni Zan (1301-1374) followed Dong Yuan. Although they all followed the same Dong Yuan, each of them produced something different. If another kind of painter had done it, it would have been just like a copy. How could anything done in that way be handed down from generation to generation?

蓋臨摹最易,神會難傳故也,巨然學北苑,元章學北苑,黃子久學北苑,倪迂學北苑,一北苑耳,而各各不相似,他人爲之,與臨本同,若之何能傳世也?²⁷

Albums of landscapes executed in the manners of a series of ancient masters became popular and were painted by many artists in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. They are usually not copies but original works in recognizable ancient manners, and the sources or models are commonly identified in inscriptions on them. Such albums are mostly painted by the Orthodox-school artists of the early Qing, for whom a demonstration of familiarity with a fixed set of established styles was necessary, but painters of other schools did them as well. To answer why this kind of album enjoyed a vogue in China in the seventeenth century, James Cahill suggests that, "They are probably an outgrowth of the album of reduced-size copies of old paintings, made by

²⁶ Dong Qichang, *Huazhi* 畫旨. In Yu Anlan 于安瀾 comp. *Hualun congkan* 畫論叢刊 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962), vol. shang (上), p. 79.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 93.

artists for purposes of study and for preserving old compositions they had seen."²⁸ In addition, Dong Qichang's stress on learning painting by imitating the ancient masterworks might be one of the major factors behind their popularity. Among more than one hundred extant works of Mei Qing, nearly one-third are painted in the album format. And most of these albums are painted either in the styles of ancient masters or depict scenes of Mt. Huang. Seven dated and two undated extant albums are painted in the style of several ancient masters, and seven dated and two undated extant albums are the renditions of Mt. Huang.

2. The Emulation of Ancient Masters

Unlike the orthodox painters, Mei Qing often painted in the styles of ancient masters only for aesthetic and not for historical reasons, so he did not place emphasis on faithfulness to the original appearance and he did imitate some of the professional painters who were rejected in Dong Qichang's theory. Mei Qing created his personal style of painting partially by transforming the styles of the ancient masters. His theory about painting is revealed clearly on two of his seals, which read "[Using] my own method" and "The ancients are inside me". He studied the conceptions of the ancient masters and reconstructed the underlying principles of their paintings. The following table (Table 1) presents a summary of Mei Qing's emulation of ancient masters. The masters emulated by Mei Qing are arranged according to the dynasty in which they were active and are then ranked by the number of times Mei Qing emulated them. As many as ten albums are painted in the style of several ancient masters, therefore, each leaf from every album is necessary to be counted as one single work in this table when we refer to the numbers of works, although elsewhere in this study every album is still counted as one single work.²⁹

²⁸ James Cahill, "Late Ming Landscape Albums and European Printed Books" in Sandra Hindman ed., *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald* (Washington D. C.: Library of Congress, 1982), pp. 150-151.

²⁹ It is impossible to show the accurate numbers of Mei Qing's works in this study, as some of Mei Qing's works haven't survived and some of his works haven't been found by the author. Almost all Mei Qing's paintings in publications and some in private collections are examined in this study. Many of them are

(Table 1) The Numbers of Mei Qing's Paintings in the Manners of Ancient Masters

Five Dynasties to Song Dynasty		Yuan Dynasty		Ming Dynasty	
Li Cheng	14	Wu Zhen	15	Shen Zhou	16
Ma Yuan	13	Wang Meng	14	Xu Wei	2
Liu Songnian	8	Ni Zan	14	Dai Jin	1
Jing Hao & Guan Tong	8	Zhao Mengfu	11		
Guo Xi	6	Gao Kegong	7		
Fan Kuan	6	Huang Gongwang	6		
Dong Yuan	4	Ke Jiusi	3		
Mi Fu	4				
Xu Xi	2				
Mi Youren	2				
Yang Wanli	2				
Wang Shen	2				
Su Shi	2				
Juran	1				
Wen Tong	1				
Zhao Boju	1				
Xia Gui	1				
Total	77		70		19

discussed in this study, and some of them are only listed in Appendix IV. For the basic information concerning Mei Qing's paintings, see Appendix IV.

From the table we learn that of all Mei Qing's extant paintings examined in this study (375) close to one-half (166) were identified by Mei Qing as being in the manners of ancient masters. If every album counts as one single work, then the total number of works examined in this study is only 105 among which 48 refer to the styles of ancient masters, even closer to one-half of the total. This evidence demonstrates the importance of the ancient masters as a source for the formation of Mei Qing's style.

Mei Qing painted in a wide range of styles that illustrate not only his eclectic choice of models but also his strong rejection of following the rigid painting school lineages advocated by orthodox painters. Except for Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509), he seldom imitated Ming dynasty (1368-1644) painters; his inspirations were mainly from the Five Dynasties (907-960), Song (960-1279), and Yuan (1279-1368) masters. Apart from those models belonging to the "Southern School", such as Dong Yuan, Juran, Wang Shen 王翬 (1037-after 1093), Mi Fu, Mi Youren 米友仁 (1072-1151) and the Four Late Yuan Masters, Mei Qing also often imitated Liu Songnian 劉松年 (active 1190-1224) and Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active before 1189-after 1225), who were grouped in the "Northern School" by Dong Qichang. Jing Hao 荆浩 (10th century), Guan Tong 關仝 (active 907-923), Fan Kuan 范寬 (ca. 960-1032), Guo Xi 郭熙 (after 1000-ca. 1090), Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310), and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) were also often imitated by Mei Qing; in terms of Dong Qichang's theories, they all belong to the category of scholar-amateur artists and all of them had an influence on Mei Qing. Among so many ancient masters, Shen Zhou, Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354), Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308-1385), Ni Zan, and Li Cheng are Mei Qing's five favorite masters, a fact that clearly reveals Mei Qing's preference for literati painting. As Mei Qing imitated so many landscapists, it would be reasonable to see his style as a transformation from a combination of all these masters' styles, but as we shall see some masters have their specific influence on Mei Qing's style, especially on his brushwork. The connections between Mei Qing's works and his favorite models are discussed as follows.

Mei Qing's second extant work is a wintry landscape in the style of Li Cheng dated 1649 (Pl. 26).³⁰ Several high leafless trees covered with snow exert a forceful presence in the foreground, and behind them stands a villa surrounded by mountains, rocks, and a stream. Mei Qing seems to have portrayed himself at the door. The whole composition depicts an actual winter scene that is perhaps Mei Qing's country villa at Xintian where his family had just moved in. In Mei Qing's self-preface for the third chapter of *Tianyange shanhoushi*, he wrote: "I moved to Xintian in the *jichou* 己丑 year (1649)." Since this painting was dated in the winter of *sichou*, it is possible that it was done just after Mei Qing moved to Xintian. The composition of this painting is quite close to Qian Guangxiu's description of Mei Qing's villa: "This year I passed by his (Mei Qing's) country villa at Xintian which is located among distant mountains, and swift streams were at the gate. One is enveloped among the shadows of trees and the sounds of birds. 今年余過其新田別墅，遙山入座，迅壑當門，樹影鳥聲，參差下上"³¹

Genuine works by Li Cheng had become extremely rare even in the Song dynasty,³² so it is impossible now to define clearly the individual characteristics of his personal style. We can only imagine his characteristics from the remarks of some ancient art historians. A well-known art historian of the twelfth century, Deng Chun 鄧椿 (ca. 1167), wrote: "Li Cheng was a scholar of many talents and satisfactory learning...The wintry groves that he rendered are often set among cliffs and grottoes, and displayed the traces of cutting and pruning, to allude to gentlemen in

³⁰ Lian Quan 廉泉, *Ming Qing mingjia shanmian daguan* 明清名家扇面大觀 (Kobe: Shanmian guan, 1915), vol. 3. In Yang Chenbin's "Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu", he said he could see the repair marks on the edge of two sides from the reproduction of this painting and doubted it. But, according to the brushwork and calligraphy of this painting, this fan painting is considered as a genuine work in this study.

³¹ The third chapter of *Tianyange shanhoushi* is entitled "Xintian" including most of the poems written by Mei Qing during 1649 to 1653, when he lived at Xintian. Apart from Mei Qing's self-preface to this chapter, there are still another three prefaces written by Mei Qing's friends. Qian Guangxiu's description is from one of them.

³² Mi Fu was a leading calligrapher, painter, and writer on art in Northern Song (960-1126), and was a famous connoisseur. In Mi Fu's whole life he saw only two authentic paintings by Li Cheng, so that he wanted to write "A Discussion of the Nonexistence of Li (Cheng)". See Tang Hou 湯后, "Huajian lunhua shanshui 畫鑑論畫山水". In Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 ed., *Zhongguo huahun leibian* 中國畫論類編 [hereafter ZGHLLB] (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu, 1957), p. 687.

retirement."³³ Another early twelfth-century art historian, Dong You 董道 discussed Li Cheng's interest in depicting actual scenes:

Li Cheng painted a picture of the landscape of Yingqiu 營丘, which achieves excellence in depicting images and composing views. In the design of mountain and stream, the revealing and concealing of architecture, the emerging and disappearing of clouds, one can recognize the places if one seeks them in the painting. I have been away from the region for ten years...yet I could really find my way in the district...³⁴

Mei Qing may well have never seen any of Li Cheng's paintings, but perhaps from books he knew Li Cheng to be famous for rendering wintry forests and real landscapes; therefore, it is possible that these characteristics of Li Cheng's style inspired Mei Qing, when he wanted to depict his own villa after snow.

In 1679-1680 when Mei Qing depicted twenty-four scenic spots of Xuancheng, Li Cheng was the only model he referred to twice (Pls. 34 & 39).³⁵ In these two leaves, both constructed with limited brushwork and ink, Mei Qing seemed to have concentrated on capturing one of Li Cheng's characteristics, that is his reputation to be "as sparing of ink as if it were gold."³⁶ One may agree with what Chu-tsing Li has argued, "the indication of Li Cheng as his model here cannot be justified except on Mei Qing's own terms," and "Mei [Qing] did not have many opportunities to come into direct contact with masterpieces of the past; thus his understanding of their techniques and manners was not so strong as the others'.³⁷ But, Mei Qing started to learn the ancient models at the latest from 1649, and according to what his friend Chen Zhuo 陳焯, wrote in 1662, "[Mei Qing] could imitate a hundred ancient masters in a short time" 臨摹百家只頃刻.³⁸ This indicates that by 1662 Mei Qing was already able to master many ancient models. If the ancient styles are not apparent in Mei Qing's imitations, that is because Mei Qing did not adhere to ancient models

³³ Deng Chun 鄧椿, "Huaji zashuo 畫繼雜說." In ZGHLLB p. 77.

³⁴ Dong You 董道, "Guangchuan huaba 廣川畫跋." In *Siku quanshu*, no. 813, p. 479.

³⁵ See *Thousand*, Fig. 46; *Century*, Pl. 145.

³⁶ Huang Gongwang, "Xie shanshui jue 寫山水訣." In ZGHLLB, p. 699.

³⁷ *Thousand*, p. 195.

³⁸ QSSL, "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 2.

too much; on the contrary, he liked to use his own method to reconstruct and transform them into his personal style. Chu-tsing Li has written that, "Mei Ch'ing seems more concerned with his paintings' relationship to Nature than with their correspondence to works of past masters."³⁹

The connection between the style of Mei Qing's paintings and the relevant masters is closer in his late works, which demonstrates that the more he imitated the old masters, the deeper he could capture their essential ideas. For instance, those works dated in the 1690s and painted in the style of Li Cheng, all clearly display an austere and wintry atmosphere. Three of them dated separately in 1690 (Pl. 41),⁴⁰ spring 1693 (Pl. 49),⁴¹ and the eighth month of 1693 (Pl. 61),⁴² all depict wintry scenes and all refer to plum trees in their inscriptions. The 1690 leaf was painted in the style of Li Cheng's *Plum-Blossom Studio* (*Meihua shuwu* 梅花書屋), which was one of the paintings illustrated in *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* 芥子園畫傳, that was first published in 1679. If we compare Mei Qing's 1690 imitation with the woodblock printing of Li Cheng's *Plum-Blossom Studio* (Pl. 69),⁴³ we may suggest that Mei Qing probably saw this woodblock printing, as many elements in the woodblock print of Li Cheng's composition can also be found in Mei Qing's imitation, such as the withered plum trees in the foreground, the huge rocks, the stream, and the cottage with a scholar studying inside. Here Mei Qing already completely changed Li Cheng's display of forms and brushwork. The "crab-claw" branches usually attributed to the formal style of Li Cheng and Guo Xi, cannot be found either in the woodblock printing of Li Cheng or in Mei Qing's imitation from Li Cheng. In fact, it is impossible to argue what Mei Qing really learned from Li Cheng, as no authentic works by Li Cheng survive to clearly present the characteristics of Li Cheng's style.

³⁹ *Thousand*, p. 195.

⁴⁰ For the reproduction of the whole album, see *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, pl. 228.

⁴¹ The photographs of the album were offered by the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. See Pls. 45-56.

⁴² The photographs of the album were taken by the author in the Shanghai Museum, see Pls. 57-68. See also *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2680.

⁴³ Wang Gai 王概, *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* 芥子園畫傳 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1960, 2nd ed. 1991, vol. 1, p. 325).

According to those dated works by Mei Qing, it is clear that he imitated the Yuan masters mainly during the 1690s. The Yuan masters were not interested in presenting any beautiful or extraordinary scenery. This was especially true of Wu Zhen, who liked to depict ordinary scenery, such as his *Fisherman* (Pl. 70)⁴⁴ and *Central Mountain*. These two paintings are presented with simple forms and wet and relaxed brushstrokes. They exemplify perfectly the characteristic of "plainness and blandness", which was among the qualities most pursued and praised in literati painting. The characteristic of plainness and blandness are immediately apparent in those works painted in the style of Wu Zhen by Mei Qing, such as those leaves dated in 1690 (Pl. 42)⁴⁵, spring 1693 (Pls. 50 & 54), the tenth month of 1693 (Pls. 75 & 81)⁴⁶ and the third month of 1695 (Pl. 86).⁴⁷ The brushwork in these leaves is wet, broad, relaxed, and blunt, all qualities of Wu Zhen's works. The leaves of the trees in these paintings are formed with numerous wet and relaxed dots, which are similar to those in Wu Zhen's *Fisherman*, though Mei Qing extended Wu Zhen's dotting to be more dynamic.

From a comparison of Mei Qing's two paintings which are both renditions of the same scene, Refining Cinnabar Platform, but imitated separately in Wu Zhen's manner (Pl. 88)⁴⁸ and that of Zhao Mengfu (Pl. 91),⁴⁹ we can find that Mei Qing made an effort to capture different spirits from different masters. The one painted in the brush idea of Wu Zhen is broad, wet, relaxed, and spontaneous, while the one painted in Zhao Mengfu's style is more simple, dry, severe, even bleak in mood. Mei Qing used the same subject to illustrate the two masters' different attitudes toward artistic creation. Wu Zhen often inscribed his works as having been "playfully done", whereas Zhao Mengfu had a determination to make antique styles live again, so his landscapes draw on

⁴⁴ See James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River* (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1976), pl. 26.

⁴⁵ *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 228.

⁴⁶ It is a leaf from an album of twelve leaves. The photographs of the album were taken by the author in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁴⁷ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), Pl. 24. It is a leaf from an album of eight leaves. The whereabouts of this album are unknown. Three leaves of the album are discussed in this study, see Pls. 84-86.

⁴⁸ It is from a set of four hanging scrolls, see pls. 87-90. The whereabouts of it are unknown.

⁴⁹ See *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英, no. 20 (1983), p. 28.

several old traditions. What Zhao Mengfu thought the most precious quality in painting is the antique spirit. The antique spirit is perhaps the characteristic that Mei Qing learned most from Zhao, which can easily be seen in most architectures painted by Mei Qing, such as the terrace depicted in these two paintings.

Mei Qing loved Wu Zhen's style very much, as he inscribed on leaves of both the 1690 (Pl. 43) and 1695 albums (Pl. 86):

I love the Taoist of Blossoming Plum Trees (Wu Zhen);
He waved the brush and touched the paper like a god.
He emptied the cup of ancient wine from the isle of Immortals,
And there was spring for him at every season in Jiangnan.
我愛梅花老道人,揮毫落紙盡如神
持將海上千年酒,醉向江南四季春

Wu Zhen's impact on Mei Qing can mainly be seen in his thicker and looser style of brushwork. For the source of Mei Qing's brushwork, Oswald Siren suggested: "As a master of brush and ink Mei Qing evidently learned more from Wu Zhen than from any other painter."⁵⁰ The Chinese art historian He Tianjian suggested that Mei Qing displayed two types of brushwork: one is broad and loose; the other thin and dense.⁵¹ Furthermore, he argued that Mei Qing's broad and loose brushwork was mainly derived from Huang Gongwang, and the thin and dense type from Wang Meng. Actually, like Wu Zhen, Huang Gongwang was also content with everyday scenery, and sought quality of strength, looseness, and plainness. When we compare Huang Gongwang's astonishing scroll *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (Pl. 92)⁵² with Mei Qing's 1690 work in the style of Huang (Pl. 43),⁵³ we shall see the quality of loose and plain brushwork in Fuchun Mountains is further extended in Mei Qing's work, such as "in the free arrangement of the small trees. This inscription reveals Mei Qing's high admiration for Huang:

⁵⁰ Oswald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 5, p. 120.

⁵¹ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan hua ji*, preface, p. 1.

⁵² James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pls. 41-44.

⁵³ It is a leaf from an album of ten leaves, in the Cleveland Museum of Art. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 228.

For hundreds of years, only Huang Dachi (Huang Gongwang) has been transmitted down through the ages.

His cloudy mountains and scattered rocks offer the inspiration of composing poetry.

When frenzied inspiration came, he splashed ink as if pouring out wine;

Who says this wandering immortal wasn't a painting master?

百歲惟傳黃大癡，雲山亂石供題詩

狂來潑墨同傾酒，誰道遊仙不畫師

The same poem can be seen in another tremendous work by Mei Qing (Pl. 93).⁵⁴ This is a set of ten hanging scrolls. Groves of leafy trees placed here and there (Pls. 94 & 95)⁵⁵ look close to those in *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*. There is no evidence to prove that Mei Qing ever saw Huang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, but his friend Xiao Yuncong had imitated it, in a composition which later was printed in *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Pl. 96),⁵⁶ and from which Mei Qing may well have learned the style of Huang Gongwang.

Apart from Wu Zhen and Huang Gongwang, Mei Qing's looser and broader style of brushwork also owed much to Shen Zhou. Shen Zhou, like Wu Zhen and Huang Gongwang, learned basically from the style of Dong Yuan and Juran, and he also chose Wu Zhen and Huang Gongwang as his models, especially Wu Zhen. As Shen Zhou was only about two centuries earlier than Mei Qing, it is likely that Mei Qing may have seen more of Shen Zhou's works than those of the Yuan masters. However, according to Mei Qing's works examined in this study, Shen Zhou was the model Mei Qing imitated most often, at least sixteen times. A comparison of Mei Qing's handscroll, *Visiting Mt. Xi*, dated 1693 in the manner of Shen Zhou (Pls. 97-98)⁵⁷ with two leaves from Shen Zhou's *Twelve Views of Wumen (Suzhou)* (Pls. 99-100),⁵⁸ shows that mild, wet and relaxed brushwork is a common characteristic of these two works. The free arrangement of the dotting in Mei Qing's imitation is also very close to that in Shen Zhou's work. Apart from the free and broad brushwork, Mei Qing might also have been strongly impressed by Shen Zhou's depictions of actual scenery.

⁵⁴ Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery* (Hong Kong: Guangzhou Art Gallery & the Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1986), cat. no. 31.

⁵⁵ For the details of the painting were taken by the author in the Guangzhou Art Gallery.

⁵⁶ Wang Gai, *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, p. 312.

⁵⁷ See *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2681.

⁵⁸ Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 1.

In addition to Wu Zhen, Huang Gongwang, and Shen Zhou, Wang Meng is the other master who strongly influenced the brushwork of Mei Qing. By 1675, his friend Song Shiying 宋實穎, had already noted the influence of Wang Meng on his style and praised Mei Qing's calligraphy, painting, and poetry as "San Jue 三絕" (Three Perfections). He wrote: "Mei Qing's calligraphy imitates Yan Lugong 顏魯公 (Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 709-785) and Yang Shaoshi 楊少師 (Yang Ningshi 楊凝式 873-954), and his painting learns from Huanghe shanren 黃鶴山人 (Wang Meng)."⁵⁹ Unlike Wu Zhen, Huang Gongwang, and Shen Zhou, Wang Meng concerned himself more with space, mass and tactile qualities; the forms in his painting are usually distorted, and the brushstrokes are rich and dense. Mei Qing often applied a type of dryness, curling and interweaving restless texture in his late works, which are obviously transformed from Wang Meng's furry, unravelled rope, or ox-hair texture strokes. Mei Qing imitated Wang Meng's *Yunmen dong he tu* 雲門洞壑圖 at least twice (Pls. 68 & 82). Wang Meng's original *Yunmen dong huo tu* is unavailable for this study, but a comparison of these two imitations of Mei Qing with Wang Meng's famous scroll *Forest Dwellings at Juqu* 具區 (Pl. 101),⁶⁰ immediately reveals the points of similarity. The essential ideas of Wang Meng's style, denseness and richness, are also the characteristics of Mei Qing's two imitations. At the same time, Mei Qing replaced Wang Meng's unraveled texture strokes with numerous more curling and more intertwined texture strokes, upon which there are then added some dark dots.

As Mei Qing was strongly impressed by Wang Meng's style, he often applied it when he depicted the scenes of Mt. Huang or of his home town. For instance, based on Wang Meng's style, Mei Qing rendered both Mt. Bojian (Pls. 102 & 103)⁶¹ and Cuiwei Temple 翠微寺 (Pls. 115 & 127)⁶² at least twice for each scene. Mei Qing painted these four paintings all in the brush idea of

⁵⁹ *QSSL*, vol. 17, the first preface by Song Shiying.

⁶⁰ See James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pl. 58.

⁶¹ One of these two paintings is dated in 1690, in Shanghai Museum, see *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2675. The other is dated in 1693, the whereabouts of it are unknown, see *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), pl. 1.

⁶² These two paintings are both leaves: one from the album *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, dated 1690, in Beijing Palace Museum, see *Mei Qing huangshan tuce* (1980); the other from the album *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*, dated 1692, in Beijing Palace Museum, see *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), pl. 5.

Wang Meng, but he transformed it slightly differently each time. By distorting and exaggerating landscape elements into eccentric forms, Mei Qing seemed to transform Wang Meng's style into a personal style that expressed the intense aspect of his inner feelings. These two sets of paintings provide two good examples for distinguishing Mei Qing's original works from forgeries, as they demonstrate that Mei Qing was unlikely to render the same scene with two very similar compositions and brushwork. In chapter four we shall see that several forgeries were forged in a very close manner to Mei Qing's works both in composition and brushwork.

An opposite style from the impassioned Wang Meng was the coolness, simplicity, and blandness of Ni Zan. Mei Qing imitated Ni Zan's style from his middle stage until two years before his death. Ni's interest as a painter was not directed toward the "myriad phenomena"; rather, he described his aim as "to set forth the untrammelled feelings in my breast". When Mei Qing imitated the style of Ni Zan, he mainly captured Ni's essential idea of "plainness and simplicity". In a leaf painted in the style of Ni, dated the eighth month of 1693 (Pl. 67),⁶³ Mei Qing did follow Ni's common pattern: a river bank in the foreground, surmounted with a few tall trees; a broad stretch of water; earthy hills beyond, but moved Ni's empty hut over the river next to the bank and changed Ni's vertical format to a horizontal one. In another leaf from an album dated the sixth month of 1695 (Pl. 137),⁶⁴ Mei Qing did not follow Ni's common pattern, but with very few brushstrokes Mei Qing did completely capture Ni's plain and simple idea. From this album we can also learn that Mei Qing was still fond of Ni's style in his last few years, as Ni's style was inscribed in four leaves by Mei Qing (Pls. 137, 141, 142 & 146) among the twelve leaves from the album, which was painted just two years before he died.

Ni Zan's main influence on Mei Qing was the idea of "plainness and simplicity" that is revealed in most of Mei Qing's late works. As he wrote in an inscription from an album dated 1694 (Pl. 149):⁶⁵

⁶³ See *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2680.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 2684.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 2683: leaf 1.

It had been raining for several months since I came back (from the north) in the early summer of *jiayu* 甲戌 (1694). I sat indoors and painted. I painted quickly only with a few strokes to express my inner feelings. In twenty days, I painted nine albums that I put on my desk to cheer myself. One day, the lotuses in my pavilion were blossoming, thus Mr. Jienan 街南 with Zishan 茲山, Xinzhai 昕齋, Xiaoqian 孝虔 and Buxian 逋仙 came to my pavilion to have a drink. After drinking I took several albums to show them, and they had different opinions on them. Only Old Jie (Jienan) greatly appreciated this album and said: 'What I like is those with simplicity. It seems that you (Mei Qing) know my taste and painted this for me.' I laughed and gave this album to him. The second [intercalary month] May of the *jiayu* year, three days before the *wang* 望 (fifteenth day of the month). Your junior Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed at the age of seventy-two.

This inscription indicates that Mei Qing's attitude toward painting was then rather relaxed. The quality of plainness and simplicity can easily be found in this leaf and the other leaves of the album, such as the leaves of 4, 5 and 6 (Pls. 150-152). From his extant works, we can see that after 1693, Mei Qing seldom painted in the dense manner of Wang Meng, but often painted in the spare, simple manner of Ni Zan, or the relaxed, loose style of Wu Zhen, Huang Gongwang, and Shen Zhou, as he inscribed on one of his paintings in 1688, "When getting old, I paint very absurdly; I wave the bare brush unreservedly so that it just looks like sweeping. 老來作畫太荒唐，橫掃枯毫似帶忙."⁶⁶

It is clear that for the essential idea and the brushwork of painting Mei Qing learned from many ancient styles and then used his own method to transform them, especially those of Li Cheng, the Four Late Yuan Masters and Shen Zhou. But with regard to composition, Mei Qing seems to have studied no master in particular. Perhaps Wang Meng's distorted and exaggerated style inspired him. As Osvald Siren wrote, "...his (Mei Qing's) compositions are mostly quite original and of a new type. His combinations of rocks, trees and rushing water are different from those of other painters."⁶⁷ Siren praised Mei Qing's remarkable creative faculty, and he even argued that, "In fact, he (Mei Qing) renews or surpasses the models of the Yuan period which were his stylistic guides."⁶⁸ Mei Qing himself also confidently wrote, "The ancients are before me, and Qushan is

⁶⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 28, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 5, p. 120.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

behind; front and back can call each other loudly and meet each other permanently. 古人在前, 罨山在後, 前後高呼, 相期不朽."⁶⁹ For the compositions and themes, the actual scenery may well have presented the most lively inspiration for Mei Qing.

3. Topographical Paintings and Printings

Mei Qing often wrote: "My ambition is among mountains and rivers." He loved nature and communicated with it often. Mei Qing spent most of his life composing poems and painting landscapes, both of which drew on nature as his source. His forms of rocks, mountains, pines, and clouds were mainly inspired by the actual scenery. Apart from being inspired from contemporary art theory and his friends who loved to depict the scenery of Mt. Huang, Mei Qing's interest in depicting the actual scenes may have also stemmed from his personality and ambition, as well as from the topographical painting and prints, and the beauty of the actual scenery.

Contemporary art theory was mainly under the influence of Dong Qichang's teaching, who suggested that every literati-painter had to study not only ancient masters, but also nature:

The painter who models himself after ancient masters already belongs [in the Buddhist sense] to the Upper Vehicle. Advancing one more step, he must adopt heaven and earth as his teacher. Every morning, he observes the changing appearance of clouds and vapor, and walks closely to the mountains which will appear in his paintings. When walking in mountains, if he see a strange tree, he needs to observe it from different directions....When he has made thorough observations, he is naturally able to transmit the spirit [of the tree]. To transmit the spirit there must be form. When the form, the spirit and the hand are in total accord, each forgetting the other's separate existence, then the spirit [of the tree] will reside in a painting.

畫家以古人爲師已自上乘, 進此當以天地爲師, 每朝看雲氣變幻, 絕近
畫中山, 山行時見奇樹, 須四面取之...看得熟自然傳神, 傳神者必以
形, 形與心手相湊而相忘, 神之所托也⁷⁰

⁶⁹ It was inscribed on one of Mei Qing's albums in the style of ancient masters, dated 1691 (see Pl. 174 of this thesis).

⁷⁰ Dong Qichang, *Rongtai bieji* 容臺別集, vol. 6, pp. 10-11. In *Rongtai Ji*. Translation is based on Wen Fong's translation with some supplements. See *Images of the Mind: Sections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), p. 168.

We can assume that this doctrine was rather popular then, as most of the Anhui painters made an effort to depict the actual scenery. It is unclear whether Mei Qing had heard of Dong's doctrine or not; however, Mei Qing must have known the doctrine of "read ten thousand books and travel ten thousand miles" 讀萬卷書行萬里路, as this was not an innovation but had been invoked from early times by many artists and art theorists.

Of all Mei Qing's extant works examined in this study, more than one-third are renditions of actual scenes. By illustrating specific spots of Xuancheng or Mt. Huang and naming or describing each site, Mei Qing might simply have been following a tradition that can be traced back to the Tang dynasty, such as the famous *Wangchuan tu* 輞川圖 handscroll attributed to the Tang master Wang Wei (701-761) and the *Ten Views from a Thatched Cottage* 草堂十志 attributed to Lu Hong 盧鴻 (active ca. 713-741). Wang Wei's handscroll was later copied and preserved in an engraving on stone. Every individual site is magnified against a broad landscape background and is identified by a label beside it. Lu Hong's work is available now only in copies (one in the Palace Museum, Taipei, and the other in the Osaka Municipal Museum). In this album each section depicts an individual spot around the thatched cottage and a descriptive label is provided for each site. This interspersing of passages of text among illustrations became the prototype for the Ming and Qing albums depicting actual scenes.

Paintings of particular places, famous mountains or scenic spots were done in China from early times, but the study of topographical painting is impeded by the scarcity of good, identifiable, known, and published examples. There are several reasons for this scarcity. Mainly, as James Cahill pointed out, "Landscape paintings of this kind, like other approximately functional painting in China, ordinarily ranked lower on the connoisseur's scale of value than landscapes of a more general, aesthetically motivated character."⁷¹ Secondly, "For artists, too, topographical painting raised problems that many of them were reluctant to face, as Chinese landscape painting in its later centuries became a highly conventionalized art, and the needs of depicting real scenery, with all its

⁷¹ James Cahill, "Late Ming Landscape Albums and European Printed Books", p. 153.

diversity and nonconformity to accepted compositional modes, were difficult to reconcile with that conventionalization."⁷²

When depicting actual scenes, most traditional artists tended to present a generalized impression of the place and rendered it in a schematic manner, using conventional forms of mountains, trees, and established patterns. Even when a major master attempts to depict a landscape of this type, such as Wu Zhen in his *Eight Views of Jiahe* 嘉和 (an old name for Jiaying 嘉興, Zhejiang province, Pl. 153),⁷³ he presented the principal features of the terrain as conventional signs. Only a few Chinese artists created their own descriptive vocabularies and used them to present what they saw.

Wang Lü 王履 (born 1322) was one of the earliest Chinese artists to carry out the representation of actual scenery. His sole surviving work *Scenes of Mt. Hua* (Pls. 154 & 155)⁷⁴ obviously is the product of firsthand observation, of visual reports rather than conventional images. The album consisted of forty paintings and is dated to 1383-84. Twenty-nine of the paintings are now in the Beijing Palace Museum and eleven paintings in the Shanghai Museum. After climbing Mt. Hua, Wang Lü was convinced that no earlier painters had depicted this sacred mountain's unusual topography adequately and concluded that he had no recourse but to rely on himself to capture Mt. Hua's unique forms and spirit. Wang Lü insisted on fidelity to nature as the fundamental requirement for a good painting. He wrote a preface for the *Scenes of Mt. Hua*:

Although painting is representational, the emphasis is on the expression of ideas [yi]. If the meaning is insufficient, one may say that a painting is not even representational. Nevertheless, ideas exist in visual forms; if one discards these forms, where can one find the ideas? Thus, one who realizes the actual forms has a painting in which the forms are filled with ideas. What kind of representation is

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ *Hills Beyond A River*, pl. 28. Formerly Luo Jiahun 羅家倫 Collection, Taipei.

⁷⁴ For a full-length account of the production of this album, see Kathlyn Maureen Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician's Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), Figs. 1-40. For four of the twenty-nine leaves in the Beijing Palace Museum, see also Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings of the Ming Dynasty from the Palace Museum* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1988), cat. no. 1. For eleven leaves in the Shanghai Museum, see also Tokyo National Museum ed., *Shanghai hakubutsukan ten*: 上海博物館展 (Tokyo: Chūnichi shinbunsha 中日新聞社, 1993), cat. no. 56.

possible if one loses the forms of things? In painting it is desirable that the painted images resemble the actual things. How can one paint things without actually knowing them?...If I did not know the visual forms of Mt. Hua, how could I paint them?...People tend to like what is similar to the popular taste and not what is different. I kept my paintings at home; and once someone by chance saw them. He thought they were contrary to all painting styles and with surprise asked, "Who is your master?" I replied, "I take my heart-mind to be my teacher. It takes as its master my eyes, which in turn revere Mt. Hua as their teacher." (Kathlyn Maurean Liscomb)

畫雖狀形主乎意，意不足謂之非形可也，雖然意在形，舍形何以求意？
故得其形者，意溢乎形，失其形者形乎哉！畫物欲似物，豈可不識其面？
苟非識華山之形，我其能圖耶？...俗情喜同不喜異，藏諸家，或偶見
焉，以爲乖於諸體也，怪問何師？余應之曰：吾師心，心師目，目師華山。⁷⁵

Wang Lü's album is the earliest extant work in the history of Chinese painting to combine the descriptions of a mountain in all three ways, paintings, poems and travel record.⁷⁶ Wang Lü's decision to depict the actual scenery through intelligent, spiritually responsive observation set an important example for many later artists.

The interest in depicting actual scenes was revived by Shen Zhou,⁷⁷ followed by many Suzhou artists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as Lu Zhi 陸治 (1496-1576), Wen Jia 文嘉 (1501-1583), Wen Boren 文伯仁 (1502-1575), Qian Gu 錢穀 (1508-1572), and Shen Shi 沈仕 (active mid-sixteenth century). These Suzhou masters depicted notable scenes and monuments in and around the city; therefore topographical pictures had become a speciality of the school. But Suzhou painters tended to be quite schematic in character, often telescoping distance radically to bring a number of landmarks into a single picture, and in all cases subjecting the scenery rigorously to the established style.

From the late sixteenth century, many artists depicted not only nearby scenery but also faraway places; for example, see the work of Song Xu 宋旭 (1525-1605) who depicted the five

⁷⁵ Wang Lü, "Preface to the Second Version of the Mt. Hua Paintings" from the Mt. Hua album, in the Shanghai Museum. For the preface, see Kathlyn Maurean Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua*, Text 1, p. 171. The translation of the preface is quoted from *Learning from Mount Hua*, pp. 61-62.

⁷⁶ For Wang Lü's poems and travel records, see Zhu Cunli 朱存理, *Tiewang shanhu* 鐵網珊瑚 (Taipei: National Central Library, 1970), vol. 3, pp. 1298-1380.

⁷⁷ About Shen Zhou's importance on the Chinese topographical landscape painting, see Ma Jen-mei's "Shen Chou's Topographical Landscape" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas, 1990).

sacred mountains (Pl. 156)⁷⁸, from Shandong in the northeast to Nanchang in the southwest. It is unclear whether Song Xu actually visited all these places, but all the scenes are presented more realistically than imaginatively or conventionally, as if travel sketches. Zhang Hong 張宏 (1577-ca.1652) was another artist who shared Song Xu's interest in pictorial reports. For instance, in 1639, Zhang Hong had a trip to Yue 越 (in eastern Zhejiang), and on his return painted an album entitled *Ten Scenes of Yue* (Pl. 157); his inscription on it reads: "About half [of the things I saw there] did not agree with what I had heard. So when I got home, I took out some silk to depict what I had seen there..."⁷⁹ James Cahill has argued that Zhang Hong's aim and method were virtually unprecedented in China, however he suggested that Zhang Hong had been influenced by some European engravings that were known to have been in China by this time, brought by Jesuit missionaries. In the first chapter of his *The Compelling Image*, James Cahill gives several reasons and examples to argue that Zhang Hong must have been familiar with European pictures.⁸⁰

In the late Ming and early Qing periods, topographical painting enjoyed an increased vogue, along with printed topographical pictures.⁸¹ Many Anhui painters liked to depict their own local scenery and the spectacular Mt. Huang; examples include Xiao Yuncong's renditions of the several scenes of Taiping (*Taiping shanshui tu*, dated 1648) and Xuancheng (*Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing*, dated 1656), and Hongren's depictions of sixty views of Mt. Huang (undated album). This phenomenon might be partly influenced by the western scientific theory, as Jane DeBevoise and Scarlett Jang wrote:

This phenomenon accompanied a physical world: influenced by the western scientific theory introduced into China by Jesuit missionaries, scholars such as Gu Yanwu (1613-1682), who compiled *The Merits and Drawbacks of Countries*, began

⁷⁸ Song Xu painted the five sacred mountains in a long handscroll which is dated 1588. See Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings of the Ming Dynasty from the Palace Museum*, cat. no. 54.

⁷⁹ For the reproduction of two scenes of this album, see James Cahill, *The Compelling Image* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), figs. 1.14 & 1.15.

⁸⁰ James Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, pp.1-35.

⁸¹ For the development of the Chinese topographical painting, especially the seventeenth century, see Kenneth Stanley Ganza's "The Artist as Traveler: The Origin and Development of Travel as a Theme in Chinese Landscape Painting of the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries" (Doctorial dissertation, Indiana University, 1990).

to broaden the study of Chinese geography. Traveling and travelogs may have increased for the same reasons...Related to travelogs are local histories or gazetteers; and again, although the form originated in the Song Dynasty, they were published in the late Ming and early Qing in greater numbers than before.⁸²

Not only more travelogs and local gazetteers were printed, but also more topographical prints are published in the late Ming and early Qing, such as those found in *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀 printed during 1573-1619, *Fangshi mopu* 方氏墨譜 dated 1588, *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 dated 1606, *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪 published in 1607, *Tianxia mingshan tu* 天下名山圖 printed in 1633, and *Taiping shanshui tu* 太平山水圖 dated 1648. These topographical prints are more faithful to the actual scenes than conventional landscape paintings.

Although there is no document to indicate that Mei Qing ever saw any of the western scientific books or engravings, it is clear that he was familiar with the western style of painting, since in one of his poems, he described that a horse painting by his friend, Xu Fushan 徐覺山, was painted in the manner of western painting.⁸³ Moreover, Mei Qing was involved in the production of landscape prints. As mentioned above, one of his paintings entitled *Zhibo Temple* (Pl. 25) was one of the illustrations in the local gazetteer *Huangshan zhi*. It is also possible that Mei Qing was inspired by some topographical prints that were popular at the time. On the one hand, like topographical prints, Mei Qing's depictions of Xuancheng and Mt. Huang are mainly based on his visual experience of the real sites, as he often inscribed, "I paint it to resemble what I saw," and "I paint it from my memory." But, on the other hand, unlike topographical prints, Mei Qing depicted the actual scenery not only through his own observation but also through his poetic imagination. Also Mei Qing's brushwork is much more soft and smooth than the sharp, angular, and linear woodblock prints, and Mei Qing's rich use of ink cannot be reproduced in prints.

It is probable that Mei Qing described each scene after thorough observation, as both his paintings and poems present certain similar visual images. On the basis of observation of the actual scenery, Mei Qing also depicts the scenes through his boundless poetic imagination and fancy. The

⁸² *Shadows*, p. 48.

⁸³ *QSSL*, vol. 27, pp. 7-8.

combination of visual reality with inner imagination can be seen clearly if we compare Mei Qing's depictions of Mt. Huang with the photographs of actual sites. For instance, when we compare any one of Mei Qing's depictions of the scene "Lotus Blossom Peak", such as those from 1690 and 1692 Mt. Huang albums (Pls. 110 & 129) with the photograph of this site (Pl. 158), we can see that Mei Qing did not directly depict it as it appears, but he translated the scene through his poetic-fantastic imagination. The peak's breadth was not described; instead it was compared to a blossoming flower. Mei Qing often captured specific features of Mt. Huang and then simplified or exaggerated them. Mei Qing's great ability of exaggerating or simplifying actual scenery into painting can be seen when we compare any of his renditions of Mt. Huang with a photograph of the same site. For instance, when we compare an undated hanging scroll depicting Heavenly Capital Peak by Mei Qing (Pl. 159)⁸⁴ with a photograph of the real site (Pl. 160), it is surprising to see how Mei Qing exaggerated the character of the peak.

Mei Qing not only wrote poems to describe almost every place he visited, but also described these places in the form of painting, then combined his poems with his paintings. He inscribed his poems on almost every painting that depicts the actual sites. It is difficult to judge which Mei Qing completed first, painting or poem; but it is most likely that Mei Qing composed the idea of painting and poem at the same time while he was facing the actual scene, that may be the reason why many of his friends praised him by saying that there is painting in his poetry when they wrote prefaces for his poetry collection.⁸⁵

Apart from the influence of western scientific theory, topographical paintings and prints, regional pride might be one of the major factors that induced those seventeenth-century Anhui painters such as Xiao Yuncong, Hongren, Jiang Zhu and Mei Qing to devote themselves to painting their local scenery, particularly Mt. Huang. Regional pride was strongly revealed in Mei Qing's colophon to his 1680 *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng* (Pl. 39), where he wrote:

⁸⁴ See *ZGMSQJ*, Huihua bian 9, pl. 99; *Liaoning bowuyuan canghua* (1986), pl. 85.

⁸⁵ See *QSSL*, vol. 17, the second preface by Wang Wan 汪琬, and vol. 20, the second preface by Wang Lin 王鄰.

I hope that he (the Magistrate) will inscribe poems on each of these paintings, so that the beautiful places of our district will be immortalized, as was the Chu 滁 (a present-day county of Anhui, across the Yangtze, 50 Km northeast of Nanjing) district by Ouyang (Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 1007-1072) and the Huang 黃 (a present-day county of Hubei) district by Wenzhong (Su Shi 蘇軾 1037-1101).

As Mei Qing himself wrote, "After I came back from Mt. Huang, it has become the main source of my painting" (Pl. 121). He seemed to never tire of depicting the scenes of Mt. Huang after he visited it. Several of his favourite scenes were painted repeatedly, but each time he translated the scenes differently.

For the sources of Mei Qing's paintings, we may simply conclude with the verse his close friend Ni Zheng used to describe him, "Reading a thousand and ten thousand books every day; travelling a thousand *li* and ten thousand *li* again and again. 千卷萬卷日既讀, 千里萬里時復游"⁸⁶

⁸⁶ QSSL, "Tianyange zengyanji" vol. 1, p. 8.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEI QING'S STYLE

In order to understand the stylistic development of Mei Qing's paintings, most of his important dated works will be discussed in chronological order in this chapter. For the purpose of this discussion, we can divide his works into three stages according to their characteristics,¹ though there were no sudden or obvious changes between any two stages. The early stage is approximately the period from the 1640s to the middle of the 1660s, during which time Mei Qing was still establishing himself as a painter. In this early stage, he mainly painted in a monumental design with unrefined and dynamic brushwork, but sometimes he also painted with thin, dry and soft strokes. His interest in depicting actual sites appeared in this early stage and was maintained in the middle and late stages. The middle stage can be traced from the mid-1660s to the mid-1680s, during which Mei Qing gradually formed his own style. In this period, most of the paintings were rendered with thin and dry brushwork, and the compositions were more descriptive and detailed than those in the early stage. The late stage can be identified from the mid-1680s to 1696, when Mei Qing's style had reached a climax. A variety of brushwork and compositions appeared during the late period, of which the brushwork ranges from refined to loose, and the composition from dramatic to simple. In his last few years, Mei Qing focused his attention on depicting the scenes of Mt. Huang and emulating the manners of ancient masters.

1. The Early Stage (1640s to the mid-1660s)

As we mentioned in the second chapter, Mei Qing had already painted several paintings for his friends and relatives between 1642 and 1649, when he was between twenty and twenty-seven years

¹ There are no obvious changes in the development of Mei Qing's paintings, but gradual changes emerge in different periods. According to Mei Qing's extant dated works, three different stages of stylistic development are suggested in this study. Yang Chenbin also divided Mei Qing's style into three stages, but he divided them by Mei Qing's age, rather than by his style: the early stage is from thirty to fifty years old (1652-1672); the middle stage is from fifty to sixty years old (1672-1682); the late stage is from sixty to seventy-three years old (1682-1695). See Yang Chenbin, "Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu (xu)", pp. 85-90.

of age; however, none of these earliest paintings have survived. Fortunately, after studying the writings of Mei Qing and his contemporaries, we still can roughly sketch Mei Qing's earliest style. For instance, in the inscription on the *Fushu Lou* 父書樓 which was painted for Yu Shou 俞綬 (Jianying 潤影) in the 1640s Mei Qing wrote:

How can my painting be divine; and my calligraphy be saintly?
I only regret that the brush and ink are without poetic fancy.
Jianweng asked me to paint Fushu Lou,
But I dared not to paint it for three years.
Whenever I think about it, I hold my stick at Xijian's gate;
I look at the mountains and I drop my brush, but I have done nothing.
This autumn I was sick and stayed at home;
I hope to be as noble as an ancient hermit.
Suddenly I received the new poem from Xijian;
I cannot decline, but my work, done in a rush, is pretty clumsy.
It is strange that I became well;
I waved the brush over the scroll without any preconceived plan?
畫豈能神書豈聖,但恨筆墨無逸興
潤翁索畫父書樓,積逋三年不敢酬
每思策杖西澗口,看山落筆無何有
今年秋病獨閉門,能夙真抗羲皇尊
忽傳西澗新詩至,不辭促迫非能事
起余之病真怪哉,一揮尺幅無安排²

In this poem, Mei Qing revealed his attitude towards painting: firstly, he emphasized that brush and ink should contain poetic fancy; secondly, he believed that it was important to go out to observe nature before painting; thirdly, he implied that any pre-meditated arrangement for painting seems unnecessary.

These three points of view on painting continued to be emphasized by Mei Qing throughout his painting career, especially in the late stage. Around 1649 Mei Lei, Mei Qing's nephew, also noted that Mei Qing had not only been versed in painting famous mountains and big rivers for a long time, but also that he could complete a painting within a short time,³ which indicates that his style of painting must have been very free. Because Mei Lei and Mei Qing lived together when they were young and met each other frequently after Mei Qing moved to Jiayuan in 1642, Mei Lei's

² *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, pp. 7-8.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, preface by Mei Lei, p. 3.

comments on Mei Qing's art should be rather accurate. According to Mei Lei's writing, we can be certain that Mei Qing's fame as a landscape painter had become known among his friends and relatives by the 1640s.

The earliest extant work by Mei Qing is published in the newest sale catalogue of Christie's for the first time (Pl. 348).⁴ This painting was dated in the autumn of the *jichou* 己丑 year (1649). It depicts the scenery of pine valley, in which two gentlemen are conversing in a hut depicted next to the bank and another gentleman holding a staff is crossing the bridge to meet them. Two high pine trees are depicted on the lower left corner, several smaller pines in the middle ground, and many smallest pines in the distance. A small villa is depicted on the top right corner. According to the inscription, Mei Qing seemed to depict the surroundings of his own dwelling. He said the pine valley was often covered with clouds and mist, and he felt that the pine trees and the rocks in front of his door present a happy mood of stability. He inscribed that after chanting, he held a staff and crossed the bridge, then he painted a picture of green mountains. From the reproduction of this painting, we can find that the brushwork of the calligraphy is rather fluid, and the brushwork of the painting is thin, dry, soft and unrefined. This type of strokes did not often appear on the other early works of Mei Qing.

The second early work by Mei Qing is a fan painting painted in the winter of the same year (Pl. 26). The inscription by Mei Qing reads, "The winter of the *sichou* year (1649) is very cold. I paint this in the style of Li Cheng." It is written in standard script with few clerical and running strokes which reveals that at the time Mei Qing learnt not only standard script but also clerical and running scripts, and that he combined them either deliberately or unconsciously. The brushwork of the calligraphy as though immature is much more stable than that of the previous scroll (Pl. 349). The immature and unrefined brushwork appears in the painting itself, too. Mei Qing inscribed that it was imitating Li Cheng, but the brushwork is too unrefined to be like that of the tenth-century master. No original paintings by Li Cheng have survived, so that a comparison cannot be made.

⁴ Christie's sale catalogue (New York: June 1, 1994), lot 163A.

The edges of the rocks are filled with numerous monotonous vertical ink dots. Although some empty spaces are left to represent a covering of snow, the composition still looks crowded. A bridge crossing a stream is rendered in the foreground. A villa is depicted behind several high, bare trees, and a man is portrayed at the door. A comparison of the rendition of this villa with that of the previous scroll suggests that Mei Qing might have depicted the same villa.

Around 1654, one of Mei Qing's friends Qian Guangxiu visited him at Xintian and wrote:

He (Mei Qing), secluded to the east (of Xuancheng), is enamored of ancients, poetry, and calligraphy as if he were between seventeen and nineteen years old. He is versed in dotting and dyeing the whole scroll with roasted ink (*jiaomo* 焦墨); he is not inferior to Beiyuan 北苑 (Dong Yuan) and Zhongkui 仲圭 (Wu Zhen). This year I passed by his country villa at Xintian which is located among distant mountains, and swift streams were at the gate. One is enveloped among the shadows of trees and the sounds of birds. There was no place where he did not paint and no time when he did not write poetry.⁵

Qian Guangxiu pointed out that Mei Qing excelled in using "roasted ink to dot and dye paintings"; this characteristic obviously appears in the 1649 fan painting. Mei Qing painted numerous regular and vertical "roasted ink" dots on the ground and the edges of every rock. Moreover, Qian Guangxiu suggested that Mei Qing worked hard to reproduce the actual scene, so there was "no place where he did not paint 無地非畫".

During 1649-1654, when Mei Qing described his own life, he wrote, "I become exhilarated after drinking wine, then I splash ink (*pomo*) and wield the brush" 酒酣興發潑墨揮毫.⁶ Although Mei Qing did not particularly mention anything about his style, he indicated that his spirit was unencumbered when he painted. Mei Qing, like many other traditional scholar-painters, after drinking wine, usually had high spirits for painting. No part of the 1649 fan painting is literally painted with "splashing ink", but many strokes are unrestrained, such as the contours of the villa and the rocks. The idea of liberally moving the brush and ink is seen much more clearly in his 1657 album, which is Mei Qing's third earliest extant work. This album which contains ten scenic spots

⁵ *TYGSHS*, vol. 3, preface by Qian Guangxiu, p. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 1.

of Wanling (the ancient name for Xuancheng), is instrumental to understand Mei Qing's early style. Mei Qing inscribed only the name of each site on each leaf, adding a colophon with stable brushwork and somewhat rectangular configuration at the end of the album (Pl. 16). It reads:

Since olden times many copybook versions of the *Ten Views of Wanling* [have been made]. Painters stuck in the established modes may only capture the likeness of the form, but will lack "brush and ink." By my window on a wintry day with nothing to do, I casually painted these leaves to ask for instruction from the venerable and knowledgeable Mr. Pei 培. In the future, [this album] will find a place where they will see that the paintings of Quxing's son [i.e. Mei Qing] not only go beyond copybook versions, but also beyond "brush and ink." Done with the idea of requesting instruction. Written after the full moon in the eleventh month of the *dingyou* 丁酉 (1657) year by Quxing, your junior, Mei Qing composed this.⁷

Mei Qing may well have seen many copybooks depicting the ten views of Wanling. Although he objected to merely recording the appearance of the scenes and emphasized the use of brush and ink, he did not paint the scenes using only his imagination. It is likely that he depicted the scenes by what he had seen in person, not by what he had seen in others' copybooks or paintings. Mei Qing's poems show that he had been to many sites before he painted this album, such as Mt. Bojian, Mt. Jingting, Echo Hill Pond, and Diezhang Tower 疊嶂樓.⁸ For instance, in a poem describing his visit to Mt. Bojian with friends and relatives, he wrote:

The road of the mountain is in my mind;
When did it start to be built.
The path crosses through the spiritual valley;
A thousand peaks dominate the blue sky.
The flying bridge crosses the top of the cliffs,
And waterfall comes out from the sharp cliffs.
The green of the mountain is floating at the bottom of the waterfall,
And the pine roots are cloaked by wet fog.
Temples stand with the green mountain,
And monks retired with white clouds.
The forest is still dark at noon,
While the spring snow is still bright.
Immortal Pill Terrace tames tigers and leopards;
[Quxing] Stoneroom is close to gods.
I am a visitor in dismay;

⁷ The translation adapted from M. K. Hearn, see *Century*, vol. 2, p. 156.

⁸ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, p. 12.

I fall into a trance after climbing up.

意中山口路，開闢自何年
一徑通靈壑，千峰控碧天
飛橋巖頂渡，絕壁水心懸
澗底浮空翠，松根瑣溼煙
寺依青嶂立，僧共白雲眠
入午林仍暝，當春雪尚妍
丹臺訓虎豹，石室近神僊
惆悵瞿硎客，登臨意惘然⁹

Like Mei Qing's painting, his early poetry was energetic and unrestrained later in his career. If we compare this poem with the leaf entitled *Flying Bridge on Old Mt. Bojian* (Pl. 12), we find that Mt. Bojian was described similarly in the painting and the poem by Mei Qing. In the painting, the mountain is centrally located, and some parts of it seem to be covered with snow. Mei Qing portrayed a man sitting on the rocky promontory and looking up towards the waterfall, which falls from a point just behind the bridge. Some temples are depicted among trees and mountains. It is a wintry scene which is indicated by some bare pine trees in the foreground. By using a close-up composition, Mei Qing imparted both monumentality and intimacy to the mountain. The poem provides insight into the painting and likewise the painting conveys the meaning of the poem. We shall see that Mei Qing inscribed his own poems on many of his paintings from the middle stage, and the connection between his paintings and poems is strong, especially in those descriptions of actual scenery. More than half of his extant poems are descriptions of scenery that he had witnessed while more than a third of his paintings are renditions of the sites he had visited. The strong connection between Mei Qing's visual and textual imagery can be seen in most of his later works. Most poems inscribed on Mei Qing's extant paintings are translated in Appendix IV.

Apart from a leaf entitled *Descending Geese on South Lake* (Pl. 11), whose "one corner" composition was designed in the style of Southern Song master Ma Yuan (fl. c. 1190-1230), the other leaves from the album (Pls. 6-10 & 13-15) are all designed like the previous leaf *Flying Bridge on Old Mt. Bojian* (Pl. 12), where the main subject is rendered in the central part of the painting. The preference for the monumental style of composition indicates that Mei Qing

⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 14-15.

probably learnt from many paintings by the Northern Song masters during this period. In *Descending Geese on South Lake* (South Lake 南湖 is also known as Nanyi Lake 南漪湖, about forty *li* northeast of Xuancheng), a huge skein of descending geese is depicted diagonally from the top right corner. Under the jutting cliff rendered on the lower right corner, there is a figure boating on a lonely boat. Mei Qing borrowed some of Ni Zan's motifs to fit his description of the scene, such as the empty pavilion and sparse trees painted on the top of the cliff. The distant mountains are rendered horizontally from the top left corner to balance the two horizontal lines of reeds painted from the right corner at the bottom of the painting.

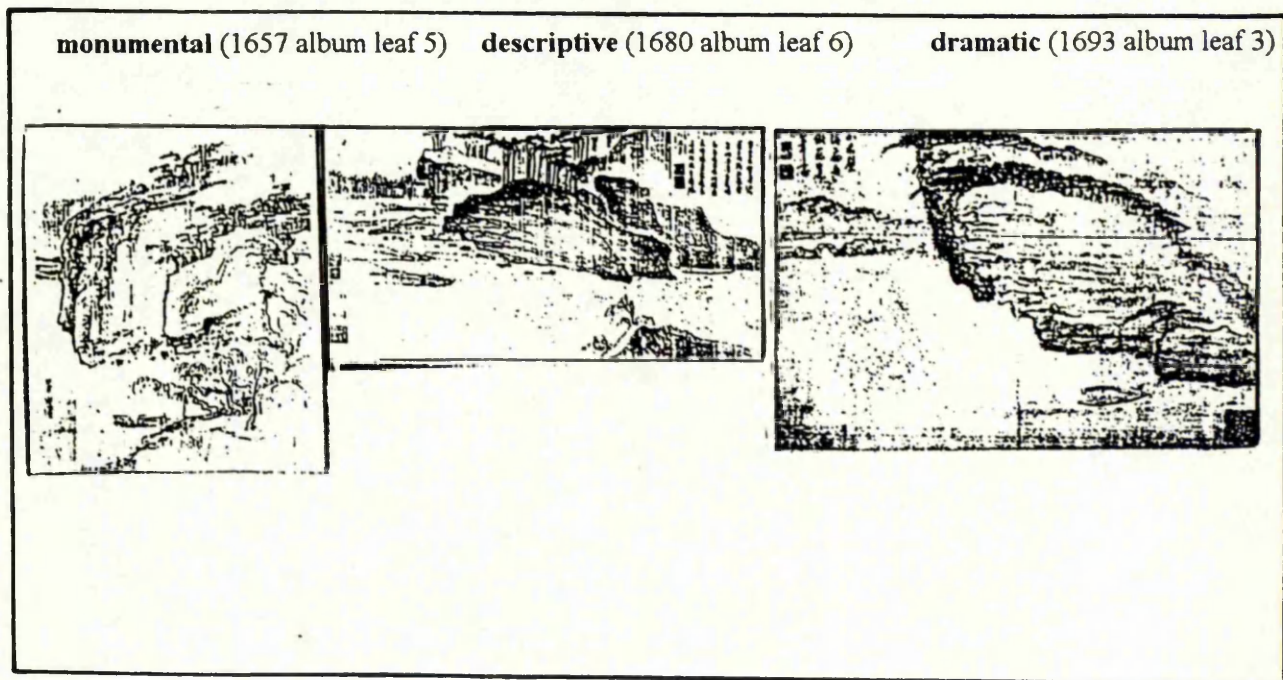
The various brushstrokes and different colours of ink washes are apparent in the original album. For instance, the brushwork in the leaf entitled *Old [Mt.] Jingting* is rather wet and smooth (Pl. 7), but it is mostly dry and rough in the leaf entitled *Wan Stream* 宛溪 (Pl. 8). Since the album is painted on satin, on which the strokes are more difficult to control than on paper or silk, most strokes look rather rough and fluid, such as the texture strokes of the cliffs and the trees on the leaf entitled *Echo Hill Pond* (Pl. 10). In Mei Qing's painting career, he preferred painting on paper and only occasionally used silk or satin.

Mei Qing loved his hometown, Xuancheng, very much; therefore, he constantly chose different sites from it as the basis of his works. Apart from this album, there are at least two other albums depicting the various sites of Xuancheng. One is the famous album entitled *Twenty-Four Views of Wanling*, dated 1680. The other album, no longer extant, is recorded in a poem written by Mei Qing's friend, Xu Sunquan 許孫奎.¹⁰ Mei Qing liked some particular sites very much, such as Echo Hill Pond, Mt. Bojian and Mt. Jingting. He continued to paint these sites throughout his life. For instance, Echo Hill Pond was painted both in the albums of 1657 (Pl. 10) and 1680 (Pl. 30). Apart from these two albums, this scene appears at least in two other extant paintings: one is the hanging scroll dated 1673 (Pl. 23), and the other is a leaf from an album dated 1693 (Pl. 59). It will be interesting to note how Mei Qing depicted the same site in different periods. If we choose the

¹⁰ QSSL, "Tianyange zengyanji", vol. 4, p. 8.

three leaves depicting the same theme, Echo Hill Pond, respectively from the albums of 1657, 1680 and 1693 (Pls. 10, 30 & 59) to represent the three different stages, we can see that the brushwork develops from unrefined to dry and thin, then to refined, and the composition changes from a monumental design to a more descriptive style, then to a dramatic one (Table 2). The different types of brushwork in different stages of Mei Qing's works can be seen more clearly when we choose the same motif from these three paintings to make a comparison, such as tree, rock or mountain (Table 3). Through the comparison of these three paintings, we can also find that Mei Qing was not interested in repeating a similar composition and brushwork for the same scene. This fact provides us with an essential criterion in telling some forgeries from Mei Qing's genuine works.

(Table 2) Three Compositions of *Hecho Hill Pond*



(Table 3) Brushwork Used for the Tree Motif and Cliff Motif in Three *Echo Hill Pond*

tree motif:

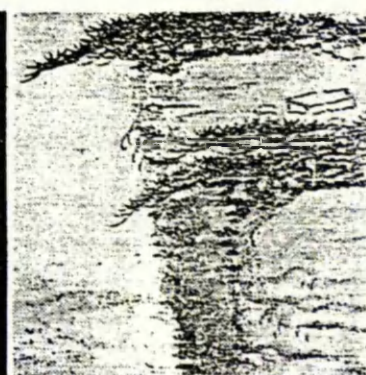
unrefined (1657 album leaf 5)



thin & fine (1680 album leaf 6)



refined (1693 album leaf 3)



cliff motif:

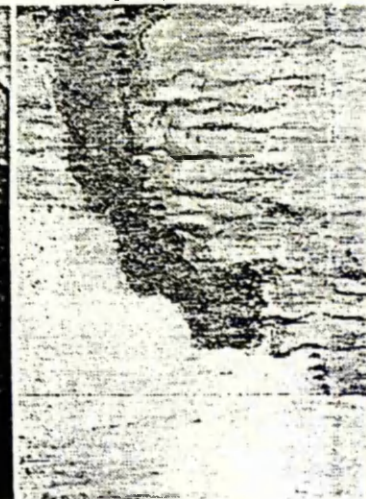
rough (1657 album leaf 5)



detailed (1680 album leaf 6)



simple (1693 album leaf 3)

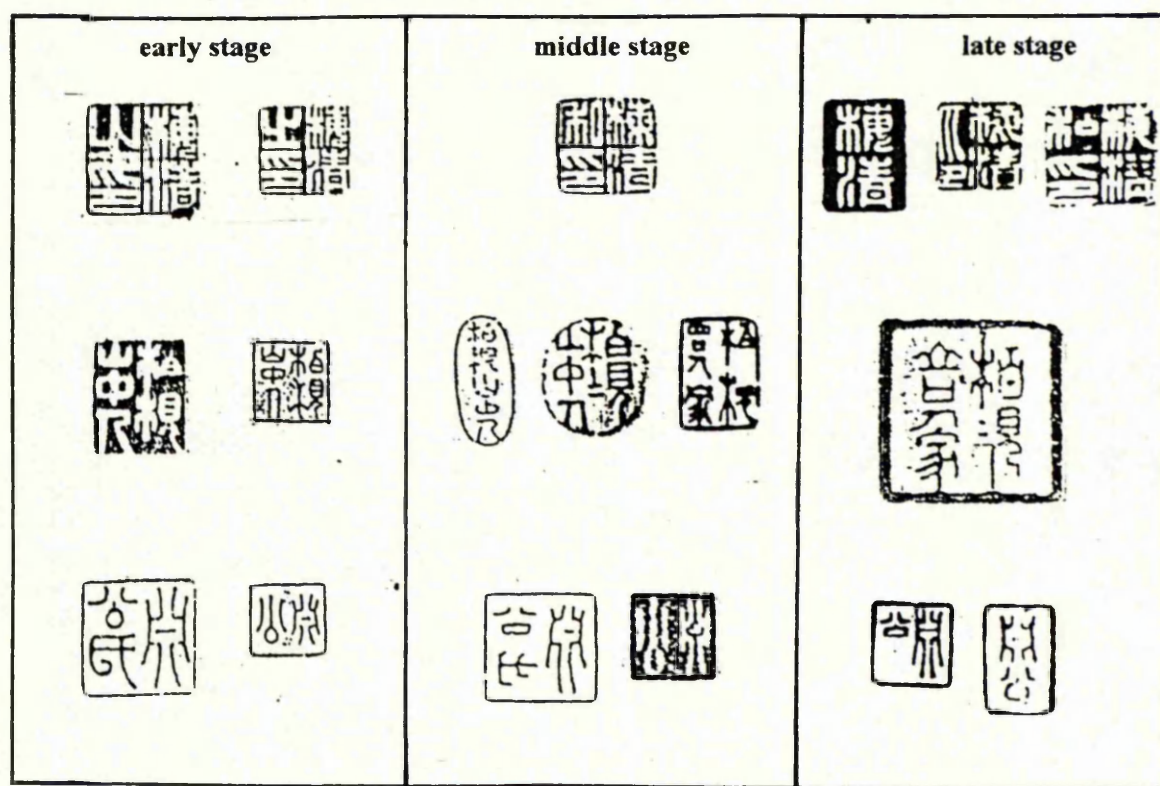


One of the traits of Mei Qing's painting is the seal. Mei Qing liked to impress many different seals on his paintings. For instance, in the 1657 album, there are impressions of twelve different seals in all on the eleven leaves. If he had paid someone to carve seals for him, it would have been unlikely for Mei Qing to have used so many different seals on the paintings, as his family's

financial situation worsened after moving to Xintian in 1649. Either someone carved the seals for him without any charge or for a nominal charge, or he carved the seals by himself. From the documents we can not find any record of anyone having ever carved seals for Mei Qing, though one of his friends, Cheng Sui, was famous for carving seals. However, around 1649, Mei Lei already mentioned that Mei Qing was excellent at carving seals and playing the *qin*;¹¹ therefore, it is possible that Mei Qing carved most, if not all, of his seals by himself, from the time when he was young. Since carving seals is also recognized as an art form by the Chinese, many calligraphers and painters have tried to carve their own seals. In the 1657 album, Mei Qing even stamped two different designs of "Mei Qing zhi yin 梅清之印", "Bojian shanzhongren 柏硯山中人" and "Yuangong 淵公" which indicates that Mei Qing cared deeply about the role of the seal in his painting. If we compare these early seals with those he used in the middle and the late stages (Table 4), we can learn that the style of Mei Qing's seals does not change too much throughout his art career, though the lines of carving seem to develop from rough to loose or fine. As we will see, "antique" is the common quality of Mei Qing's seals. In order to understand the quality and the content of Mei Qing's seals, most of his reliable seals are listed in Appendix III. At present, it is easy to photoengrave seals that can perfectly reproduce the originals, so seals are no longer so important as evidence for judging the authenticity of a painting or a calligraphy, but in fact, seals are still important for dating undated works. For instance, the date of the first usage of a seal is an important evidence for dating an undated works.

¹¹ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, preface by Mei Lei, p. 3.

(Table 4) Three Examples of Mei Qing's Seals Used in Three Stages



In 1661, four years after the Wanling album was painted, Mei Qing chose his own new living place, Pinglü Pavilion 平綠閣 (later named Tianyan Pavilion), as the subject to depict (Pl. 161).¹² Like that of the 1657 album, the brushwork in this painting is still unrefined. The rocks in the lower left corner are rendered with rough strokes and most of the trees and plants are composed by repetitive dark, wet dots, which convey the sense of luxuriant vegetation. Mei Qing portrayed himself in the small pavilion facing a stream called Wan stream. In one of Mei Qing's poems, the Pinglu Pavilion was described as: "In front it is surrounded by Wan Stream, and it is located on the left of Mt. Jingting and Guyi 姑嶧; also next to Mei Yujin's 禹金 (Mei Qing's uncle) Tianyi Pavilion 天逸閣."¹³

¹² This painting seems to have never been published. The reproduction is from the photograph collected at the seminar room of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

¹³ TYGSHS, vol. 5, p. 1.

The inscription on this leaf reads, "It is filled with rain. I sat in the Pinglu Pavilion to write (paint) this painting for Mr. Fuji 孚吉 on the ninth day of the seventh month in the *xinchou* 辛丑 year (1661)." A seal reading "A Yuan 阿淵" which has never been seen in the previous paintings is stamped after the inscription. Just as Mei Qing inscribed, the painting appears to be full of moisture. As we have suggested, Mei Qing usually chose a familiar scene to paint. Two poems written by Mei Qing can prove that he depicted this rainy scene based on his own observations of the scene. First, in 1656, he had written a poem to describe the flood that he saw from his Pinglu Pavilion.¹⁴ Second, in the sixth month of the *dingyou* 丁酉 (1657) year he had sat in Pinglu Pavilion and observed the flood for nearly two months.¹⁵ As he said, Pinglu Pavilion is the highest part wherein he was able to see the terrible power of nature very clearly. With so much observation, it is not surprising that Mei Qing could depict the scene so impressively.

One month later, Mei Qing painted an album entitled *Returning to the Southern Forest House* (*Nangui linwu* 南歸林屋, Pls. 350-356), which consists of seven folding leaves; five vertical compositions of paintings with five poems by others, one horizontal composition of painting and one colophon by Mei Qing himself (Pl. 350). The calligraphy of this colophon is written mainly with running script whose rather fluid brushwork looks completely different from the strokes of both the calligraphy of the 1657 album and the 1661 single leaf, and the next fan painting (Pl. 162), whose brushwork is quite straight and stable. Moreover, these six leaves are carefully rendered with thin, dry and soft strokes, which are again different from the dynamic and unrefined strokes of all the 1649 fan, the 1657 album, the 1661 single leaf and the next fan painting. Although the brushwork of the painting and the calligraphy of this album does not reveal any similarities with Mei Qing's other early paintings, we still can clearly find some connections between this album and Mei Qing's 1649 scroll (Pl. 348), especially the calligraphy. For instance, if we compare the characters "*xi* 溪", "*shan* 山", "*shi* 石", "*ge* 歌", "*tu* 圖" and "*zhi* 之" in the colophon of this album (Pl. 350) with those in the inscription of 1649 scroll (Pl. 349), we will see not only the brushwork

¹⁴ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 9.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 7.

but also the configurations of these characters are so similar to each other. When we further examine this album, we will learn that like the 1661 single leaf, a seal reading "A Yuan 阿淵" also appears in one leaf (Pl. 356). Through a comparison of these two "A Yuan", it is highly likely they are the same. As well as the seal reading "A Yuan", the other seven seals are also found in Mei Qing's other works. From the analysis, we might suggest this album, like the 1649 scroll, is also one of Mei Qing's early works, but with a different style from most of the other early works, because he may well have tried to apply two different styles of painting and calligraphy at that time.

In the following year 1662, Mei Qing visited Jinling (Nanjing), where he met Chen Zhuo 陳焯. Chen Zhuo wrote a poem to Mei Qing: "....I meet Qushan by chance, I am so surprised when he splashes ink. In a short time he can imitate a hundred ancient masters and complete a myriad paintings by dotting and soaking with ink. 邂逅忽睹瞿山面, 瞿山潑墨予益驚, 臨摹百家只頃刻, 點染萬品隨生成"¹⁶ Chen Zhuo pointed out not only Mei Qing's style of painting but also his wide range of learning from ancient masters. As Mei Qing's wide range of learning from different masters, it is not surprising to see more than one style of brushwork was applied by him during this period. Like Mei Lei, Chen Zhuo also mentioned the fact that Mei Qing could complete a painting quickly, which may indicate that Mei Qing mainly painted in an unrestrained manner in his early stage. The fact that Mei Qing painted quickly was known among his friends,¹⁷ and his relaxed spirit appears even stronger in most of his later works.

A year later, in 1663 Mei Qing painted a fan painting entitled *The Clear View of a Mountain Village* (*Shancun qingjing* 山村清景, Pl. 162).¹⁸ The painting reveals many of Mei Qing's stylistic characteristics that are apparent in the 1657 album and the 1661 single leaf, such as the unrefined, dynamic brushwork, and the minimum of texture strokes on the mountains and rocks. Also the

¹⁶ QSSL, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 2.

¹⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 8 & 22.

¹⁸ Shanghai Museum ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Ming Qing zheshan shuhua ji* 上海博物館藏明清摺扇書畫集 (*The Fan Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Collections of Shanghai Museum*) (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983), pl. 112.

handling of dotting is quite similar to that in the 1649 fan painting, but the dots in this painting are no more as static as those on the 1649 painting. The inscription is written in running script with dynamic brushwork, which reads, "In the sixth month of the *guimao* 癸卯 year (1663), I mopped sweat in painting it for Mr. Lü 律."

Chen Zhuo's poem of 1662 also indicates Mei Qing's prolific output of works during his early stage. However, only a few works have survived; therefore, we can only analyse Mei Qing's early style on the basis of these extant paintings and some relevant writings of the artist himself and of his contemporaries. From the previous discussions of Mei Qing's works, several characteristics can be adduced about Mei Qing's early style. First, Mei Qing already showed great interest in depicting the actual topography around his hometown Xuancheng, especially those sites he often visited. He objected to "merely recording the appearance of the sites", and instead of the appearance, he emphasized the "brushwork and ink". Second, when he painted, his spirit was unfettered; therefore, he could paint quickly. Third, his brushwork can be divided into two groups, both of them lacking refinement. He mainly painted in a monumental design with dynamic and unrefined brushstrokes; and sometimes he applied thin, dry and soft brushwork which gradually developed into the thin, dry and delicate brushwork of Mei Qing's middle stage. He did not apply too many texture strokes on the painting, but he liked dotting, especially vertically. Fourth, his calligraphy was written in a standard script mixed with a few seal, clerical and running strokes, and gradually more running strokes appeared. The brushwork of his calligraphy is dynamic but regular, and the configuration is somewhat rectangular. Fifth, he liked to stamp many different seals on his paintings, most of which were probably carved by himself. Finally, he was already familiar with the different styles of ancient masters.

2. The Middle Stage (the mid-1660s to the mid-1680s)

The quality of dynamic and unrefined brushwork which characterizes most of Mei Qing's early works can no longer be seen in his works after the mid-1660s. For instance, in his earliest extant pine

painting, dated 1667 and entitled *Two Verdant Pines* (*Shuangsong bingmao* 雙松並茂 Pl. 22), two tall and unusually-shaped pine trees are carefully rendered in the centre, almost from the bottom to the top of the painting, with discontinuous contour lines, fine needle-shaped leaves, and oval-shaped texture strokes on the trunks. Mei Qing applied slightly darker ink for some pine leaves to create an impression of depth. The brushwork of this painting is thin and dry which is quite different from the dynamic and unrefined strokes of most of the paintings from the early period. The dots are no longer so rough and dynamic as those on the 1657 album, 1661 single leaf and 1663 fan painting. Mei Qing was famous not only for his renditions of actual sites, but also for the depictions of pine trees. He often described pine trees in his poems and paintings.¹⁹ Unfortunately, only a few pine paintings by him have survived. In one of his poems dated 1665, Mei Qing wrote: "I painted pine trees ten *zhang* (about thirty metres) in height; it is a pity that the paper was so small that my brush could not move freely. 我寫長松堪十丈,但憾幅短毫難放."²⁰

The fine needle-shaped leaves and dry brushwork can also be found in another hanging scroll entitled *Boating on the Blue Stream* (Pl. 23). Mei Qing often gathered his friends and relatives to visit Echo Hill Pond (or Blue Stream), in Xuancheng, and this hanging scroll described one of these events.²¹ A huge pine-topped rectilinear cliff is rendered in the centre, and beneath it a boat with five men and two servants is passing by. There are five inscriptions at the top of the painting, from right to left by Shi Runzhang, Shen Bi, Mei Juan, Mei Geng, and Mei Qing, all of whom were Mei Qing's friends and relatives who described the scenery and their own moods about the visit. Shi Runzhang's inscription reads:

¹⁹ For Mei Qing's poems written before 1670 mentioning the pines, see *TYGSHS*, vol. 4, pp. 6 & 12. For the basic information of the other pine paintings by Mei Qing, see Appendix IV: The List of Mei Qing's Paintings.

²⁰ *QSSL*, vol. 10, p. 2.

²¹ *TYGSHS*, vol. 2, pp. 12-13; see also *QSSL*, vol. 13, pp. 8 & 12 and "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 1, p. 14.

There are Xiangshan pines on the Blue Stream which is located in the south of our county. It is said this is the place where immortal Du Ziming 杜子明 went fishing for the white dragon and Li Bai 李白 (701-762) loved to visit and chant poems. You sir, have come and Qushan gathers the others to boat all day here; Qushan paints and the others write poems for this event....On the sixth day of the fourth month in the *guichou* 癸丑 year (1673), your junior classmate, Shi Runzhang.

Shi Runzhang inscribed and dated this painting in the fourth month of 1673. Mei Qing's poem on the painting, however, had already been composed some time before. With another poem, it described a similar expedition with his friends and relatives, Wang Ehuai 王莪懷, Zhang Youyan 張又嚴, Shi Yushan, Xu Zirou 許子柔, Shan Fangye (Shan Bi), Tongyiai (Mei Juan), Ouchang (Mei Geng), in a boat on the Blue Stream. The two poems were edited in the thirteenth volume of *Qushan shilue*, for which Mei Qing wrote a short introduction dating the volume before the mid autumn of 1671 (preface for this volume written by Xu Huamin 徐化民 was dated in September 1672).

Shi Runzhang's poem can be found in his poetry collection, *Yushanxiansheng shiji* 愚山先生詩集.²² Under the title of the poem, *Visiting Echo Hill Pond: Got the Character Xie* 斜, Shi added "Mei Qushan and Tongai invited Wang Ehuai, Shen Bi and Mei Yuchang." Shi did not date this poem, but according to his chronology,²³ this poem was written around the time that he dated the inscription of this hanging scroll. The three other poems separately inscribed on this painting by Shen Bi, Mei Juan and Mei Geng are undated, though both Mei Juan's and Mei Geng's poems can be found in the gazetteer of Xuancheng.²⁴ Thus, Mei Qing with his friends and relatives visited Echo Hill Pond in 1671 or earlier and wrote two poems about it. Two years later, in 1673, when he again invited his friends for an expedition, Mei Qing painted the scene and inscribed one of the two poems on it, which he had written in 1671.

If we compare this painting with one leaf from the 1657 album which depicts the same scene of Echo Hill Pond (Pl. 10), the most striking difference between them is the brushstrokes. For instance, the cliffs in this painting are no longer composed of rough and disorderly strokes like

²² Shi Runzhang, *Yushan xiansheng shiji*, vol. 30, p. 3. In *Shi Yushan xiansheng quanji*.

²³ Shi Runzhang, *Yushan xiansheng nianpu*. In *Shi Yushan xiansheng quanji*.

²⁴ *Xuancheng xianzhi*, vol. 33, pp. 40 & 44.

those in the 1657 album, but piled-up rectilinear and thin, dry strokes. The tree at the top of rocks is also clearly formed by fine needle-shaped leaves, not just rough and disorderly dots like those in the 1657 album.

The thin and dry strokes can also be seen in another handscroll entitled *The Garden of Tranquillity* (*Danyuan tu* 澹園圖, Pl. 163). This was painted in the third month of the *yimao* 乙卯 (1675) year, when Mei Qing and Mei Geng were invited to Kunshan 崑山 (in Jiangsu province) by their friend Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 to commemorate the completion of his new garden. The first half of the scroll is the painting, and the second half is a long colophon by Mei Qing, describing the scenery of the garden and the occasion. Two main groups of rectangular-shaped rocks that are in the style of Ni Zan, run parallel with each other to balance the whole scene. A band of mist separating the foreground from Kunshan in the background creates the feeling of remoteness and quietness.

Two months later, Mei Qing painted a hanging scroll entitled *The Cliff and Pine* (Pl. 166)²⁵ for the contemporary Jiangsu painter Gao Jian 高簡 (1634-1707). The brushwork is thin, dry, and fine, and dark horizontal dots are spread on the rocks, cliffs, pines and mountains. Instead of the dry linear textural strokes and angular lines which frequently appear in the previous two paintings, Mei Qing applied drier and lighter touches of ink on the huge cliff, distant mountains and rocks in the foreground. Mei Qing shared with other Anhui painters a number of characteristics of style such as the dry stroke, dry contour, and a minimum of texture-stroke, which often appear in his paintings from the middle 1660s. This style of brushwork may be the outcome of Mei Qing's involvement in the circle of contemporary Anhui painters during the 1660s and 1670s.

In 1678, after Mei Qing came back from his first trip to Mt. Huang, he painted several scenes of Mt. Huang for Deng Xing 鄧性 (Tianwei 天謂), the magistrate of Xuancheng.²⁶ Unfortunately, none of these paintings have survived. A year later Mei Qing painted an important album for Deng Xing again, entitled *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. According to the Chinese

²⁵ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1, The Capital Museum, no. 383.

²⁶ *QSSL*, vol. 20, preface by Deng Xing.

calendar, this album was begun at the latest from the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the *jiwei* 己未 year (1679) and was completed three days before the end of the year (January 28, 1680); in total it took more than five months for Mei Qing to complete this album. Apart from the twenty-four renditions of different sites around Xuancheng, it also contains two leaves of colophons: one written by Mei Qing in 1680, and the other by a later collector who called himself Xiyuan zhuren 西園主人 (perhaps I Chih 奕誌, a son of the Daoguang emperor) in 1862; besides, a colophon written on a separate piece of paper by a recent owner, Li Guochao 李國超, dated 1935, has not been mounted together. The album has been separated into two parts: one part has sixteen leaves, and the other has eight leaves with two leaves of colophons.

The occasion for painting the album was described in detail in the colophon by Mei Qing (Pl. 39). As Mei Qing loved nature very much, he also admired those scholars who appreciated nature. Among them, he chose Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) as Confucian scholar models to praise:

I have heard that both Mr. Ouyang [Xiu, 1007-1072] and Su Wenzhong [Su Shi] were geniuses of their time, and were dedicated to the welfare of the people. Their hearts were unmoved by the things of this world which most people find desirable. It was only in climbing the heights and viewing the beauties of nature that they found unforgettable pleasure. Does it not seem as if there was some inner connection between nature and them? For in nature they found a means of expression. The limpidity of the water was like their own purity; the loftiness of the mountains was like their own nobility. The void and brightness, the thousands of cyclic transformations and the numerous strange manifestations of nature were like the vastness of their own knowledge and intellect. Thus it was not without reason that they derived sudden inspiration from scenes that happened to strike their eyes, and felt a sense of joyful enlightenment in their love for nature.²⁷

While praising Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi, Mei Qing unintentionally revealed his spirit or inner world that was in harmony with the mountains and streams. As Deng Xing was retiring and leaving Xuancheng to look after his ageing parents, one day he gave Mei Qing an album (with blank pages), and said, "The scenery of Xuancheng I shall never forget. Please paint some of its scenes in this

²⁷ Translation adapted from Chu-tsing Li, see *Thousand*, pp. 186-187.

album for me, so that I can revisit them while lying in bed, like Shaowen 少文 (Zong Bing 宗炳, 375-443)."²⁸

Mei Qing continued to discuss why and how he painted this album:

I feel that the Magistrate's beneficence is all-encompassing--not only the citizens, but each river, each plant, and each rock of the region has benefited from it. I have painted these pictures to thank him, in the spirit of the ancient poet of the *National Airs* who composed the ode, *Sweet Pear Tree*. As for those things which cannot be depicted visually on an album leaf, such as the historical vicissitudes of place-names, the comings and goings of immortals among the clouds, and the poems which have been written by visitors, I have given summary accounts of these matters in inscriptions on the paintings.²⁹

After completing the album, Mei Qing hoped Deng Xing would inscribe poems on each of these paintings, so that the beautiful places of the district would be immortalized like those of the Chu 滁 district by Ouyang and the Huang 黃 district by Wenzhong.³⁰ Although Deng Xing did not write any poems on this album, this album has been passed down for several generations, and is generally regarded as the best work of Mei Qing's middle stage.

This famous album was recorded for the first time in 1894 in *Ouboluoshi shuhua guomu kao* 歐羅室書畫過目考 by Li Yufen 李玉葵 under the title *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng* (*Xuancheng ershi jing* 宣城二十四景).³¹ Both parts of the album have identical title leaves written by Wang Gong 王恭, a native of Xiuning, Anhui, in the Qianlong period (1736-1795),³² which suggests that the twenty-four-leaf original was separated into two albums at that time, if not

²⁸ It is recorded in Mei Qing's colophon in this album.

²⁹ Translation adapted from Chu-tsing Li, see *Thousand*, p.187.

³⁰ Ouyang Xiu once served as Governor of Chu prefecture in Anhui province. In a famous prose piece, he praised the natural beauty of the area. This essay is the subject of the sixth leaf of Jin Nong's album in the Drenowatz Collection and is translated in the text below. See Catalogue No. 51 below. Su Shi once served as magistrate of the Huang district in Hubei province, now known as Huanggang. The beauties of the district were extolled in numerous poems and prose pieces by Su. A famous essay on this district by an early Song writer, Wang Yucheng, is the subject of the fourth leaf of Jin Nong's album mentioned in the last note. Quoted from Chu-tsing Li, *Thousand*, p. 187, notes 3 & 4.

³¹ This title is used in this study, which is entitled *The Magnificent Views of Hsuan-ch'eng* in Chu-tsing Li's *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* and entitled *Famous Views of Hsuan-ch'eng* in Wai-kam Ho ed., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636*. See Li Yufen 李玉葵, *Ouboluoshi shuhua guomu kao* 歐羅室書畫過目考, vol. 2, p. 97. In Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Deng Shi 鄧實, eds., *Meishu congshu* 美術叢書: vol. 5, no. 9 (Taipei: Yiwen yenshu, n.d.).

³² *Thousand*, p. 198.

earlier. After examining the two separate albums, there is no doubt that these two parts originally belonged to the same set and that they have been kept together, as the texture of the paper is exactly the same and some of the collectors' seals are the same. For instance, the latest colophon dated 1935 is by a native of Hefei, Anhui, Li Guochao, four of whose seals, "Xiaohuachanshi 小畫禪室", "Shichan shending zhenji 石禪審定真跡", "Dinghou 定侯", and "Hefei Lishi xiaohuachanshi zhencang 合肥李氏小畫禪室珍藏" can be found on many leaves of both albums. The most convincing fact to prove that they belong to the same set is the consistency of spirit and brushwork between the two albums.

From the seals of collectors, we know that the album consisting of sixteen leaves passed through the hands of many recent Hong Kong collectors before being collected by the Rietberg Museum, and it has been recorded by two modern collectors, Zhu Xingzhai 朱省齋 (mid-20th century) and Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (J. D. Chen, mid-20th century).³³ The eight-leaf album, however, only has the seals of five collectors, two of which belonging to Zhou Shouchang 周壽昌 and Yan Yanjun 燕延駿, are also found on the sixteen-leaf album. Another one seal, reading "Xiaomei 小梅", is unidentified. A colophon dated 1862 was added by someone signing himself as Xiyuan zhuren (Pl. 40) in the eight-leaf album; he records an important pine painting painted by Mei Qing in 1677:

...I once saw a painting by him (Mei Qing), entitled *Ten Thousand Pines*, a work painted in the year *dingsi*, the sixteenth year of the Kangxi reign (1677), to commemorate the sixtieth birthday of [Shi] Yushan. All the inscriptions and colophons on this scroll were written by great men of the time. Mei himself wrote a five-character ancient style poem on it. The antique elegance of the poem and the richness of the calligraphy are precisely the same as in the present scroll. The painting later passed into the hands of Mr. Zhu, who had a reduced copy of it made, and printed and published it together with the poems which his friends wrote for it. As the present album, it is a rare treasure indeed.³⁴

³³ Zhu Xingzhai 朱省齋, *Yiyuan tanwang 藝苑談往* (Hong Kong: Shanghai shuju, 1964), pp. 291-294; and Chen Rentao 陳仁濤, *Jinkui canghua pingshi 金匱藏畫評釋* (Hong Kong: Taipingyang tushu, 1956), pp. 219-222.

³⁴ Translation adapted from Chu-ting Li, see *Thousand*, pp. 198-199.

Unfortunately, neither this pine painting by Mei Qing nor the copy by Mr. Zhu can be found.³⁵

It is clear that, for the reasons mentioned in Mei Qing's inscription, the album was executed with a certain degree of realism. All the scenes were based on actual sites, for example, as Mei Qing wrote on the leaf entitled *Waterside Pavilion* (Pl. 27):

Waterside Pavilion, built during the Kaiyuan period (713-756), served as a lecture hall for the Prefect, Luo Jinxi (1515-1588). It is the place where Du Ziwei (Du Fu) of the Tang Dynasty once wrote poems...I have painted here what I saw of the place during my visit there. I cannot hope to show what it looked like in the old days.³⁶

Mei Qing had long been familiar with Xuancheng (formerly Wanling), his home town. In 1657, twenty-two years earlier than the present album was painted, Mei Qing had chosen to depict ten famous sites of the district. Seven sites of the 1657 album appear again in the present album, but the compositions and brushwork are totally different. For instance, Waterside Pavilion in the 1657 album (Pl. 15) is depicted through a simple composition, but in the present album (Pl. 27) the composition is quite elaborate. Five different kinds of trees in the lower right corner and seven kinds in the background are carefully arranged in this leaf, but only willows are roughly depicted in the 1657 album. The brushwork is unrefined in the 1657 album, but thin and fine in the present album. By the time Mei Qing painted this scene during 1679-1680 he must have greatly increased his ability to describe nature in detail as compared with twenty-two years earlier.

A more interesting comparison can be made between depictions of Mt. Bojian in the 1657 and the present albums. While the flying bridge on Mt. Bojian was the main subject of a leaf from the 1657 album (Pl. 12), Mei Qing extended the composition to a broad panorama in the present album and wrote a long inscription (Pl. 31):

In Mt. Bojian, a thousand cliffs twist and turn, with two streams flowing among them. At the Mountain Pass there is a high-arching bridge. The Prefect Luo Jinxi inscribed the words 'Arching Rainbow' here, thus making the spot even more

³⁵ Chu-tsing Li misunderstood the meaning of the text, thinking that it was the present album, not the pine painting, that was once collected by Mr. Zhu, so he said, "there is no seal of this Mr. Zhu in either section [of the album]. See *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

³⁶ Translation adapted from Chu-tsing Li, *Ibid.*, p. 189.

famous. I have painted this picture in the style of *The Road to Shu* by Wen Yuke (Wen Tong 1019-1079) hoping to reproduce their craggy appearance.

Bojianshan zhuren (the master of Mt. Bojian).³⁷

In this painting Mei Qing emphasized the texture strokes which model the cliff's facade. Mei Qing employed at least three methods to depict the mountain's craggy appearance: first, washing the paper with different shades; second, drawing the texture with light, dry, linear strokes; thirdly, using darker dry strokes for emphasis. Mei Qing imitated the brushwork of *The Road to Shu* by Wen Tong to suit the craggy appearance of the actual scenery at Mt. Bojian. The thin, angular and numerous texture strokes create a rhythmic movement among the cliffs. Living at Xintian near the foot of the mountain, Mei Qing had a great attachment to Mt. Bojian, as evidenced by his self-inscription on this leaf as the "master of Mt. Bojian" and two other seals of his on this leaf which read "Bojian shanzhongren 柏觀山中人" (The man living in Mt. Bojian) and "Bojian Guyun 柏觀孤雲" (The lonely cloud in Mt. Bojian).

By the time Mei Qing painted this album, he was not only good at handling the different levels of ink, but also a variety of colours. For instance, in the leaf entitled *West Moat* (Pl. 35), the tone of the colours is light and elegant, especially the leaves of the trees whose colours are so harmonious. The elegance and harmony of the colours can only be seen and felt from the original painting. The light and elegant combination of colours can also be found in the other leaves, such as the two leaves entitled *Yellow Valley* (Pl. 32) and *The Plum Viewing Pavilion* (Pl. 33).

Mei Qing chose two of his residences in Xuancheng to be included in the album, Lumo River (Pl. 34) and Yellow Pond (Pl. 28). Mei Qing's inscription on the Yellow Pond reads:

Yellow Pond, also known as Jade Stream (located about 100 km northwest of Xuancheng), borders on Gushu (the present Dangtu), and is a truly large village. The smoke from the homes and the moon over the river make the place picturesque both in the morning and in the evening. I often travelled by boat to this spot; enjoying the sights and chanting poems, I found it difficult to leave. This picture of Yellow Pond is based on the painting, *Misty Willows on the River at Evening* by Guo Heyang (Guo Xi).³⁸

³⁷ Translation adapted from Chu-tsing Li, *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³⁸ Translation adapted from Chu-tsing Li, *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Guo Xi's *Misty Willows on the River at Evening* is unknown today and so cannot provide us any basis for comparison; however, it might be possible that Mei Qing had seen the painting by Guo Xi though, like the one by Wen Tong, it is neither extant nor recorded. Guo Xi is noted for his mist and clouds in panoramic landscape scenes. While Mei Qing depicted the willows around the Yellow Pond, he may have thought about or even looked at *Misty Willows on the River at Evening* by Guo Xi, but he did not closely copy its appearance. Although the willows and the close view of this work does not much resemble the style of Guo Xi, this is neither because of "Mei Qing's imperfect knowledge of early Chinese painting", nor because it "is a smoke-screen designed to conceal his interest in realistic depiction" as Chu-tsing Li has suggested.³⁹ Rather it is because Mei Qing did not follow the old masters as closely as did most of the orthodox school painters who claimed to emulate the old masters to get themselves some credibility or legitimacy. Therefore, it would be rather difficult to pinpoint the resemblance between this painting and those usually attributed to Guo Xi.

As well as this leaf, there are some other leaves in the album indicating the styles of ancient masters, and in these too the connections to the ancient masters are rather vague. The album is the first extant work of the artist involving the manners of several ancient masters, including Jing Hao (act. late 9th-early 10th centuries) and Guan Tong (act. early 10th century), Dong Yuan (act. 10th century), Li Cheng (act. 10th century), Guo Xi (act. 10th century), Xu Xi (act. 10th century), Fan Kuan (960-1030), Mi Fu (1051-1107) and Ni Zan (1301-1374), Yang Wanli (1127-1206), Liu Songnian (ca. 1150-after 1225), and Dai Jin (1388-1462). Mei Qing's choice reveals a wide range of taste, but most of the masters are literati or monumental landscape painters. As Mei Qing himself was a poet, preference for the styles of the literati got stronger in his later works. In the present album, Mei Qing's renditions of the Xuancheng sites bear little resemblance to what are indicated to be the styles of the above old masters, and this is probably because Mei Qing only sought to include some elements of their styles in order to emphasize his topographic depictions.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 190.

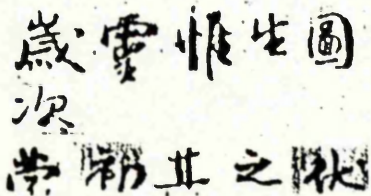
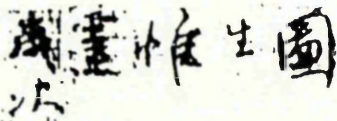

The album reveals Mei Qing's great ability to render the actual scenes and to handle various brushstrokes, washes, and colours. The brushwork ranges from thin and dry with delicate washes to slightly sketchy with wet washes, but Mei Qing still shows his preference for thin and dry brushstrokes in most of the leaves. For instance, the willows depicted in the leaf *Yellow Pond* (Pl. 28) are slightly sketchy, but the trees in the leaves *Waterside Pavilion* (Pl. 27), *Echo Hill Pond* (Pl. 30), *Mt. Bojian* (Pl. 31), and *Western Moat* (Pl. 35) are mostly rendered with thin and dry strokes. Texture strokes, which are seldom applied in the works painted earlier than this, are applied in some leaves of this album. The main texture stroke applied in this album is an angular stroke, which appears in many leaves, such as *Mt. Bojian* (Pl. 31), *Yellow Valley* (Pl. 32) and *Plum Viewing Pavilion* (Pl. 33).

Apart from the variety of brushwork, the compositions of this album also range from the detailed to the simple and dramatic. For instance, the compositions are rather detailed in the leaves entitled *Mt. Bojian* (Pl. 31) and *Mt. Magu* (Pl. 37), but the leaf entitled *East River* (Pl. 38) is simple, and the one entitled *South Lake* (Pl. 36) is not only simple but also dramatic. Most of the leaves are rendered in a rather descriptive and detailed manner if compared with those works of the early or late stages. Moreover, Mei Qing stamped at least two seals on each leaf. A total of sixty-seven seals are used by him in the album, which indicates Mei Qing's own preference for this work.

The method in which Mei Qing handles the brush whilst writing is clearly revealed in this album; almost every inscription is written with the central stroke (*zhongfeng* 中鋒) whereby the tip of the brush is always in the centre of the stroke. Most of the inscriptions are written either with standard script or with running script. Some characters are written with slightly fluctuating strokes in cursive script. Each calligraphy in this album show the two main characteristics of the majority of Mei Qing's works in the middle and the late periods, which are the slightly fluctuating strokes in running script and the slightly broad configuration of the characters in both standard and running scripts. No writings or calligraphies by Mei Qing himself indicate the sources of his calligraphy, but as we have mentioned, his friend Song Shiying noted around 1675, "the models of Yuangong's calligraphy are Yan Lugong (Zhenqing 顏真卿, 709-785) and Yang Shaoshi (Ningshi 楊凝式, 873-

954)" If we compare Mei Qing's colophon of this album (Pl. 39) with Yan Zhenqing's *A Funeral Essay In Memory of a Nephew* 祭姪文稿 (Pl. 164)⁴⁰ and Yang Ningshi's *Jiuhua Tie* 韭花帖 (Pl. 165),⁴¹ we still can see the similarities between Mei Qing's and Yan Zhenqing's or Yang Ningshi's calligraphies are the broad configuration and fluctuating strokes, though Mei Qing did not follow Yan's or Yang's style too closely, and instead, he completely transformed their styles to his own individual style. The similarities between Mei Qing's calligraphy and Yan Zhenqing's or Yang Ningshi's can be seen more clearly when we compare some same characters from their works (Table 5).

(Table 5): Some Same Characters from Mei Qing's Colophon of the 1680 album, Yan Zhenqing's *A Funeral Essay in Memory of a Nephew* and Yang Ningshi's *Jiuhua Tie*

Mei Qing's 1680 album: colophon	Yan Zhenqing's <i>A Funeral Essay</i>	Yang Ningshi's <i>Jiuhua Tie</i>
		

The thin, dry and fine strokes of the 1670s works continue to appear in most of Mei Qing's works from the early 1680s, while the broad and sketchy brushwork is also applied in a few works of the same period. The broad and sketchy strokes with simple composition can be found in a fan painting dated 1680, which depicts a tawny daylily (Pl. 167).⁴² This fan painting was painted for Mr. Song 松. A tawny daylily and two long leaves are simply rendered on the left to balance the

⁴⁰ Dated 758, see ZGMSQJ, Shufa zhuanke 3, Pl. 69.

⁴¹ Undated, see Ibid., Pl. 93.

⁴² *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 18 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubianshe, 1982), p. 13; and ZGMSQJ, Huihua pian 9, Pl. 96.

two lines of inscription on the right, and some small rocks with bamboo are freely sketched in the foreground. This is one of the few flower paintings by Mei Qing which has survived. According to the writings of Mei Qing himself and those of his friends, we learn that he liked to depict plum blossoms, and in 1679 he painted a plum blossom for Gao Ruanhuai 高阮懷 at the studio of Shi Runzhang.⁴³ Only two plum blossom paintings have survived; they are discussed later with Mei Qing's late works.

During the early 1680s, Mei Qing mainly painted in a detailed and descriptive manner and in the tall vertical format. For instance, there are three tall hanging scrolls all dated in 1683, all now located in the Shanghai Museum. One of them, entitled *Mt. Jingting after Rain*, was painted for Old Lang 閻 (Pl. 168).⁴⁴ The whole painting is covered with fine washes that evoke the moist atmosphere of the scene. The foreground, middle ground and distant mountains are linked naturally by mist. The precipitous mountain is depicted in the top centre, attracting the viewer's attention. Apart from the rocks in the foreground which are depicted with broader, dynamic, and sketchy strokes, the pine trees, temples, and mountains are all rendered with thin and fine strokes.

The fine brushwork and the "deep distance" view of the composition can also be seen in another 1683 hanging scroll, entitled *Looking at the Mountain while Leaves are Falling* (Pl. 169).⁴⁵ Mei Qing inscribed a poem to describe his mood while he viewed the scene, "It is suitable to watch the mountain while the sky is clear and trees are leafless; With books in my hands, I walk to and fro alone and chant for a long time...." Like the previous painting, the scene is depicted in a descriptive, detailed and logical manner. For instance, in order to create the impression of depth, the trees in the foreground are depicted taller than those in the middle ground, and those in the middle ground taller than those in the distance. Also the mist represented by the blank paper links the different levels of spaces naturally. It is obvious that Mei Qing paid much more attention to perspective and logical description when he dealt with large-scale paintings. It is also possible that

⁴³ Shi Yushan, *Yushan xiansheng shiji*, vol. 23, p. 7; *Xuancheng xianzhi*, vol. 33, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁴ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, Shanghai Museum, no. 2671.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 2699.

Mei Qing chose the larger format because he was particularly interested in perspective and logical description at that time.

The thin and fine brushwork started to appear on Mei Qing's paintings from the middle 1660s, and continued to be developed throughout his life. After the middle 1680s, the brushwork developed to be more refined, and simultaneously more sketchy and loose strokes appeared. Mei Qing's interest in the rendition of actual scenes occupied his whole painting career. During his late period, Mt. Huang became his main subject, and the composition of his paintings tended to be simple or dramatic, not as descriptive as most of the works in the middle stage. In addition to the depictions of Mt. Huang, the emulation of the styles of ancient masters is the other main feature of Mei Qing's late works.

3. The Late Stage: (the mid-1680s to 1696)

As we have discussed, Mei Qing finally gave up attending the *jinshi* examination after his last attempt in the spring of 1685. Without the pressures of the examination, Mei Qing's mood probably lightened, and this was reflected in both his paintings and poems. Although we cannot see any sudden increase in the output of his works after this date, the style of his painting changed around the middle 1680s. For instance, in a pine and rock painting dated in the fifth month of 1685 (Pl. 170),⁴⁶ the brushwork is loose and the composition is simple, quite different from the descriptive style of most works in the middle stage. In the inscription, Mei Qing wrote, "Once I painted a painting of pine and rock for my nephew, Dingjiu 定九 (Mei Wending), but I was not satisfied with it. I paint it again to make up for the shortcomings of that painting. It is the same when I shall see this painting later on, I will not be satisfied with it." Mei Qing did not mention when he painted the former pine and rock painting, but obviously, while he was more satisfied with

⁴⁶ It is a hanging scroll. Whereabouts unknown. The reproduction of the painting is a photocopy taken from the seminar room of the Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University.

this painting than with the earlier one, he was confident that he would paint still better in the future.

In comparing this painting with a slightly earlier painting dated in 1683 with the same theme (Pl. 171),⁴⁷ we can find that apart from the description of the pine needles being similar, there are many differences. The form of trunk is curly and detailed in the 1683 scroll, extending from the bottom of the paper to the top, but it is straight and simple in the 1685 hanging scroll. Further, the rock in the 1683 scroll, partly covered with snow, is depicted with angular formation, whereas that in the 1685 scroll is rendered in a plain manner. Finally, the brushwork is fine in the 1683 scroll, but it is sketchy in the 1685 scroll. On the whole, the 1683 scroll looks fine and complicated, with dynamic movement and tension, but the 1685 scroll has an air of simplicity and plainness.

Mei Qing's writings also indicate a mood change around the mid-1680s. For instance, in 1684 he entitled all the poems he wrote during the year as "Songs of Wandering 漫歌", and he wrote:

I, Old Qu, cannot achieve my ambition and so I sing [instead]. What I sing is beyond rules and conventions, so I name it "wandering". The reason why I did not entitle those poems written before this [year] as "wandering", is that I tried to be elaborate during my early age. Now I am old, and I don't have such an idea [to be elaborate]. What I want to do is what I like.

老瞿不得志，故歌，歌而自放于世法之外，故謂之漫，顧前此何以不漫？
蚤年耽詠，未免求工，晚節無心，唯期自適⁴⁸

Mei Qing's poems gradually changed from an elaborate to a relaxed manner, and his painting reflected a similar spirit. What Mei Qing wanted to do was to express himself freely, beyond rules and conventions. As we shall see, Mei Qing tended to exaggerate the forms or to eliminate elements from his painting during his last few years. The older he was, the looser and crazier his spirit was, which was reflected in all his paintings, poems and seals. In 1688, he entitled a collection of those poems he wrote during the year as "The Collection of the Old Madman 老狂集", and he wrote a preface for it:

⁴⁷ ZGGDSHTM, vol. 4, no. 2670.

⁴⁸ QSSL, vol. 24, preface by Mei Qing.

When I was young, I was lazy but not crazy. I am not good at drinking, but I like to drink excessively. Whenever I am angry, I always drink to be almost crazy. Recently, after drinking, I can not help singing loudly, laughing, and shouting. Like Old Du (Du Fu), I am laughing at myself: "the older, the crazier".

予少時疏懶，狂則未也，生平不能飲，而有強酒之癖，每每骯髒不平，輒以酒澆之，幾於狂矣，邇年以來，醉後高歌，嬉笑怒罵，愈不能禁，老杜云：自笑狂夫老更狂，予亦云然⁴⁹

In a line from a poem Mei Qing wrote in the same year, he said, "I am old and I paint very ridiculously 老來作畫太荒唐."⁵⁰ His unrestrained spirit was also shown in some of his seals used on later works, such as those reading "Laogengkuang 老更狂" (The older, the crazier), "Wofa 我法" ([Using] my own method), and "Gukuang 古狂" (The old madman).

The exaggerated form clearly appears in a large hanging scroll entitled *Studying in the Mountain Studio*, dated in 1687 in the style of Wu Zhen (Pl. 172).⁵¹ The painting does not completely depict an actual point of view. In the top half of the picture, the description is full of exaggerations. Some trees are hanging upside-down from the seemingly floating triangular cliff in the top left corner, and a waterfall is falling dramatically over the cliff. The distant blurred sharp peaks are rendered in a diagonal direction which is parallel with the fantastic cliff. On the contrary, the low half part is depicted as an actual scene surrounding a studio. The brushwork in this painting is meticulous.

However, despite paintings like the one just described, Mei Qing's interest in depicting actual scenes still remained until the last period. In 1690, before his second trip to Mt. Huang, he visited Yan Stream 嚴溪 and stayed at Hengchuan Pavilion 橫川閣 for twelve days (Pl. 173).⁵² Feeling sorry to leave, he depicted the scene in a horizontal format with delicate but loose brushwork. In the inscription he described his feeling about this painting as quiet and lonely. Two bridges seem to separate the scenes into three parts: the first part describes a man passing along a path on his way to visit friends; the second part portrays a scholar studying in the studio located on the shore; the third part depicts remote and huge cliffs with a temple and a hut. The studio may be the Hengchuan

⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 28, preface by Mei Qing.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

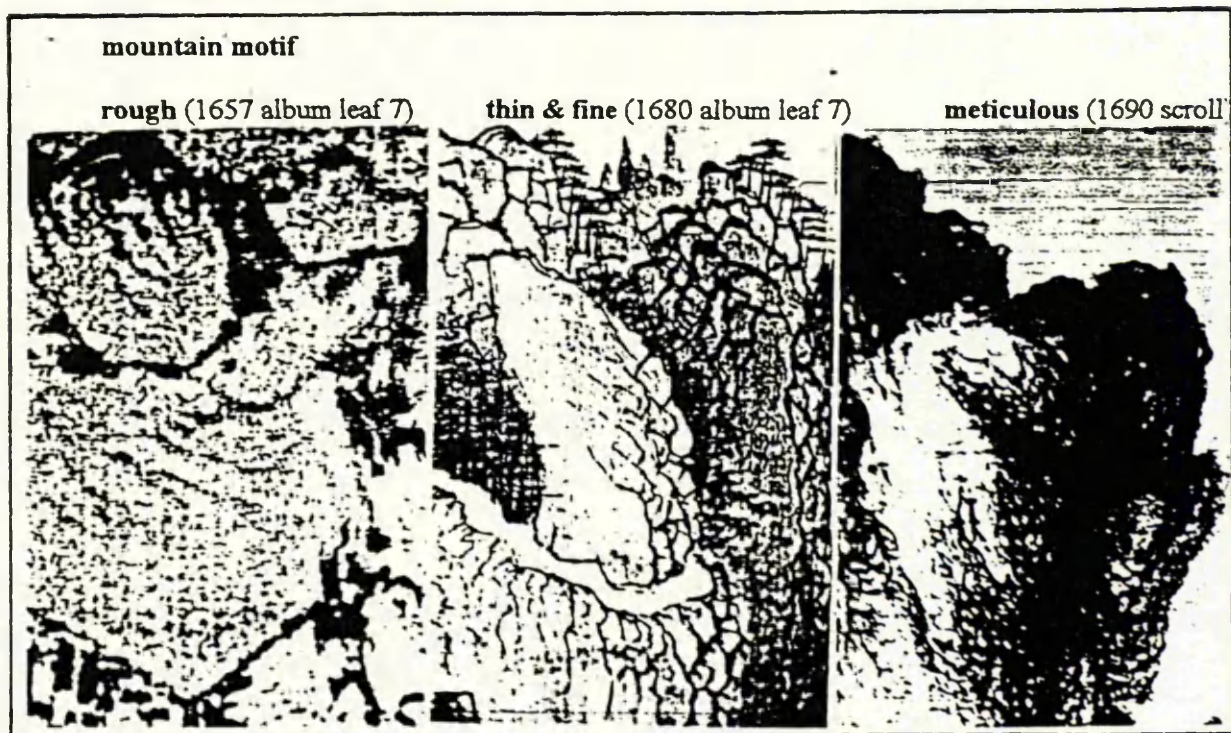
⁵¹ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2672.

⁵² Ibid., vol. 4, no. 2674.

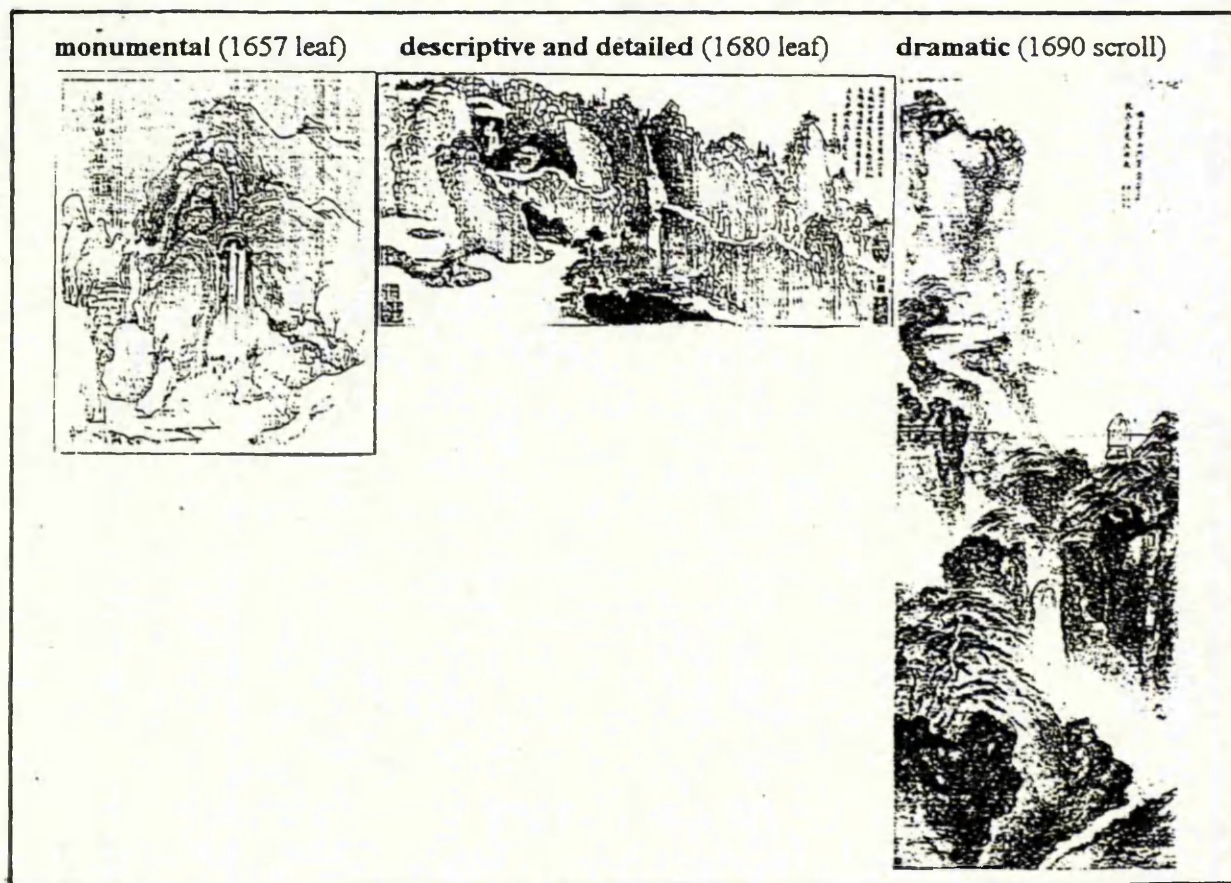
Pavilion at which Mei Qing stayed. In order to create the atmosphere of moisture, Mei Qing applied many loose, wet strokes and dots, and also used wet washes over almost all of the painting.

In the same year, Mei Qing painted an enormous hanging scroll, 345 x 127 cm., in the manner of Wang Meng for Wang Shizhen (Pl. 102). The brushwork is refined and meticulous, apparently a transformation of Wang Meng's "unravelling rope" and "ox hair" texture strokes, but much more curly than those of Wang Meng. This kind of curly and unravelled rope stroke became one of Mei Qing's favourite strokes, and often appears in his late works. The formations of peaks, rocks and pine trees are all rendered in a dramatic and exaggerated manner. Although the inscription does not mention the location of the scene, it is easily recognizable if compared with Mei Qing's other works describing Mt. Bojian. At least three other works depict the same scene: a leaf from the 1657 album (Pl. 12), a leaf from the 1680 album (Pl. 31), and a hanging scroll dated 1693 (Pl. 103). The differences among these four renditions of Mt. Bojian during different periods reveal that Mei Qing did not just directly record the outward appearance of the actual scene, but that each time he transformed and interpreted nature in different ways. The brushwork developed from rough to thin and fine, then to meticulous (Table 6). The composition changed from monumental to descriptive, then to dramatic (Table 7). This hanging scroll and the 1693 scroll are both inspired by the style of Wang Meng, therefore, the brushwork in both is somewhat similar whereas the compositions of them are much different to each other.

(Table 6) Brushwork Used for the Mountain Motif in Three *Mt. Bojian*



(Table 7) The Compositions of Three *Mt. Bojian*



From 1690 Mei Qing's painting output dramatically increased, and most of these works are albums either in the styles of the ancients or renditions of Mt. Huang. It is also a period to which many forgeries are dated and most of these forgeries are copied from Mei Qing's depictions of Mt. Huang. Some of the forgeries signed in the name of Mei Qing are discussed in the next chapter. The earliest extant album in which Mei Qing dealt solely with landscapes that were not site-specific and which were executed in the manners of several ancient masters is dated in 1690, and consists of ten folding leaves (Pls. 41-44). Apart from this album, there exist at least another six dated albums and two undated album in the styles of ancient masters. One of them is dated 1691, three are dated 1693, and two are dated 1695. The 1690 album is quite different from the other six later dated albums both in brushwork and composition. As we shall see, the brushwork of this album is more delicate and its compositions are more complicated than those of the other six albums. This album has longer inscriptions, but fewer seals than the others.

Unlike *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng* in which the main aim is to depict the actual scenes, these albums were mainly painted to emulate the styles of ancient masters; therefore, we can see a closer connection between Mei Qing's works and those he claimed to be basing his style on. Mei Qing did not stick tightly to the styles of ancient masters, but always adapted them into his own style, which can be seen clearly in most of the leaves. For instance, in a leaf from the 1690 album which is painted in the style of Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290-1343) (Pl. 44), we can find that the dramatic renditions of pine grove and the repetitions of rocks are completely in Mei Qing's individual style. What Mei Qing tried to emulate from Ke Jiusi could be the idea of loftiness.

The most important event in the later part of Mei Qing's painting career may have been his second trip to Mt. Huang in the fourth month of 1690. After this trip, depictions of Mt. Huang increased dramatically, as it became the focus of his artistic vision. Among his extant works are two albums of Mt. Huang dated in 1690, one dated in 1692, one dated in 1693, one dated in 1694 and two dated in 1695. Two 1690 albums and the 1692 album all are in the Beijing Palace Museum, and the 1693 album is in the Shanghai Museum. Among all the Mt. Huang albums, the three most important are the one from 1690 and the 1692 and 1693 albums, and these became the

models for some forgeries. One more album dated in 1692 is known only from a record by Mei Qing's close friend, Wang Shizhen.⁵³ Apart from these seven extant dated albums, there are at least two undated albums and many single works depicting scenes of Mt. Huang that have survived.

One of the two albums dated 1690, depicting sixteen scenes of Mt. Huang, is one of Mei Qing's important late works. It has two important colophons, one of which was written in the following summer of 1691, by Mei Qing's close friend Yuan Qixu 袁啓旭 (Pl. 120), and the other written in the second month of 1693 by Mei Qing himself (Pl. 121). In Yuan Quxu's colophon, he recalled that Mei Qing and himself with five other friends, had planned to travel to Mt. Huang together in spring 1686, but unfortunately, for some reason Mei Qing could not travel with them. This event can also be confirmed by both Mei Qing's poems and those of his friends, such as Wu Dongyan 吳東巖 and Wu Song 吳崧 who wrote poems to Mei Qing when they arrived at Mt. Huang,⁵⁴ and Mei Qing also wrote a poem to show his longing for Mt. Huang.⁵⁵ In Mei Qing's colophon, he wrote:

After travelling to Mt. Huang, its scenic spots have become the major subject of my painting. Although the magnificence of the thirty-six peaks can not be completely shown in this album, yet it might let others feel like travelling through them vicariously by looking at it briefly. My virtuous son-in-law, Mutan, was a guest at Wanling for a long time, and we had planned to go travelling together but before we could do so, he became an official and was sent to western Shu, where the scenery is rather strange. Although Mt. Huang is not Mutan's home town, sometimes he might still miss it; therefore, I inscribe these paintings from my collection and am sending them to the western Shu official to let him view it.

The album is noteworthy for its variety of compositions and brushwork. Some leaves seem to have been rapidly executed with sketchy brushwork. For instance, the main mountain in the leaf entitled *Lion Forest* 獅子林 (Pl. 111) is rendered with sketchy, broad strokes and dots, and the distant mountains are depicted with rough wet washes. Mei Qing's great interest in dotting landscapes is also apparent in this leaf. On the contrary, some leaves are painted in a delicate and

⁵³ Wang Shizhen, *Juyihu*, vol. 17, p. 12.

⁵⁴ *Huangshan zhi xuji*, vol. 8, pp. 30-31 & 34-35.

⁵⁵ *QSSL*, vol. 26, p. 3.

complicated manner, such as the leaf entitled *Cuiwei Temple* 翠微寺 (Pl. 115). A long craggy way to the temple is depicted, and each formation of the mountain is rendered dramatically and differently from the other. Mei Qing has evoked the different textural character of each mountain by employing Wang Meng's curly, unravelled strokes. Mei Qing portrayed himself sitting on the rock in the foreground to view the spectacular scene.

The most impressive leaves are the ones with simple or dramatic composition and refined brushwork, such as the leaf entitled *One Hundred Cloudy Steps* (Pl. 104). Only the profiles of a few of the numerous steps are revealed through the clouds. Three men, each with a long staff, are portrayed slightly bent to indicate the steepness and direction of the steps. The main mountain, rendered with a few dry touches and light blue-brown wet washes, is parallel to the distant peaks, creating an impression of harmony. Only a few thin and swirling strokes are painted in the foreground to represent clouds, and some light blue wet washes to represent distant mountains. In this painting Mei Qing juxtaposed solid and void, light and dark, and wet and dry. The inscription by Mei Qing tells us something not only about the topography of the hundred steps, but also about his personal horrible memories of the dangerous scene.

In the ninth month of 1691, Mei Qing painted an album in the styles of several ancient masters.⁵⁶ The album consists of twelve half leaves of paintings and twelve half leaves of colophons. One of the colophons is by Mei Qing himself (Pl. 174), and reads: "...The ancients are before me, and Qushan is behind; front and back can call each other loudly, and meet each other permanently." The colophon indicates that at that time Mei Qing had considerable confidence in the works which he painted in the style of the ancient masters. Apart from this colophon, Mei Qing's two seals in the same album, which read "Wofa" ([Using] my own method) and "Guren zaiwo 古人在我" (The ancients are inside me), also reveal that his method and attitude towards emulating ancient works was to transform their styles by using his own way. Those masters Mei

⁵⁶ Mei Qing, *Mei Qing fanggu shanshui huace* 梅清仿古山水册 (Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, n.d.); also *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2676.

Qing chose to imitate include Ke Jiusi, Huang Gongwang, Mi Fu, Ni Zan, Li Cheng, Wang Meng, Juran, Wu Zhen, Dong Yuan, Ma Yuan, and Shen Zhou. Apart from one leaf in the style of Wang Meng depicted in a slightly detailed manner (Pl. 175), the other eleven paintings all were sketchily rendered, such as the leaf in the style of Shen Zhou (Pl. 176).

Although Mei Qing mainly painted in the album and vertical scroll formats from 1690, he sometimes painted in the long horizontal format. For example, one of Mei Qing's extant plum blossom paintings was painted in horizontal format in the style of Su Shi in the second month of 1692 for Mr. Wen 雯 (Pl. 177).⁵⁷ Mei Qing applied dynamic, twisted and rapid brushwork in this handscroll, the branches in particular. As Yu-ho Tseng Ecke pointed out: "Note force of rapid twisting articulation, the dynamics of functional space...."⁵⁸ The unusual rendition of the trunk can also be found in another undated plum painting in which a similar interpretation of Su Shi's style was also painted in a long horizontal format for Mr. Shi 時.⁵⁹ The trunk in this undated plum painting is rendered with several dynamic and broad strokes from the top of the paper giving it a more peculiar appearance than that of the 1692 scroll, but the twisting brushwork seen in the 1692 scroll does not appear in this undated plum painting.

Similar dynamic and broad strokes can be found in a hanging scroll dated in the sixth month of the same year (Pl. 178).⁶⁰ This painting was painted for Mr. Quxia 去暇, in the manner of Shen Zhou, and it is now in the Central Academy of Arts and Design, Beijing. Two men, one of whom, holding a *qin*, seems to represent Mei Qing himself, are depicted clearly sitting on a rock under a cliff and two huge pine trees. Mei Qing used dynamic and broad strokes to depict the huge jutting cliff from the top of the painting. From the similar brushwork appearing in this hanging scroll as

⁵⁷ Yu-ho Tseng Ecke, *Chinese Painting in Hawaii* (Hawaii: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1965), Pl. LVIII. See also Kei Suzuki ed., *Comprehensive*, vol. 1, A 38-011.

⁵⁸ Yu-ho Tseng Ecke, *Chinese Painting in Hawaii*, LVIII.

⁵⁹ It is in ink on paper, 31.2 x 360 cm. This painting has never been published. The author saw it while it was exhibited in the Beijing Palace Museum in October 1991, but unfortunately the photograph can not be purchased from the museum.

⁶⁰ This painting has never been published. With the help of the staff in the academy, I was able to study the painting and take some photographs of it in detail.

well as in the 1692 plum painting and in the undated plum painting, we might assume that the undated plum painting was also painted around 1692.

Three months before he painted the hanging scroll for Mr. Quxia, Mei Qing painted an album consisting of ten leaves depicting the sites of Mt. Huang for his friend Jiatang 稼堂 (Pan Lei 潘來) who was going to travel there.⁶¹ As Mei Qing could not go, he painted the album to express his willingness to travel with him. This album, being one of the most important works of Mei Qing in the Beijing Palace Museum, has been published at least twice: one in 1931, and again in 1961 (Pls. 122-136).⁶² Some of Mei Qing's favorite sites are depicted again in this album, yet the compositions and brushwork are different from those in the 1690 album, *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, which Mei Qing had sent for Mutan. If we compare the same theme Heavenly Capital Peak in these two Mt. Huang albums, it is clear that the one in the 1690 album (Pl. 116) is depicted in a rather relaxed manner, with wet, sketchy strokes and simple forms, but that in the present album (Pl. 124) is rendered with dry and refined strokes, and elaborate composition.

Almost each leaf of the present album is depicted with dry and refined strokes. The consistency of the brushwork indicates the album was completed in a short time rather than over a long period. Most of the leaves are depicted with a simple but dramatic composition, such as the renditions of West Sea Gate (Pl. 128), Lotus Blossom Peak (Pl. 129) and One Hundred Cloudy Steps (Pl. 130), and only a few leaves, such as the renditions of Cuiwei Temple (Pl. 127) and Pine Valley (Pl. 132) are painted in a slightly more descriptive style. Four reliable colophons were written between 1822 to 1827, separately by Kuai Jiazhen 蒯嘉珍 (Pl. 133), Guo Lu 郭魯 (Pl. 134), Zhu Changyi 朱昌頤 (Pl. 135), and Zhang Kaifu 張開福 (Pl. 136), and the frontispiece was written by Zhang Tingzhi 張廷治 in 1823 (Pl. 122). In Kuai Jiazhen's colophon, he recorded that

⁶¹ According to Pan Lai's essay about his trip to Mt. Huang, he did not visit Mt. Huang until 1697. It is possible that he planned to visit Mt. Huang in 1692, but that his plan was postponed until 1697. See Pan Lai 潘來, *Suichutang ji* 遂初堂集 (Benya edition 本衙藏本, 1701), vol. 15, pp. 5-14.

⁶² It was published in 1931 by Meiyi she 美藝社 and was entitled *Mei Qushan Huangshan tuce* 梅瞿山黃山圖冊. It was recently published again by the Wenwu chubanshe, Beijing, in 1961, entitled *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* 梅清黃山圖冊.

in the year 1802-1803, his friend Zhan Wenmu 詹文木 showed him many of Mei Qing's works, most of which were unusual depictions of Mt. Huang. He also said that he had recently seen a pine album by Mei Qing in the collection of Qian Menglu 錢夢廬, on which Mei Qing had inscribed that it was painted in 1696 for Wang Shizhen. In Zhang Kaifu's colophon, he recorded all the poems Wang Shizhen had written to Mei Qing, and he pointed out that Wang Shizhen had inscribed one of Mei Qing's pine paintings earlier than 1667.

As we have mentioned, Mei Qing emulated many ancient masters throughout his life, especially in his later years. He painted at least three albums of this kind in 1693. All of the three 1693 albums contain twelve leaves, and all are executed with ink and light colour on paper. The one painted in early spring is in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin (Pls 45-56); most of its brushwork is thin, dry, and sketchy, such as the leaves in the styles of Ma Yuan (Pl. 47) and Liu Songnian (Pl. 56), but some leaves are rendered with wet and sketchy strokes, such as those in the style of Xu Wei (Pl. 52) and Gao Kegong (Pl. 48). On the whole, the album is painted with thin and sketchy strokes and so is closer to the album he had painted after ancient masters in 1691 (Pls. 174-176) than to the other two 1693 albums. This album later passed to Zhang Shanzi 張善子 (1883-1940), who was a famous tiger painter, and his brother Chang Dai-chien 張大千 (1899-1983), a modern painter and collector.⁶³ Chang Dai-chien was impressed by Mei Qing's versatile brushwork; he painted both free interpretations of Mei Qing's style and some forgeries under the name of Mei Qing which are discussed in the next chapter.

The other two albums of 1693 were separately painted in the eighth and tenth months, and their brushwork is more refined than that of the previous album. The one painted in the eighth month of the year was painted for Mr. Yu 育 (Pls. 57-68). This album completely shows Mei Qing's great

⁶³ This album was once collected by Li Zuolan 李左庵, then in 1914 it was passed to Li Yunan 李筠庵, later in 1921 it was bought by someone named Xi 熙. There is a title inscribed by Zhang Zuyi 張祖翼 in 1914 and another colophon written by Xi in 1921. In the album we can find some of Zhang Daqian's seals, such as "Daqian youmu 大千游目", "Daqian gongyang 大千供養", "Cangzhi Daqian 藏之大千", "Zhang Daqian 張大千", "Daqian haomeng 大千好夢", "Dafengtang zhangwu 大風堂長物". Two seals of Zhang Shanzi are also stamped on the album, "Shanzi xinshang 善子心賞" and "Shanzi shending 善子審定".

ability to capture the different qualities of each ancient model. Each painting presents a different type of brushstroke. The various types of brushwork do not appear so clearly in the album painted for Mr. Ze 澤 two months later (Pls. 71-83). In the Ze album, the brushwork of each leaf is much more similar to each other, which reveals that Mei Qing was not necessarily interested in imitating the brushstrokes of each master, and that the brush idea of each ancient master is what Mei Qing particularly emphasized when he claimed to be painting in their styles. However, the brushstrokes in the Ze album still can range from meticulous to loose. Most of the leaves are rendered with loose strokes and simple composition, such as the leaves in the styles of Shen Zhou (Pl. 72) and Liu Songnian (Pl. 73). Some leaves are depicted with meticulous strokes and elaborate composition, such as the leaves in the styles of Fan Kuan (Pl. 74) and of Wang Meng (Pl. 82). Mei Qing wrote a colophon for it (Pl. 83), from which we can see that some elements of Mei Qing's late calligraphy, such as the slightly fluctuating strokes and the broad configuration, are not very different from those dated in the 1670s and 1680s, but the spirit is much relaxed.

A set of ten hanging scrolls by Mei Qing dated in the ninth month of 1693 is painted in the style of Huang Gongwang (Pl. 93). It depicts a panoramic landscape, with a man and a servant in the lower right corner, who might be on their way to visit friends waiting inside the house in the middleground. A man with two servants is depicted on the bridge; one servant seems to hold a *qin* and the other a bottle of wine; they also seem to be on the way to visit friends. The huge cliffs continue to appear from the right to the middleground in strong contrast to the low and level views of the left half of the picture. In the top left corner, Mei Qing inscribed a poem to show his admiration for Huang Gongwang, which was also inscribed on a leaf from the 1690 album in the Cleveland Museum (Pl. 43). Although some of the scrolls seem not to fit properly to the others, an examination of the original work suggests that any discrepancies are due to the remounting, as the edges of some scrolls have been trimmed. As the brushwork and the spirit are so consistent among these ten scrolls, there is no doubt that they all should belong to the same set. Apart from the buildings and figures, the cliffs, trees, rocks, mountains are almost all rendered with broad, dynamic, and loose brushwork (Pls. 94-95).

The best and most famous work by Mei Qing from his last stage is entitled *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, dated 1693 (Pls. 179-190).⁶⁴ Unlike the Mt. Huang albums of 1690 and 1692, which separately depict sixteen and ten views of Mt. Huang, this album has no colophon, but it has forty-one different seals of Mei Qing and the seal of Kong Guangtao 孔廣陶, who was a famous collector of the late Qing; it is also recorded in *Zhuangtaoge shuhua lu* 壯陶閣書畫錄.⁶⁵ This album has been published at least five times in 1910, 1923, 1924, 1934, and 1960.⁶⁶ The album consists of twelve folding leaves of paintings: five single horizontal compositions and seven double vertical compositions. The brushwork is rather refined in every leaf, but the composition can be divided into two different types: simple and dramatic, such as those leaves entitled *Refining Cinnabar Platform* (Pl. 181:B), *Pine Valley* (Pl. 181:A), *Three Peaks of Fuqiu* (Pl. 189:B), *Lion Forest* (Pl. 184:B); and complicated and fanciful, such as the leaves entitled *Nine Dragon Pool* (Pl. 179) and *Heshi Dwelling* (Pl. 180).

Some of Mei Qing's favorite scenes appear in this album again, but the brushwork and composition differ from those in the Mt. Huang albums of 1690 and 1692. For instance, in the leaf entitled *Refining Cinnabar Platform* (Pl. 181:B), the hut and platform is rendered with few simple strokes and wet washes, and seems to emerge from behind a sea of clouds; but the hut and platform in both albums of 1690 (Pl. 106) and 1692 (Pl. 131) are depicted clearly on the top of cliffs and are accompanied by the depiction of Round Mat Pine in the lower right corner. There are also many scenes which seem to have never been depicted before, such as *Tiger Head Cliff* (Pl. 184:A), *Hegai Pine* (Pl. 187:A), *Wulao Peak* (Pl. 183:B) and *Heshi Dwelling* (Pl. 180). Judging from both the greatly different designs for the favourite scenes and from the depiction of many new scenes, we can assume that Mei Qing still had much imagination and creative ability when he painted this album. Although he was over seventy when he painted this album, his mind was still open to accept

⁶⁴ ZGGDSHTM, vol. 4, Shanghai Museum, no. 2682. See also *Shanghai bowuguan zhan*, cat. no. 78.

⁶⁵ Fei Jingfu 斐景福, *Zhuangtaoge shuhua lu* 壯陶閣書畫錄 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), vol. 16, pp. 1073-1074.

⁶⁶ These versions were all published in Shanghai, separated by Wenming shuju, Shangwu yinshuguan, and Renming meishu chubanshe.

some new motifs from the contemporary artists. For instance, two leaves respectively entitled *Wulao Peak* (Pl. 183:B) and *Heshi Dwelling* (Pl. 180) are based on his memories from Shitao's paintings, because Mei Qing himself had never been to these two sites. As we shall see, in his late years Mei Qing might also have learned some motifs from his younger relative, Mei Chong. The relationship between Mei Qing's and Mei Chong's works is discussed in the sixth chapter, which deals with the influence of Mei Qing on his followers.

In early summer of the year *jiaxu* 甲戌 (1694), as it had been raining and windy for a month, Mei Qing stayed at home and painted nine albums within about twenty days, which indicates that he was still painting very intensively at that time. He did not paint these albums for someone else, but "put them on the desk for enjoying myself", as he wrote in one of the albums. Only one of these nine albums has been found, which contains ten leaves. This album was painted in a very simple manner with very few thin strokes. Apart from a long inscription on one leaf (Pl. 149), there is no other inscription on the other nine leaves. The simple and remote spirit is revealed in almost every leaf of the album (Pls. 150-152).

In the same year, one day before the mid-autumn festival (the fifteenth day of the eighth month), Mei Qing depicted a man who was sitting on a cliff and gazing at a waterfall in the distance (Pl. 191).⁶⁷ It is painted in the style of Shen Zhou, and entitled *Lofty Mountains and Flowing Stream* (*Gaoshan liushui tu* 高山流水圖). The twisting lofty mountains, precarious cliffs, and elongated pine trees are all rendered with lively and loose strokes that produce a strong tension and movement to the left in which direction the isolated figure on the middleground cliff also faces. It may be the high waterfall in the distance that attracts the concentration of the man. In this painting, Shen Zhou's distinctive thick and sinuous brushwork is further emphasized by Mei Qing.

⁶⁷ Feitunlu 肥豚廬 col., *Feitunlu cang mingren shanshui huazuo* 肥豚廬藏名人山水畫作 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935); *ZGMSQJ*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 101; *Masterpieces of the Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*, cat. no. 43.

In the same month, Mei Qing again painted an album of Mt. Huang at his residence, Chaxia Villa (Pls. 192-201).⁶⁸ The texture strokes and washes that apply on the album are rather different from those appear on most of Mei Qing's works. More disorderly texture strokes and washes are used, such as in the renditions of the Lion Peak (Pl. 196) and the Lotus Blossom Peak (Pl. 195). Also some of Mei Qing's favourite scenes in this album are designed with quite different features if compared with the other Mt. Huang albums, such as the presentation of the Heavenly Capital Peak (Pl. 197). The calligraphy of the album is written in an unrestrained manner, some strokes of which are quite broad and some rather thin, however, the irregular and fluctuating strokes are the common elements of Mei Qing's late works.

The scenery of Mt. Huang was always in Mei Qing's mind. Among his extant works, there are two albums of Mt. Huang dated in 1695. These two albums combine two major subjects on which Mei Qing concentrated during his last few years, the combination of the renditions of scenes of Mt. Huang with the emulation of the styles of ancient masters. One of these two albums was formerly in the Frank Caro Collection, and was once exhibited in the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1954,⁶⁹ but the collection is now unknown. From the record we learn that there are five colophons by Mei Qing himself and another three colophons by others on this album. Unfortunately, only one leaf from this album is available for this study; it depicts White Dragon Pool in the manner of Zhao Mengfu (Pl. 202). The scene is presented with fanciful design and meticulous strokes. The other 1695 Mt. Huang album was formerly collected by the Tianjin City Museum, but its whereabouts are unknown now.⁷⁰ It contains four renditions of Mt. Huang in the ancient styles (Pls. 203-206). In the inscription for the rendition of Hot Springs (Pl. 204), Mei Qing wrote, "I have been to Yellow Sea (Mt. Huang) twice and have bathed in Hot Springs seven times." From the unclear

⁶⁸ The reproduction of this album, see Cheng Te-k'un's "Twenty Ming *I-min* Painters in the Mu-fei Collection" *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2 (December 1976), pl. 25.

⁶⁹ Sherman E. Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, pl. 108, p. 132.

⁷⁰ Yang Chenbin in his article mentioned that this album is in the collection of Tianjin Art Museum, but when I studied Mei Qing's painting in the Museum in October 1991, the staff of the Museum told me that this album is not in their collection. The whereabouts of this album are unknown. The reproduction of the album used in this study is offered by Yang Chenbin.

reproductions of the paintings, we can still learn that the strokes are lively and the compositions are fanciful.

Apart from these two dated albums, it is recorded that a set of eight hanging scrolls depicting the eight views of Mt. Huang was also painted in the same year.⁷¹ It indicates that Mei Qing was not only healthy enough to paint larger paintings, but that he was also still deeply inspired by the scenes of Mt. Huang. During his last few years, apart from getting inspiration from his memories of Mt. Huang, Mei Qing also tried hard to capture some qualities from the ancient masters. For instance, there are three albums painted in several ancient styles, respectively dated in the first, third and sixth months of 1695.⁷² The one dated in the third month of the year is one of Mei Qing's most important albums, on which some forgeries were based. The refined but loose brushwork can be seen in most of the leaves, such as that in the style of Shen Zhou (Pl. 85) and in the style of Wu Zhen (Pl. 86). Most of the paintings of the other two 1695 albums are also rendered with refined strokes in a unrestrained manner. The compositions in these two albums are either simple or dramatic, such as the two leaves from the first month album separately in the style of Mi Fu (Pl. 207) and in the style of Jing Hao and Guan Tong (Pl. 208) and a leaf from the sixth month album depicting trees along a shore (Pl. 140). Not all the leaves in these two albums are rendered in the style of the ancients, especially the one painted in the sixth month of the year, in which only four leaves are in the style of ancients (Pls. 137, 141, 142 & 146). Interestingly, these four leaves are all inspired by the style of Ni Zan. It indicates that the simple and remote spirit of Ni Zan's works could be the most favourite style for Mei Qing in his last two years.

In the Tianjin Art Museum, there is a leaf with the depiction of Pine Valley dated *yihai* 乙亥 (1695) (Pl. 209).⁷³ Mei Qing seemed to have tried very hard to depict as detailed a scene as

⁷¹ See Xu Bangda, *Lidai liuchuan shuhua zuopin biannianbiao*, p. 151 (quoted from Hu Jitang's 胡積堂 *Bixiaoxuan shuhualu* 筆嘯軒書畫錄)

⁷² For the reproduction of the album painted in the first month of 1695, see *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2685.

⁷³ Ellen J. Laing in her *Chinese Paintings in Chinese Publications 1956-1968* misread this painting as being dated to the year *jihai* 己亥 (1659). For the reproduction of the painting, see *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 23.

possible. In the right lower corner, Mei Qing portrayed himself and a servant with a *qin* on the way to visit Pine Valley, inscribing "It was many years since I had visited here where I remember having played the *qin*...." The pine trees of the grove are arranged along two diagonals which divide the whole painting into three spaces. The lower left corner and the central middleground are left empty to balance the crowded pine grove. The brushwork of this painting is still refined.

The last painting to be discussed from Mei Qing's last period is a fan painting, entitled *Pine at the Shore* and dated 1696 (Pl. 210).⁷⁴ An old pine tree with a few pine-needles is depicted in the centre of the work, and a rock is depicted in the upper right corner to balance the inscription in the upper left corner. The brushstrokes of the trunk and the rock are both broad and loose. The same style of stroke can also be found in the inscription. Apart from this extant painting, as we have mentioned, a pine tree album also dated in the same year was recorded by Kuai Jiazhen. It was painted for Mei Qing's close friend Wang Shizhen. Among the extant paintings by Mei Qing, there are no other paintings dated later than 1696 fan painting, nor do any other documents indicate that Mei Qing was still painting after 1696, thus we would suggest that Mei Qing may well have been seriously ill since that date.

See also *Tianjin yishu bowuguan canghua ji* 天津藝術博物館藏畫集 I (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982). In *Zhongguo lidai huihua* 中國歷代繪畫, vol. IX

⁷⁴ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1, Chinese History Museum, no. 364.

CHAPTER IV

A DISCUSSION OF UNDATED WORKS AND FORGERIES





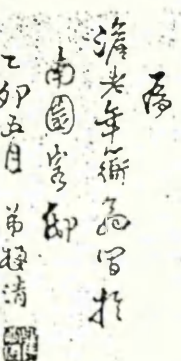
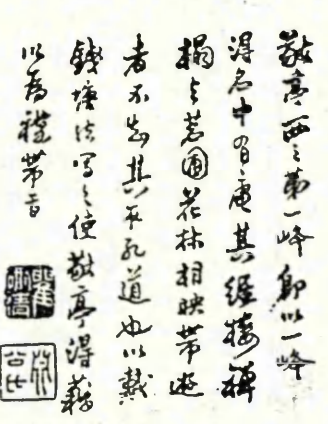

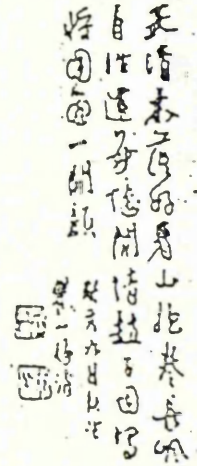

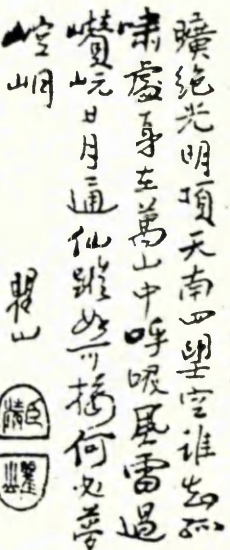
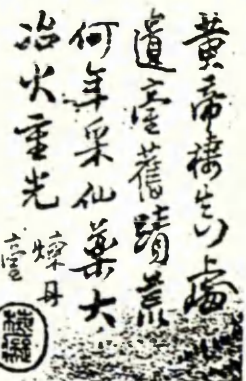
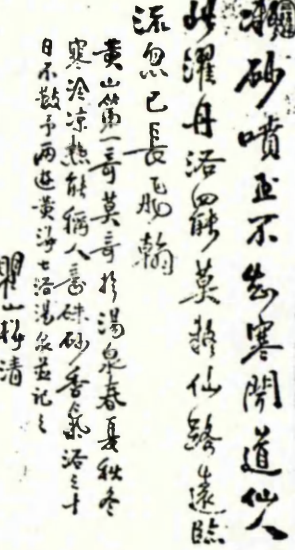
Through a close examination of Mei Qing's most important dated paintings, the previous chapter provided a basis for dating Mei Qing's undated works and judging other more doubtful works signed with Mei Qing's name, and established a framework for placing Mei Qing's works into three stages according to their stylistic development. But, it would be risky to discuss those undated or doubtful works on the basis of stylistic development only, as Mei Qing's style is not absolutely different in different stages, and is also not necessarily similar within any one stage. Apart from the different characteristics of his style in each stage, events in Mei Qing's life, his thought, his calligraphy, and his seals are also important elements for dating his undated works and distinguishing forgeries from his genuine works. Mei Qing's seals are arranged in chronological order in Appendix III. Study of them will provide some support for dating his undated works.

1. Dating Nine Undated Works

Most of Mei Qing's paintings are dated by himself, but there are still many of his works that are undated.¹ Some of these undated paintings are discussed in this section, as they are important for a further understanding of Mei Qing's style. In addition to the painting itself, the calligraphy of the inscription or colophon by the artist is another element of great importance when examining any work. The sources and the characteristics of Mei Qing's calligraphy have been briefly discussed in the third chapter. Like his painting, the style of Mei Qing's calligraphy also developed gradually, not suddenly. The stylistic development of Mei Qing's calligraphy can be appreciated when some important works of different stages are compared as follows (Table 8).

¹ For basic information about these undated works, see Appendix IV.

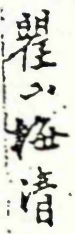
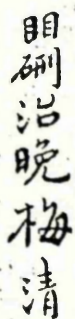


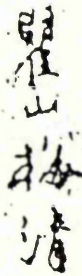
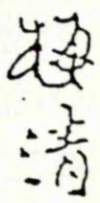




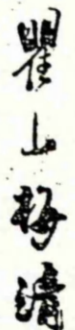

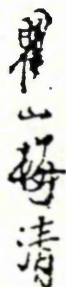

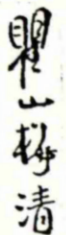
(Table 8) Some Examples of Mei Qing's Inscriptions in Three Stages

Early Stage (1649-1660s)			
no. 1 (1649)	no. 2 (1657)	no. 3 (1663)	no. 4 (1667)
			
Middle Stage (1670s-mid 1680s)			
no. 5 (1675)	no. 6 (1680)	no. 7 (1680)	no. 8 (1683)
			
Late Stage (mid 1680s-1696)			
no. 9 (1685)	no. 10 (1690)	no. 11 (1693)	no. 12 (1695)
			

To illustrate the early stage of Mei Qing's calligraphy, we choose as examples the inscription on the 1649 fan painting (no. 1), two of the inscriptions from the 1657 Wanling album (no. 2), the inscription on the 1663 fan painting (no. 3), and the inscription on the 1667 pine hanging scroll (no. 4). The inscription on the 1675 hanging scroll, *Cliff and Pine* (no. 5), one of the inscriptions from the 1680 Xuancheng album (no. 6), the inscription on the 1680 fan painting, and the inscription on the 1683 hanging scroll, *Looking at The Mountain while Leaves are falling* (no. 8) are chosen as examples of the middle stage of Mei Qing's calligraphic style. For the late stage we choose the inscription on the 1685 pine painting (no. 9), and three inscriptions separately from the Mt. Huang albums of 1690 (no. 10), 1693 (no. 11), and 1695 (no. 12).

The period for each stage in Mei Qing's calligraphy is slightly different from the three stages of Mei Qing's paintings. During the early stage, from 1649 to the late 1660s, Mei Qing often combined seal and clerical scripts with standard and running scripts, and the brushwork is immature and slightly fluctuating. The configurations of characters are more rectangular compared with his works of the middle or late stage. During the middle stage, roughly from the early 1670s to the mid-1680s, Mei Qing often wrote in standard and running scripts, with brushwork that appears fluctuating and irregular, and characters whose configurations are slightly broader than those in the early and late stages. From the mid-1680s to 1696, Mei Qing usually wrote running and cursive scripts with fluctuating strokes and irregular configuration. The brushstrokes of Mei Qing's calligraphy in all the standard, running and cursive scripts changed from immature to slightly fluctuating, then to fluctuating and irregular, and the configurations of the characters changed from rectangular to slightly broad, then to irregular. The stylistic development of Mei Qing's calligraphy can be seen more easily if we choose his signatures of different stages to make a comparison (Table 9).

(Table 9) Some Signatures of Mei Qing in Three Stages

Early Stage (1649 - 1660s)				
no. 1 (1649)	no. 2 (1657)	no. 3 (1661)	no. 4 (1663)	no. 5 (1667)
				
Middle Stage (1670s - mid-1680s)				
no. 6 (1675)	no. 7 (1680)	no. 8 (1680)	no. 9 (1683)	no. 10 (1683)
				
Late Stage (mid-1680s - 1696)				
no. 11 (1687)	no. 12 (1689)	no. 13 (1691)	no. 14 (1693)	no. 15 (1695)
				

The signatures of the early stage are chosen from the 1649 fan painting (no. 1), the 1657 Wanling album (no. 2), the 1661 single leaf (no. 3), the 1663 fan painting (no. 4) and the 1667 pine hanging scroll (no. 5). The signature on the 1675 hanging scroll, *Cliff and Pine* (no. 6), the 1680 Xuancheng album (no. 7), the 1680 fan painting (no. 8), the 1683 pine hanging scroll (no. 9) and the 1683 hanging scroll, *Mt. Jingting after Raining* (no. 10) are chosen as examples of the middle stage. For the late stage we choose the signatures on the 1687 hanging scroll, *Studying in the Mountain Studio* (no. 11), the 1689 joint handscroll (no. 12), the 1691 album in the style of several ancients (no. 13), the 1693 joint album painted for Qu Dajun (no. 14) and the 1695 Mt. Huang album (no. 15). The precise specification of the changes are revealed more clearly when we compare the character "qu 瞿" only. The brushwork of this character is gradually changed from symmetrical to fluctuating and irregular, and the configuration of this character is developed from evenly arranged to irregular. This table, which compares Mei Qing's signatures at different stages, not only helps us understand the stylistic development of Mei Qing's calligraphy, but also provides a basis to discern forgeries. Basically, the essence of Mei Qing's calligraphy changed from immature and regular to fine, then to relaxed. According to two of Mei Qing's seals which read "Laogengkuang (The older the crazier)" and "Gukuang (The old madman)" respectively, the change of Mei Qing's mood and age could be the main reason for shifts in all Mei Qing's painting, calligraphy and poetry styles.

Few early paintings of Mei Qing have survived. As is the case with his dated works, most of Mei Qing's undated works were painted in his late stage. The first undated painting to be discussed is entitled *Shuixi* 水西 (Pl. 211).² On this painting, Mei Qing inscribes that the mountains of Shuixi are located to the west of the city Youzhou 猷州. Like Mei Qing's hometown, Xuancheng, Shuixi was also a famous site, about 100 kilometre distant from Ningguo. Because the reproduction of the painting is unclear, most of the brushwork cannot be made out, especially the

² The whereabouts of this painting are unknown. For the reproduction of this hanging scroll, see Shenzhou guoguangshe 神州國光社 ed., *Shenzhou daguan* (xubian) 神州大觀 (續編) (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguangshe, 1929), no. 6.

texture strokes painted on the mountains. But the thin and hard lines of the buildings, boats, and figures still can be seen clearly. Like the 1673 hanging scroll, *Boating on The Blue Stream* (Pl. 23), this painting is depicted in a rather descriptive manner, but the brushwork of this painting is not as fine as that of the 1673 scroll; also like the inscription on Mei Qing's 1673 scroll, the inscription is written with slightly fluctuating strokes in running script, but the strokes are not as fine and mature as those of the 1673 scroll. Two characters of the title of this painting are written in seal script, but the inscription is in running script, which suggests it might have been written during the transitional period of Mei Qing's calligraphy while he gradually decreased the seal and clerical script elements in his writing and increased the standard, running and cursive elements. Looking through the dated works of Mei Qing, we learn that he sometimes wrote in seal or clerical script in his works of the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s, but he seldom used these two scripts in his works of the 1670s, 1680s, and 1690s. For instance, in his 1667 pine painting (Pl. 22), Mei Qing also wrote the four characters of the title in seal script, but the inscription in standard script and signature in slight running script. According to the above analysis, we may suggest that *Shuixi* should be dated around 1670 and before the 1673 scroll was painted.

In Mei Qing's poetry collection, *Qushan shilue*, we find a poem that might provide some support for dating this painting. Dated 1671 this poem³ has the same title and content as the inscription of *Shuixi* and therefore suggests that Mei Qing might have painted this painting in or around 1671. This painting was important at that time, as one of the woodblock illustrations in the gazetteer of Ningguo Prefecture is based on it (Pl. 212).⁴ The principal elements of Mei Qing's *Shuixi* appear in this woodblock print, such as a pagoda among mountains in the distance, two boats in the middle ground, and the wall of the city in the foreground, but the format has been changed from vertical to horizontal and the formations of the mountains have been changed from "deep distance" to "level distance".

³ *QSSL*, vol. 13, p. 10.

⁴ Lu Quan and Hong Liangji eds., *Ningguo fuzhi*, p. 41.

The second undated example to be discussed is an album describing twelve views of Mt. Huang, which was published in 1919 in Shanghai (Pls. 213-224),⁵ which seven leaves were republished with other works by Mei Qing in 1960.⁶ The whereabouts of this album are unknown. Most of these twelve views are favourite sites which were often depicted by Mei Qing. Making a comparison of this album with Mei Qing's two other important Mt. Huang albums, respectively dated in 1690 depicting sixteen views of Mt. Huang and in 1692 depicting ten views of Mt. Huang, we may suggest that the present undated album must have been painted earlier than the other two albums, because many leaves in this album already present the basic idea of the compositions which are further developed in the albums of 1690 and 1692. For instance, the leaf depicting Wenshu Plateau (Pl. 223) already presents the main subject of three men sitting on a plateau in front of three small houses which are screened by trees, but in the two dated albums additions are made to this scene, of the Heavenly Capital Peak on the left and the Lotus Flower Peak on the right (Pls. 114 & 125). It is possible that after Mei Qing painted this undated *Wenshu Plateau*, he discovered that it was a magnificent opportunity to present the Heavenly Capital Peak and the Lotus Flower Peak as well on either side of the Wenshu Plateau.

The difference of the brushwork among these three albums can most easily be found in the three leaves depicting the same scene, Cuiwei Temple. These three leaves are all clearly painted in the manner of Wang Meng, though only the present leaf and the 1692 leaf are so inscribed. A comparison of these three leaves reveals how Mei Qing transformed Wang Meng's texture strokes step by step. First, in the undated leaf (Pl. 214), Mei Qing tried to imitate the texture stroke of Wang Meng, but his strokes look disordered and vague, also the dots are arranged in a rather regular manner. Next, as in the 1690 leaf (Pl. 115), Mei Qing's strokes are clearly interwoven, and the dotting is more random. Finally, Mei Qing transforms Wang Meng's uneven and complicated strokes to his own style of meticulous "unraveled rope" texture stroke such as those in the 1692 leaf

⁵ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan Huangshan tuce* 梅瞿山黃山圖冊 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1919).

⁶ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), pls. 7-12 & 45.

(Pl. 127). Without the process of the first and second steps, Mei Qing might have been unable to transform Wang Meng's brushwork in this final step. Not only did Mei Qing learn the brushwork of Wang Meng, but he also learned the exaggerated formations of Wang Meng. The formations of the mountains, rocks and pine trees in both the 1690 and 1692 leaves are much more exaggerated than those in the undated leaf. From the comparisons of the compositions of these three leaves depicting Cuiwei Temple, we also get the same impression that the undated album was possibly painted earlier than the 1690 and 1692 albums.

Moreover, one of the inscriptions from this undated album provides some objective evidence for dating this album more accurately. On the leaf depicting the Lion Forest (Pl. 222), Mei Qing inscribed: "...I enjoyed a lofty stay here ten years ago; now I carry my *qin* to visit here again. 十年高臥處我更抱琴來" From this it is clear that this album was painted during or soon after Mei Qing's second trip to Mt. Huang in the fourth month of 1690. In addition, ten of fourteen seals used in this undated album can be also found in the 1690 album, which again indicates this undated album and the 1690 album were painted within a short period of time. As there are many sketchy brushstrokes and compositions in this album, we may suggest that it was also painted as a sketch book on which both the 1690 and the 1692 albums were based in the main.

Apart from the undated album depicting twelve views of Mt. Huang, there are other two important undated albums of eight leaves each which both depict eight views of Mt. Huang (Pls. 225-232 & 233-240).⁷ Most of the paintings of these two albums are sketches, but each of them forms a complete design. Ten of them are accompanied by inscriptions on the facing leaves. Most of Mei Qing's favorite scenes of Mt. Huang appear in these two albums, such as One Hundred Cloudy Steps, Refining Cinnabar Platform, Cloudy Gate Peak, Heavenly Capital Peak, Sounding Strings Spring, White Dragon Pool and Wenshu Plateau. The brushwork of these two albums is sketchy, but rather delicate, distinguishing it from the thin and descriptive brushwork that

⁷ The whereabouts of these two albums are unknown. See Christie's catalogue of *Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: December 3, 1985), lot 61 and (New York: June 1, 1989), lot 28. Additionally, some leaves from both albums are illustrated in Christie's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: December 1, 1993), lots 219 and 223.

characterizes most paintings of Mei Qing's middle stage from the mid-1660s to the mid-1680s. Also the brushwork of the calligraphy is much looser than most works of the middle stage. Furthermore, in the leaf depicting the Hot Springs (Pl. 233), Mei Qing inscribes that he has bathed in the Hot Springs seven times during his two trips to Mt. Huang. According to this inscription and the style of the paintings and the calligraphy of all the leaves, we can be sure that these two undated albums were both intended as a series of sketches made after Mei Qing's second journey to Mt. Huang, which took place in the fourth month of 1690. Judging from the brushwork, compositions, material and dimensions of these two separated albums, they might have originally belonged to the same album or have been painted during a short period; therefore, for the sake of reading, they are treated as a single undated *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang* album in this study.

On the basis of these sketches, Mei Qing afterwards completed several detailed renditions of Mt. Huang, such as a set of four hanging scrolls. This set of four hanging scrolls is also undated, and its present whereabouts are unknown.⁸ If we compare these four scrolls individually depicting the Hundred Cloudy Steps (Pl. 87), Refining Cinnabar Platform (Pl. 88), Cloudy Gate Peak (Pl. 89), and Sounding Strings Spring (Pl. 90) with the four same scenes from the undated album of sketches (Pls. 235, 236, 237 & 240), we will find that the hanging scrolls are obviously based on the album, but are painted in a more detailed and exaggerated manner. The calligraphy of the inscriptions on these scrolls is written in running script with some fluctuating strokes that is closer to the style of most of Mei Qing's late works, than to that of the works of his middle period. One positive element which can be used to date this set of four scrolls is the poem inscribed by Mei Qing on the scroll describing Cloudy Gate Peak, as this poem was one of nine written by Mei Qing on his second trip to Mt. Huang.⁹ It provides further evidence that this set of four hanging scrolls was painted after Mei Qing's second trip to Mt. Huang.

⁸ They are reproduced here from the photographs in the seminar room of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

⁹ For these nine poems, see *QSSL*, vol. 29, pp. 15-17.

Although these sixteen views of Mt. Huang are only sketches, their impressive designs not only inspired Mei Qing to further develop them but also attracted the attention of forgers. On the basis of the previous two undated works by Mei Qing, sixteen sketches of Mt. Huang and four hanging scrolls of Mt. Huang, a set of four hanging scrolls in the collection of Chih Lo Lou 至樂樓 (Figs. 67-70) were forged. Moreover, two forgeries, an album of twelve leaves in Sun Daguang 孫大光 collection (Figs. 49-60) and a hanging scroll in the National Palace Museum (Fig. 64) were also partially based on these two undated works. These forgeries are discussed later.

The fifth example to be dated is a joint album that contains eight leaves, four of them by Mei Qing emulating the styles of ancient masters (Pls. 241-244), and the other four by Mei Chong depicting four scenes of Xuancheng: Santian Cave 三天洞 (Pl. 245), Echo Hill Pond (Pl. 246), Mt. Jingting (Pl. 247) and North Lake Pavilion 北湖亭 (Pl. 248). This album is now in the Kiichi Hashimoto Collection, Kyoto.¹⁰ According to Mei Qing's poems, we learn that Mei Chong, a son of one of Mei Qing's nephews, lived in Mei Qing's Tianyan Pavilion in 1688 and attended the Huaguo poetry gatherings and other literati gatherings with Mei Qing after that year.¹¹ One of Mei Chong's four scenes depicts one of the Huaguo poetry gatherings held at North Lake Pavilion (Pl. 248). This event was also recorded by Mei Qing in one of his poems, dated in the sixth month of 1692 and describing how Mei Qing and Mei Chong gathered with twenty-four other friends at North Lake Pavilion.¹² It is possible that Mei Chong's four leaves were painted around 1692. Although we cannot be certain that Mei Qing also painted his four leaves at the same time, this is most likely. Around 1690, Mei Qing started to paint albums and albums in the styles of several ancient masters, so it is possible that the present four leaves emulating the style of ancient masters were also painted during this period when Mei Qing was so interested in the styles of ancient masters. If we compare these four leaves with Mei Qing's earliest dated album in the styles of ancient masters, dated in 1690 (Pls. 41-44), we will find that the brushwork of painting and

¹⁰ Some leaves can be found in *Shadows*, cat. no. 61.

¹¹ *QSSL*, "Hwaguohui changhe shi", pp. 9 and 12, see also vols. 28-33.

¹² *QSSL*, vol. 32, pp. 4-5.

calligraphy in both albums is similar. For instance, the way of depicting the plum trees and small plants is similar in the two leaves, which both emulate the style of Li Cheng, one from the present album (Pl. 241) and one from the 1690 album (Pl. 41). Further, there is a similarity in the two albums' use of seals. Among seven different seals used on the 1690 album, six of them are also stamped on the present album. These considerations lead us to suggest that the present four leaves were painted by Mei Qing around the early 1690s.

The sixth work to be dated is a hanging scroll in the Liaoning Provincial Museum depicting the Heavenly Capital Peak (Pl. 159). Mei Qing's inscription on this painting tells us that he walked to Ciguang Temple and looked at the Heavenly Capital Peak. The formation of the peak is exaggerated to appear like a cactus with a huge head and a slight body. The mountain is shaded with broad and angular strokes, that represent the huge, dense and grand image of the peak. The small pine trees on the edge of the rocks are executed with thin strokes, which make a strong contrast with the huge peak. In the lower part of the painting, Mei Qing portrayed himself walking to the Ciguang Temple, which seems to be floating on the clouds and mist. Most of the brushwork of this scroll is broad, quite different from the thin brushwork of Mei Qing's middle stage. Also the exaggerated formation of the peak is completely different from the descriptive style of Mei Qing's middle stage. According to the above analysis, this scroll may have been painted during the last stage of Mei Qing's painting career, from the mid-1680s to 1696.

Similar broad strokes can be found in another two hanging scrolls, both in the Anhui Provincial Museum: one entitled *Holding a Staff to Search for Plum Blossoms*, in the manner of Li Cheng (Pl. 249);¹³ the other entitled *Refining Cinnabar Platform*, in the manner of Zhao Mengfu (Pl. 91). The brushwork of the former is more refined than that of the Liaoning scroll. Several lively bare plum trees are depicted in the lower right corner, in the middle ground, and on

¹³ Anhui Provincial Museum ed., *Anhuisheng bowuguan*, pl. 112; *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英, no. 20 (1983), p. 28.

the top of the huge cliffs.¹⁴ A man with a staff is on his way to search for plum blossoms on a wintry day. The cliffs and rocks are shaded with dry and broad strokes. The dotting is freely applied here and there. From the two dramatic formations of cliffs in the top right corner and the refined brushwork of both the painting and calligraphy, we may suggest that this painting was painted in the last stage of Mei Qing's painting career. The painting of Refining Cinnabar Platform reveals a similar type of brushwork. For instance, the contours of the rocks and cliffs are rendered with broad strokes, and the dots are freely applied on the rocks and pines. According to the style of the brushwork and the composition, we may suggest that this painting was also painted in Mei Qing's late stage. The fact that Mei Qing seemed to pay more attention to emulate the style of ancient masters in his late stage may also offer some support for dating these two paintings.

Since Mei Qing applied various brushstrokes in his last stage, and sometimes even used different types of strokes in the same album, it is difficult to judge which type of brushwork was applied earlier and which later in his last few years. But if we consider the composition and the seals together, it is easier for us to judge the period that some undated paintings belong to. The ninth example to be dated comprises two undated leaves depicting two views of Mt. Huang, Wenshu Temple (Pl. 250) and Hot Springs (Pl. 251).¹⁵ These two leaves must have originally belonged to the same album, as their size and material are the same, and the styles of their calligraphy are similar. If we compare these two leaves with Mei Qing's Mt. Huang albums of 1690, 1692 and 1693, we find that the compositions of these two undated leaves are closer to those of the two same scenes from the 1693 album rather than those from the 1690 or 1692 albums. For instance, there are only one or two men looking down on the sea of clouds around Wenshu Temple in the present undated leaf and 1693 leaf (Pl. 185), but there are three men conversing in front of Wenshu Temple in both the 1690 and 1692 leaves (Pls. 114 & 125). Moreover, the Hot Springs is

¹⁴ These plum trees are depicted in almost exactly the same manner (both configuration and brushstrokes) as that on the Cleveland album leaf (Pl. 41).

¹⁵ See *Comprehensive*, vol. 2, E20-082.

presented with Xiangfu Temple in both the albums of 1690 (Pl. 109) and 1692 (Pl. 123), but the scene of Hot Springs is represented alone in the present undated and 1693 (Pl. 186) leaves.

From the compositions of these two undated leaves, we may suggest that they may have been painted closer to 1693 rather than to 1690 or 1692. If we go further to examine the seals, we can find two collectors' seals reading "Fuchun Hu Yishan 富春胡異山" and "Li Wentong yin 李文通印" on one of these two undated leaves. Interestingly, these two collectors' seals can also be found in an album depicting ten views of Mt. Huang, dated 1694, in the collection of Professor Cheng Te-k'un, Hong Kong (Pls. 192-201). Apart from these two same collectors' seals, there are another three reasons to suggest these two leaves must have originally belonged to Professor Cheng's album. Firstly, the size, format, and material of these two leaves are almost the same as those in the Cheng album. Secondly, the scenes of these two undated leaves do not appear in any of the leaves of the Cheng album. Finally, and most important, they show a similar style of painting, for instance, many uneven washes can be found in both these two undated leaves and in the Cheng album.

The last undated work to be discussed is a landscape album with twelve leaves, formerly in Yamaguchi Collection, Japan (Pls. 252-264).¹⁶ The title of the album was written by Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844-1927) (Pl. 264), the famous late Qing painter and calligrapher. The strokes of Mei Qing's calligraphy in the album are fluctuating as in most of his late works. The brushwork of the paintings is dry and discontinuous, which may indicate that this album was done in Mei Qing's last few years. Moreover, some similarities have been found between this undated album and another landscape album by Mei Qing dated in the sixth month of 1695, in the Shanghai Museum, that again suggests that this undated album might have been painted also around 1695. For instance, one leaf from this undated album (Pl. 257) has a similar inscription as one of the leaves from the 1695 album (Pl. 146) and combines the compositions of Pls 146 and 147; again another similar inscription can be found both in Pl. 147 of the 1695 album and in this undated

¹⁶ See *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, JP. 34-075. I wrote to the collector in February 1991, but received the reply that all his collection had been sold and the whereabouts of Mei Qing's paintings are unknown.

album (Pl. 262). Furthermore, many seals often stamped on Mei Qing's late works appear in both albums, such as "Guren zaiwo 古人在我", "Wofa 我法", "Laomei 老梅", "Chaxia 茶峽", "Baifa laowanpi 白髮老頑皮", and "Gukuang 古狂", also suggesting that these two albums might have been painted at the same period, around 1695.

By trying to date the above nine undated works, we learn more of the characteristics of Mei Qing's paintings and calligraphy at every stage. Although we can not be absolutely sure that each dating is correct, we can be sure that these discussions have led to a clearer understanding of Mei Qing's style in different stages. Mei Qing's individual style will emerge even more clearly after some forgeries signed with his name are pointed out in the next section.

2. Sixteen Forgeries Signed with the Name of Mei Qing

Mei Qing's paintings were not only often praised by his contemporaries but also often forged by them, as his friend Yu Shou noted on one of his paintings, "Mei Qing is as good as Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang....Everyone tries very hard to collect paintings either by Mei Qing himself or forgeries signed with the name of Mei Qing 眞贋參錯人爭藏."¹⁷ The forging of Mei Qing's painting began in his lifetime. More than two centuries after his death, the popularity of his works has grown quickly since more and more paintings by him have been published. As already mentioned, one of his important albums entitled *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, was first published in 1910,¹⁸ and was reprinted several times, such as in 1923, 1924, and 1934,¹⁹ thus a greater number of forgeries based on it have been produced since then and have confused the definition of Mei Qing's style. Accordingly, in order to elucidate Mei Qing's individual style of painting, it is necessary to explore the complex problem of the authenticity of his works.

¹⁷ QSSL, "Tianyang zengyanji", vol. 2, pp. 11-12.

¹⁸ Quoted from *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 310. The 1910 edition was not available for this study.

¹⁹ The 1923 and 1924 versions are both entitled *Mei Qushan Huangshan shengji tu* 梅壚山黃山勝跡圖冊 and were both published by Wenming shuju in Shanghai.

Making forgeries of calligraphy and painting has a long tradition in China. When Chinese calligraphy and painting became objects of collection, they also became objects of study and emulation. As early as A.D. 470 (Northern and Southern Dynasties), Yu He 虞龢 discussing calligraphy, had complained that in the collections of that time, "genuine works and forgeries were freely mingled, and people could not tell them apart."²⁰ Yu He also described how forgers "used drippings from thatched roofs to dye the paper and change its colour, and further mistreated the paper deliberately, so that it looked like an old piece of writing." The sport and the commercial enterprise of forgery have flourished since without interruption. The Northern Song artist and connoisseur Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107) in his *Shushi* 書史 described how his friends Wang Shen 王詵 (1037-after 1093) and Ge Zao 葛藻 both had collected his own calligraphies, which were free-hand copies in the styles of ancient masters, then had tried to convert them into forgeries of ancient works by changing the colour of the paper or adding some famous colophons and the seals of ancient artists or collectors.²¹

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the skill of forgery became more elaborate, thus the problem of authenticating the works became more complicated. Even a famous connoisseur like Dong Qichang (1555-1636), often could not discern between forgeries and genuine works, as he wrote: "It costs one hundred pieces of gold for each famous Song or Ming painting; when examining them, there are very few doubts, but what I have bought are often forgeries."²²

In the early Qing, forgery almost became a special vocation, as calligrapher and critic Qian Yong 錢詠 (1759-1844) wrote:

In the early Qing, a family by the name of Qin 欽 lived in Suzhou (in Jiangsu province), each member of which was good at copying old calligraphy and painting. Recently, more than half of the famous works [he lists the names of Song and Yuan masters] have been forged by the Qin family in all sizes, from small pieces to large albums and handscrolls. When I was young, I saw one of their descendants, who

²⁰ Yu He 虞龢, "Lunshubiao 論書表" in *Fashu yaolun* 法書要論. In *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編 vol. 1, compiled by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 5th edition, 1982) vol. 2, pp. 14-15.

²¹ See Mi Fu 米芾, "Shushi 書史", pp. 40-41 and 56-57. In *Meishu congshu* (Shanghai: Shen Zhou guoquangshe, 4th ed., 1947), vol. 2, no. 1.

²² Dong Qichang, *Huazhi*. In Yu Anlan comp., *Huahun congkan*, p. 101.

was poor and selling the forgeries at Tiger Hill. Since then making forgery has come into vogue, thus more forgeries appeared. So far as I have seen, whenever there is a genuine work passing through the hands of those forgers, such as Shen's twin sons Laohong 老宏 and Laoqi 老啓, Wu Tingli 吳廷立, and Zheng Laohui 鄭老會, a forgery will certainly emerge within several days. Calligraphy is copied by *shuanggou* (tracing the outline), then filling in with ink and painting by *mofang* (freehand copy) and they are extremely like [the originals]; therefore, even those who specialize in calligraphy and painting cannot tell forgeries from genuine works.²³

The popularity of making forgery in the Qing dynasty can be also seen in Lu Shihua's 陸時化 (1714-1779) "Shuhua zuowei riqilun 書畫作偽日奇論" wherein more new methods of making forgery were described.²⁴

There are four major traditional methods of copying, which are: *lin* 臨 (to copy in a freehand manner), *mo* 摹 (to copy by tracing), *fang* 仿 (to imitate), and *zao* 造 (to invent). After modern photography and photocopying were invented, so more and more ancient calligraphies and paintings have been published, and forgery became much easier. It also became more and more difficult to tell the ancient works apart from the forgeries, especially when photoengraved seals that could be perfectly reproduce the originals were used. As Joan Stanley-Baker has pointed out: "Many distinguished scholars are rightly impatient with the sporadic emergence of the issue of forgeries in academic discussion, for it interrupts the major task of outlining the history of Chinese art. They point out rightly that no discussion of forgeries (in modern scholarship) has ever convinced anyone."²⁵ In other words, no sooner does one scholar declare a work to be forged than another scholar debates the claim. Discussing the problem of forgeries is not easy, but it is the only way we can further understand the real style of an artist, especially of those who have been often forged, such as Mei Qing. Mainly based on the study of Mei Qing's life and the analyses of the sources and stylistic development of his paintings in the previous three chapters, sixteen examples of forgery signed as Mei Qing are discussed in this chapter.

²³ See Qian Yong 錢詠, "Luyuan huaxue 履園畫學". In *Meishu congshu*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 11-12.

²⁴ Lu Shihua 陸時化, "Shuhua zuowei riqilun 書畫作偽日奇論". In *ZGHLLB*, pp. 1313-1314.

²⁵ See Joan Stanley-Baker, "Forgeries in Chinese Painting". In *Oriental Art* XXXII, no 1 (Spring, 1986), p. 54.

Mei Qing has been famous for his depictions of Mt. Huang, and most of his extant works are renditions of its scenery, thus most of the forgeries have also been copied from his views of Mt. Huang. As we have mentioned, Mei Qing's first visit to Mt. Huang was in June 1678, but there are at least two works both signed with the name of Mei Qing that purport to show Mt. Huang after he had travelled there. Both of them bear dates earlier than June 1678. One is dated 1663, and the other is dated 1672. How could it happen? If the forgers had known better the events of Mei Qing's life, they would have not dated them earlier than June 1678.

(1) *Landscape of Mt. Huang* (Fig. 1)

The first example of forgery is dated 1663, entitled *Landscape of Mt. Huang* (Fig. 1).²⁶ It was coincidental that a collector brought this handscroll for examination, when I was studying some of Mei Qing's paintings in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It is well designed; the various shapes of mountains and rocks make the long scroll interesting. The brushwork of this handscroll is thin and hard, which is quite different from either the thin, soft and dry type of brushwork or the dynamic and unrefined type of brushwork that characterizes two types of the early works by Mei Qing. The different style of brushwork is obviously seen when we particularly compare the figures, houses, temples, pines, rocks or mountains on the present scroll with those on the 1649 hanging scroll (Pl. 348), 1649 fan (Pl. 26), 1657 album (Pls. 6-15), 1661 single leaf (Pl. 161), 1661 album (Pls. 350-356) and 1663 fan painting (Pl. 162).

A poem that describes the scenery of Mt. Huang is inscribed at the end of the scroll. The thin and smooth running script with many cursive elements provides no stylistic link with any other examples of Mei Qing's early calligraphy. Even throughout Mei Qing's painting career, he seldom wrote running script in such thin and smooth strokes. Unlike this inscription, other works by Mei Qing painted around 1663, such as the 1661 album (Pl. 350), 1663 fan painting (Pl. 162), and 1667 hanging scroll (Pl. 22), are all written with much immature and broader brushwork. If we further

²⁶ Christie's catalogue of *Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 28, 1990), lot 165.

compare the character "qu 瞿" of this signature with those of Mei Qing in table 9, we will find that the balance of this character is very close to those of the late stage, not those of the early stage. Moreover, the two seals stamped on the scroll reading "Mei Qing Yin" and "Yuan Gong" have never been seen on any other works of Mei Qing.

If Mei Qing had travelled to Mt. Huang in 1663 as is inscribed: "I painted this after coming back from Mt. Huang in the third month of the *guimao* 癸卯 (1663) year." and had painted such a long handscroll, he would have written down something about it, as he had been eager to travel there a long time since. As we have mentioned, in one of Mei Qing's poems written between 1649 and 1653, he said: "I see Yellow Sea (Mt. Huang) in my dreams clearly; I have missed it for thirty years," from which we can find that Mei Qing's desire to see Mt. Huang started when he was very young. The poem inscribed on this handscroll emphasizes only the magnificent views of light in the mountains, no any famous sites of Mt. Huang has been mentioned.²⁷ Neither this poem nor Mei Qing's journey to Mt. Huang in 1663 has been recorded in his own or his friends' writings. Moreover, in the self-preface of the twentieth volume of *Qushan shilue*, Mei Qing has written that he climbed Mt. Huang for the first time in June 1678. According to the above analysis, I presume that this scroll was not copied directly from any one of Mei Qing's early paintings, but was painted by someone who tried to invent an early painting of Mei Qing, while not knowing much about Mei Qing's early style and the events of his life. The forger might have never seen any of Mei Qing's early works and thought that it would be very safe to invent an entirely new composition, inscription and seals, as there must be no counterpart to compare with. In this regard, this painting is quite different from most of the forgeries which mainly based on Mei Qing's works. Some such examples are discussed as follows.

²⁷ This inscription has been translated in Appendix IV: 4 (A). Like this inscription, the other inscriptions on the forgeries discussed in this section are also translated in Appendix IV: 4 (A).

(2) *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang* (Figs. 3-18)

The second example of forgery, dated in the fifth month of 1672, is an album of sixteen leaves illustrating sixteen views of Mt. Huang (Figs. 3-18).²⁸ This album has been generally considered as genuine, and it was published as such in 1939 and again in 1974. On this account, 1672 was generally accepted as the year that Mei Qing first travelled to Mt. Huang. But, according to Mei Qing's writings and after making a comparison with his other paintings, it is probable that the album was forged.

Most of the leaves are very similar to the leaves from Mei Qing's two genuine Mt. Huang albums dated 1692 and 1693. For example, when we compare one leaf entitled *Heavenly Capital Peak* (Fig. 5) with the same theme in the 1692 album (Pl. 124), we can easily find that apart from changing the format from horizontal to vertical, their inscriptions and compositions are very similar, especially the two temples in the middle ground and a man with a long staff standing on the steps appearing in the lower left corner. It is impossible for any literati or individual artist to repeat a composition in such a detailed fashion, unless he deliberately intends to do so. Like *Heavenly Capital Peak*, there are other four views in this album whose compositions are similar to the same subjects in the 1692 album, which are *Cuiwei Temple* (Fig. 8 & Pl. 127), *Refining Cinnabar Platform* (Fig. 9 & Pl. 131), *West Sea Gate* (Fig. 14 & Pl. 128), and *Guiding Pine & Twisted Dragon Pine* (Fig. 16 & Pl. 126), especially the figures and buildings.

Moreover, six compositions and inscriptions of the present album are similar to those of the same scenes in the 1693 album, which are *Hot Springs* (Fig. 3 & Pl. 186), *Flapping Parrot* (Fig. 6 & Pl. 182:B), *Wulao Peak* (Fig. 12 & Pl. 183:B), *Wugong Peak* (Fig. 13 & Pl. 188:B), *Lion Peak* (Fig. 15 & Pl. 184:B), and *Cloud Gate Peak* (Fig. 18 & Pl. 188:A). Although Mei Qing often depicted the same site, it would be unusual for him to repeat so many similar compositions and calligraphies, especially after an interval of twenty years. If we assume that the present album was a

²⁸ Zhou Jinjue 周今覺 col., *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* 梅瞿山黃山全景精品 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939; republished in Taiwan: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974); Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 30, 1988), lot 50.

preliminary work upon which the later two albums were based, we would first have to prove that Mei Qing had travelled to Mt. Huang before the fifth month of 1672, since many of the inscriptions on this album describe the feeling of having been there. For instance, the inscription on the leaf entitled *The Hundred Cloudy Steps* (Fig. 11) reads: "One hundred cloudy steps is the only way that you can pass from Back Sea to Front Sea. It goes straight up in a single line, so with a sheer drop on three sides. Even though it is long ago, I am still terrified [to think of it]." There are other three leaves also inscribing the feeling of having been there, which are "Tiger Peak" (Fig. 4), "Cuiwei Temple" (Fig. 8) and "Wulao Peak" (Fig. 12). If we read carefully the inscription on the leaf depicting Wulao Peak, we will find the statement is in conflict with that on the same scene from the 1693 album. The inscription of the Wulao Peak from the present album (Fig. 12) reads:

The Wulao Peak is the most strange in Mt. Huang, **but I have visited one side of it**. I have not forgotten **it**, and with a brush in my hand I feel that I am grasping the general aspects of this peak. 黃山五老峰最奇，予遊僅一面，意中每不能忘，握筆時彷彿得之。

But the one in the 1693 album (Pl. 183:B) reads:

Monk Shitao came from Mt. Huang, showing me several albums of his renditions of Mt. Huang. The *Wulao Peak* was the strangest among the paintings. **I have been to Mt. Huang, but I did not have a chance to see Wulao Peak**. I have not forgotten [Shitao's painting], and with a brush in my hand I feel that I am grasping the general aspects of this peak. 石濤和尚從黃山來，曾寫數冊見示，中間唯五老峰最奇，予遊黃山，竟未與五老一面，意中每不能忘，握筆時彷彿得之。

These two different memories of visiting Wulao Peak suggest that these two inscriptions must not be written by the same person.

We can further examine the seals of the present album, as seals sometimes can provide more objective evidence. As we shall see, many seals on the present album are stamped so carelessly that they overlap the inscriptions, which was not Mei Qing's habit. Furthermore, nineteen out of the twenty-two seals on the present album are similar to those found on one or other of the Mt. Huang album of 1692 or 1693, while another three seals are similar to those found on Mei Qing's works of the 1690s, but not to those found on the works of 1660s and 1670s. For instance, he used

"Lao Qu 老瞿" on leaf 9, but this seal appears only on Mei Qing's works that dated during 1690-1695 (see Appendix III: Mei Qing's seals). It is most unlikely that Mei Qing painted the works in 1672 and only applied the seals twenty years later. Even if the album were considered to be a series of genuine sketches by Mei Qing after a trip to Mt. Huang in 1672, there are no similarities whatsoever in brushwork with the other thin, dry, and delicate works of his middle stage which ranged from the mid-1660s to the mid-1680s. For instance, if we compare the pine trees depicted on this album (Figs. 5, 9, 13 & 18) with those on the hanging scrolls of 1667 (Pl. 22) and 1673 (Pl. 23), we will find that the pine trees on several leaves of the present album are all roughly formed with a few short strokes; on the contrary, the pine trees on the two hanging scrolls are clearly formed with fine clusters of pine-needles. The brushwork of the present album is completely different from that of the 1667 or the 1673 scroll.

From the above discussion, I conclude that the present album was mainly copied from Mei Qing's 1692 and 1693 Mt. Huang albums, including the compositions, inscriptions, and seals. Like the first example, this album was forged by someone who also may have known neither the stylistic development of Mei Qing's painting nor the events of his life, and he may well have thought that to date it earlier was safer than to date it later since his brushwork was not as refined as that of Mei Qing's 1692 or 1693 Mt. Huang album. This album was formerly collected by Zhou Jinjue 周今覺, who said in the 1930s that he had seen more than twenty albums depicting the scenery of Mt. Huang by Mei Qing, and thought that this album was the best among all of them.²⁹ According to what Zhou Jinjue has said, we can assume that there may be some other forgeries among the twenty albums which he claimed to have seen. His statement also reveals the possibility that a large quantity of forgeries signed as Mei Qing were then in circulation. When we continue to discuss some more examples of forgeries signed as Mei Qing, we shall see that a large number of forgeries bearing his name are still in circulation at present.

²⁹ See the introduction to the Zhou Jinjue collection, *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin*.

(3) *Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng* (Fig. 19)

The third example to be discussed is entitled *Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng* (ca. 1308-1385) dated in the third month of 1691, and now located in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 19).³⁰ The brushwork of this painting is varied, but many kinds of strokes have never been seen in other works of Mei Qing, such as the texture strokes of the rocks, the thin and long dots in the middle ground (Fig. 20), and the twisted together strokes of upside-down branches in the foreground (Fig. 21). The composition is loose, and the scene is seemingly divided into two discontinuous parts from the middle. Such an illogical and inconsistent composition has seldom been seen in other works by Mei Qing. In discussing this painting, Jane DeBevoise in *Shadows of Mt. Huang* observed, "Neither section relates logically to the other, and the space is similarly ambiguous"; but when she compares this hanging scroll with Mei Qing's 1693 Mt. Huang album, she concludes that, "The difference, then, is probably due to format, not date. Some of the concentration of Mei Qing's small works is lost in the large ones; on the other hand, large pictures such as the Detroit scroll allow him to work out his strikingly original conceptions on a grander scale."³¹ As Jane DeBevoise has not compared this hanging scroll with other large-scale paintings of Mei Qing or other paintings in the manner of Wang Meng by Mei Qing, she regards this scroll as one of Mei Qing's genuine works and suggests it is because of the format that the composition is ambiguous and loose. If we choose two of Mei Qing's paintings, which are not only dated around 1691, one being dated 1690 (Pl. 102) and the other 1693 (Pl. 103), but also painted in the manner of Wang Meng, to compare with the Detroit hanging scroll, we will see that there are many distinctions between these two paintings and the Detroit scroll.

First of all, the brushwork in both the hanging scrolls of 1690 and 1693 is quite similar, both being transformations from Wang Meng's "unravelling rope" and "ox hair" texture strokes, but that in the Detroit hanging scroll clearly has not much connection with the style of Wang Meng. Secondly, unlike the Detroit scroll, the compositions of the 1690 hanging scroll and the 1693 scroll

³⁰ *Shadows*, no. 62.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

are both arranged logically. The 1690 hanging scroll is one of Mei Qing's largest paintings, 345 x 127.3 cm., and the landscape is logically depicted in perspective, with no ambiguous or discontinuous space. The path in the foreground, the bridge in the middle ground, and another path in the background all clearly indicate the direction to the mountain.

In addition to the brushwork and composition, the inscription on the Detroit hanging scroll also looks inconsistent in several parts (Fig. 22). For instance, the spaces between the characters "lao 老" and "xing 興", "xing 興" and "you 猶", "yi 以" and "quan 勸", "quan 勸" and "wo 我" are too large to be consistent. Interestingly, the same inscription can be found in a colophon by Mei Qing himself (Pl. 174: A) from an album in the styles of the ancient masters (Pls. 174-176), dated six months later than the Detroit scroll, in the Shanghai Museum. When we put these two calligraphies together, it is clear that one of them must be a very close free-hand copy of the other, as the configuration of each character and each stroke, despite appearing similar, are actually different from each other. The brushwork in the Detroit scroll appears much looser than that in the colophon of the Shanghai album. From the tones of the ink and the spaces between the characters, we find that most of the characters in the Detroit scroll appear to be written separately, lacking in consistency, while in the album, on the contrary, the colophon seems to have been written straight out without interruption. I presume that the inscription in the Detroit scroll was closely copied from the colophon of the Shanghai album, and this may explain why many characters in the Detroit scroll seem isolated from each other and why the three lines of calligraphy were written at a slight angle rather than in truly vertical columns.

After studying the original painting, my initial doubts about this scroll were confirmed by another piece of evidence. The two seals that read "Qu Xingqing 瞿硎清" and "Yuangong 淵公" (Fig. 23), which are Mei Qing's literary and style names, are stamped on places which bear the blurred remains of two other seals originally impressed there, and which an attempt has been made to erase. Therefore, I conclude this painting was originally painted by someone who had already stamped two seals on it, but later, probably by someone else, the inscription was added to the scroll by closely copying from Mei Qing's work and these two seals were replaced by the two fake seals

seen at present. The circumstances of this forgery are quite different from the other forgeries, as we shall see most of the latter are copied from depictions of Mt. Huang by Mei Qing. The next example, for instance, may be copied from a scene of Mt. Huang by Mei Qing, entitled *Nine Dragon Pool* (Pl. 179).

(4) *Nine Dragon Pool* (Fig. 24)

This is an undated hanging scroll, in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 24).³² The striking and decorative composition can also be found in another version from Mei Qing's 1693 Mt. Huang album (Pl. 179), which is very similar in style. When we compare these two paintings, apart from the different formats, we will find they are very similar to each other both in painting and calligraphy, especially the calligraphy. In fact, it is impossible to paint two paintings or write two pieces of calligraphy in exactly the same style, even when they are by the same artist. As Wen Fong explained in *The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting*, "no two manually-manufactured pictures can be precisely and exactly alike".³³

If we presume that Mei Qing intended to paint two paintings in a similar style, it would still have been impossible for him to make such a close copy of his own calligraphy stroke by stroke. When we compare the calligraphies of these two paintings (Fig. 25 & Pl. 265), we can see that every character, even every stroke is almost exactly the same to each other, though the size of each character is not exactly the same. Through a comparison of their sizes, we know that one is a slightly enlarged or reduced copy of the other. In the Cleveland scroll (Fig. 25), the last four characters of the first line appear isolated from each other, as the space between each pair of characters is too large, which might be the result of free-hand copy on sight or of a tracing copy by slightly moving the paper. According to the above discussion, we would suggest that these two

³² For the study and reproduction of it, see Sherman E. Lee in Sally W. Goodfellow ed., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 310, and no. 229.

³³ Wen Fong, *The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting* (Switzerland: n.d.), preface. It was first published as an article in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXV, 1962, pp. 95-119.

paintings were not painted by the same person, otherwise these two pieces of calligraphies should not be so similar to each other.

The brushwork in both paintings is delicate and meticulous, but if we carefully examine them, we find that the waves (Fig. 26 & Pl. 266), the washes and textural elements on rocks (Figs. 27-28 & Pl. 267-268) are all depicted differently, which again indicates they were painted by different persons. In Mei Qing's 1693 leaf, the spray of breaking waves is depicted more clearly like standing caterpillars, and the washes on rocks are not so indistinct as those in the Cleveland scroll; also there are some clear dots on the rocks. If we suppose for a moment that Mei Qing had tried so hard to repeat exactly the same calligraphy and similar composition, then he might also have tried to apply the same strokes for the depiction of the waves and the rocks. Moreover, the tones of the colour in these two paintings are absolutely different; that in the Cleveland scroll is blurred, with the main colour a light brown, whereas that in the 1693 leaf appears rather clear and the main colour is green. Sherman E. Lee in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* suggests that the 1693 leaf "is probably a copy" from the Cleveland scroll, but in my opinion the opposite is the case, that is, the Cleveland scroll is a copy from the 1693 leaf, a free-hand copy in painting and a close but slightly enlarged copy in calligraphy.

First of all, the Cleveland hanging scroll presents an impression of vagueness and moisture, but the 1693 leaf expresses the sense of liveliness which is closer to most of Mei Qing's works, especially paintings in colour; second, as we have discussed, some characters of the calligraphy in the Cleveland scroll look isolated from the others, which makes the composition of the whole piece of calligraphy look loose and inconsistent; and third, the three seals on the Cleveland scroll, which read "Mei 梅", "Qing 清", and "Yuangong 淵公", have never been found in Mei Qing's other paintings, except on the two paintings which will be discussed next, whereas on the 1693 leaf, the first two three seals which read "Chaxia 茶峽", "Zizhenzhiyi 子貞之裔",³⁴ are often seen on other

³⁴ The third seal on this painting reads "Laoqu kanshan yanbeiqing 老去看山眼倍青" which does not appear on the other extant paintings of Mei Qing. However, it is not unusual for Mei Qing to use some of his seals only once, especially those that appear on his late works.

late works by Mei Qing, such as in the important Mt. Huang albums of 1690 (Pl. 117) and 1692 (Pl. 131). Finally, the 1693 leaf is from one of Mei Qing's most important albums, *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, which is meticulously rendered with delicate brushwork and unified compositions.

The high quality of the *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang* has attracted the attention of both connoisseurs and forgers alike. The next two paintings may also have been copied from a leaf in this album, entitled *West Sea Gate* (Pl. 190).

(5-6) West Sea: two versions (Figs. 29 & 31)

Two paintings that bear the same seals as those on the Cleveland *Nine Dragon Pool* are both entitled *West Sea*. One of them is in the Tianjin Art Museum (Fig. 29)³⁵ and has all three of the seals found on the Cleveland scroll; the other was once exhibited in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, in 1970, and bears only two of these three seals (Fig. 31).³⁶ These two paintings, except for slight differences in inscription and size, are almost exactly the same, even as to the number and height of the peaks. The Tianjin painting is 73.6 x 49cm. and bears a date of the seventh month of 1695, while the painting shown in Taipei is 76 x 48.2cm. and bears a date of the fifth month of 1695, inscribed for someone called "Shimen 石門". From external appearances, we would suggest that these two paintings were possibly painted by the same person, or that one was closely traced from the other.

Having seen both the Tianjin *West Sea* (Fig. 29) and the Cleveland *Nine Dragon Pool* (Fig. 24) scrolls, several reasons suggest that these two scrolls were painted by the same forger. First of all, like the Cleveland scroll, the Tianjin scroll, with many blurred washes and strokes, also expresses an atmosphere of vagueness; second, they both bear the same seals; third, their signatures, which both read "Qushanqing 瞿山清", appear almost the same; fourth, they might both have been copied from two different leaves of the same album, *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*; fifth, they both change

³⁵ Tianjin Art Museum ed., *Tianjinshi yishu bowuguan*, fig. 54; also ZGMSQJ, Huihuabian 9, fig. 98.

³⁶ National Palace Museum, *Special Exhibition of Paintings From the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970), no. 29, pl. 22; also Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: May 30, 1990), lot 67.

the horizontal format to the vertical; finally, they are both free-hand copies in painting and closely enlarged copies in calligraphy.

When we put the Tianjin scroll (Fig. 29) and the leaf with the same theme from the *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang* (Pl. 190) together, it is clear that while their formats are different, their paintings are similar and their calligraphies are almost the same. If we go further to compare their calligraphies (Fig. 30 & Pl. 269), we would think that one was an exact tracing copy of the other, since almost every character, even every stroke and the spaces between every two characters, look like their counterparts in the other. Although on the whole they are almost the same, careful examination reveals some delicate differences between them, such as the sixth character of the fourth line, which reads "le 樂". There is a first stroke for "le" on the Tianjin scroll, which also appears on the scroll painted for "Shimen" shown in Taipei (Fig. 32), but that stroke does not appear on the 1693 leaf from the *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Owing to the different way of writing this character, we would again assume that the calligraphies on the Tianjin scroll and the scroll painted for "Shimen" are written by the same person, who cannot be the person who wrote the calligraphy of the 1693 leaf.

Furthermore, many dry slightly rubbed touches are rendered on the main mountain of the 1693 leaf, also each peak is painted with light dry contours, but these two characteristics do not appear either in the Tianjin scroll or in the scroll painted for "Shimen", which also indicates that these two paintings might have been painted by the same person but again not the person who painted the 1693 leaf. If these three paintings were all painted by the same person, attempting to make another two duplicate copies of both calligraphy and composition, we should expect to see similar brushwork in all of them.

(7) *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang* (Figs. 33-44)

As the *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang* is one of Mei Qing's important late works, which has been published several times since 1910, it is reasonable to assume that there may be many forgeries based on it. In fact, there is even a very close copy of the complete nineteen views in the

Lanqian shanguan 蘭千山館 collection, in Taiwan (Figs. 33-44).³⁷ Interestingly, they are similar in both size and material: both are in ink and colour on paper, Mei Qing's album is 33.9 x 44.1 cm. while the Lanqian shanguan album is 32.6 x 44.8 cm. Apart from the order of each view and the seals, this *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang* in the collection of Lanqian shanguan has almost the same outward appearance as Mei Qing's *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang* (Pls. 179-190). If we compare some views from the Lanqian shanguan album with the same views from Mei Qing's 1693 album, such as the leaves entitled *West Sea Gate* (Fig. 34 & Pl. 190), *Hot Springs* (Fig. 36 & Pl. 186), and *Nine Dragon Pool* (Fig. 39 & Pl. 179), we can easily find that their compositions, brushwork and calligraphies are outwardly similar; but in essence are quite different. The brushwork of both painting and calligraphy in the Lanqian shanguan album is unrefined, but that in Mei Qing's album is delicate and meticulous. It is highly unlikely for Mei Qing to have intended to paint two sets of nineteen similar compositions, but to have applied different brushwork in each. If we believe that one of them is a genuine work, then the other set should be a forgery. Such precise copying of detailed works was a considerable technical feat, but not a habit associated with Mei Qing.

Although Mei Qing often repeated some of his favorite subjects and inscriptions, he always introduced different compositions, brushwork, textural elements, and calligraphic styles to differentiate them. This fact can be proved when we compare the previous 1693 leaf depicting *West Sea Gate* (Pl. 190) with Mei Qing's other renditions of the same scene from his *Mt. Huang* albums of 1690 (Pl. 119), 1692 (Pl. 128) and 1694 (Pl. 199). We can appreciate Mei Qing's great creative ability through comparison of any two versions of the same scene from any of his *Mt. Huang* albums. For instance, when we make a comparison among all the renditions of *Lotus Blossom Peak*, which appears in the *Mt. Huang* albums of 1690, 1692, 1693, 1694 and 1695 (Pls. 110, 129, 183:A, 195 & 205), we will find that no two are painted with a similar composition and brushwork. Like the *Lotus Blossom Peak*, the *Refining Cinnabar Platform* also appears in Mei Qing's *Mt. Huang* albums of 1690, 1692, 1693, 1694 and 1695 (Pls. 106, 131, 181:B, 193 & 203), and their

³⁷ *Comprehensive*, vol. 2, S4-054.

compositions, brushwork, textural elements and calligraphies are all different from the other. From these three sets of examples, we can have a further understanding about how Mei Qing dealt with the same theme. The next set of examples examines the renditions of Wenshu Temple.

(8-10) *Wenshu Temple: three versions* (Figs. 45-47)

Wenshu Temple (or Wenshu Plateau) is also one of Mei Qing's favorite subjects, and he depicted it in his important Mt. Huang albums of 1690 (Pl. 114), 1692 (Pl. 125) and 1693 (Pl. 185). According to what we have discussed about these four albums in the third chapter, such as their brushwork, compositions, inscriptions, colophons, seals, and calligraphies, there is no doubt about their authenticity. Although the compositions of Wenshu Temple in the 1690 and 1692 albums do not at first sight seem to be too different, in fact they are completely different in every detail. Different types of strokes are applied in these two paintings. Moreover, when we compare these two paintings with the same subject in the albums of 1693, the completely different compositions are seen clearly. After comparing these three paintings, we also can not find any indication that Mei Qing had the slightest interest in repeating similar composition, brushwork, and calligraphy for the same subject, though he did often inscribe the same poem more than once.

Thus, the painting depicting the surrounding of Wenshu Plateau in the collection of Sen-oku Hakko Kan, in Japan (Fig. 45),³⁸ is obviously a forgery. It is a very close copy from Mei Qing's 1693 Mt. Huang album (Pl. 185), as their compositions, brushwork, and calligraphies are almost the same. Also, they both are painted in ink on paper, and the 1693 leaf is 33.9 x 44.1 cm. while the one in Sen-oku Hakko Kan is almost exactly the same size, 34.3 x 44.5 cm. If one carefully compares these two paintings, one will see that even the number, the height, and the position of the peaks are almost exactly the same in both. It seems unnecessary for Mei Qing to have gone to such lengths to produce a duplicate version in such detail. Even so, they are different in spirit. For instance, the atmosphere appears blurred and wet in the one collected by the Sen-oku Hakko Kan,

³⁸ Ibid., JM13-080.

but it is plain and dry on the 1693 leaf; also the quality of their brushwork is different, for example, the small pine trees on the top of the peaks in the Sen-oku Hakko Kan scroll look rigid compared to the lively ones in the 1693 leaf.

Apart from this forgery, there are still several other versions depicting the surroundings of Wenshu Temple and signed in the name of Mei Qing, at least three of which are forgeries. One was reproduced in a Christie's sale catalogue (Fig. 46),³⁹ another is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 47),⁴⁰ and the third is a leaf from an undated Mt. Huang album in the collection of Sun Daguang 孫大光 (Fig. 53).⁴¹ The Christie's painting looks rigid both in painting and calligraphy and so completely different from Mei Qing's free and poetic style. Throughout Mei Qing's painting career, even in his earliest period, none of his paintings was painted in such a complicated and detailed style in which almost every stroke is stiff. Obviously, it was forged by an artisan, and interestingly, it may well not have been copied from any painting by Mei Qing, but from a hanging scroll depicting the same scene by one of Mei Qing's followers, Mei Chong 梅冲. The composition, and the contents of the inscription of the Christie's painting are rather similar to those of Mei Chong's *Wenshu Temple*. (Pl. 270 in page 516).⁴² Even the material and the size of these two paintings are quite close to each other: they are both hanging scrolls in ink and colour on paper, and the one in Christie's catalogue is 215 x 54.5 cm. while Mei Chong's painting is 218 x 49 cm. From the above analysis, I believe the one in the Christie's catalogue was closely copied from Mei Chong's *Wenshu Temple*. Mei Chong's style is further discussed in the sixth chapter.

³⁹ Christie's catalogue of *Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: December 4, 1989), lot. 38.

⁴⁰ For the study and reproduction of the painting see, Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past: The Painting of Chang Dai-chien (1899-1983)* (Washington, D. C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Smithsonian Institution, 1992), pp. 99-101, fig. 6; also *The Individualists: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of the 17th Century from the Collection of John M. Crawford, JR.* (Providence, Rhode Island: Bell Gallery, Lust Art Center, Brown University, 1980), pp. 41-43, fig. 18.

⁴¹ For the reproduction of the album, see Gao Yun and Huang Jun eds., *Zhongguo minjian micang huihua zhenpin* (Jiangsu: Meishu chubanshe, 1989). See also Lu Heling 陸鶴齡 comp., *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji* 四味書屋珍藏書畫集 (Anhui: Meishu chubanshe, 1989), pls. 108-119.

⁴² Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, fig. 50.

The scroll in the Metropolitan Museum is somewhat static (Fig. 47). The pine groves screening the temples and the peaks are all rendered in a stiff manner, quite different from Mei Qing's other two paintings with the same theme from the Mt. Huang albums of 1690 (Pl. 114) and 1692 (Pl. 125). The pine groves in Mei Qing's two albums are mainly depicted with free dots, not with thin and stiff strokes such as those on the Metropolitan scroll. Besides, the calligraphies of the 1690 and the 1692 leaves are both written with relaxed strokes, but that on the Metropolitan scroll appears to be written under restraint, especially the head of almost every horizontal stroke which is overemphasized with a slight slope up. Since the contents of the inscription on both the albums of 1690 and 1692 and the Metropolitan scroll are all the same, we can easily make a comparison among them (Pls. 271, 272 & Fig. 48). The heads of the horizontal strokes of the three characters "yang 央", "du 都", and "shi 十" on the Metropolitan scroll all appear to be slightly turned-up, but this characteristic does not appear either on the 1690 or 1692 albums. Also the three characters "shu 殊", "hua 華", and "bai 拜" on the Metropolitan scroll are written in a different way from those on the 1690 and 1692 albums, and this again indicates they were not written by the same person. Moreover, the most noticeable is the different way of rendering the two dots in "liu 六", "qi 其", and "xia 下". The two dots on the Metropolitan scroll are written in a single flowing notion, but those in Mei Qing's 1690 and 1692 albums are written with varying emphasis in the second dot.

Based on some evidence from the Metropolitan scroll, Fu Shen, author of *Challenging the Past: The Painting of Chang Dai-chien (1899-1983)*, suggests that it was forged by the modern painter and collector, Chang Dai-chien, and further suggests that the strokes of this scroll are characteristic of Chang's style during his early career.⁴³ He points out:

Two different paintings inspired *Wenshu Plateau*. Chang Dai-chien was seldom content to copy something stroke by stroke. From the first leaf of Mei Qing's *Album of the Yellow Mountains* (Palace Museum, Peking), which contains a depiction of the Wenshu temple, Chang borrowed his inscription, substituting plateau (*tai*) for temple (*yuan*). For the pictorial image, Chang closely reproduced--altering only proportion and scale--another of Mei Qing's paintings of the Wenshu Plateau.⁴⁴

⁴³ Fu Shen, *Challenging the past*, p. 101.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

The painting from which Fu Shen suggests that Chang Dai-chien's pictorial image is copied is a leaf from the album in the collection of Sun Daguang (Fig. 53), in China. But I find the album collected by Sun Daguang is not in Mei Qing's style either. Through a comparison between Mei Qing's renditions of Wenshu Temple and the Metropolitan scroll, the leaf from 1690 album is suggested to be most likely to have been taken as a model by Chang, as the renditions of the long-sharp shape of peaks and the foreground floating peaks in the Metropolitan scroll are much close to those in the 1690 leaf.

(11) *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang* (Figs. 49-60)

The album collected by Sun Daguang depicts twelve views of Mt. Huang. The colour is too heavy, complicated, and blurred to be Mei Qing's, nor does the brushwork appear to be the delicate and free style of Mei Qing. The main source for the present album collected by Sun Daguang is Mei Qing's 1690 Mt. Huang album. If we compare Sun's album with Mei Qing's 1690 Mt. Huang album, we can find that eleven of the twelve leaves from Sun's album may well all have been copied from Mei Qing's 1690 album. For instance, if we choose four leaves from Sun's album, respectively entitled *Radiant Brightness Summit* (Fig. 51), *Cuiwei Temple* (Fig. 56), *Sounding Strings Spring* (Fig. 58) and *Heavenly Capital Peak* (Fig. 59) to make a comparison with the leaves depicting these four same subjects from the 1690 album (Pls. 105, 107, 115 & 116), it is clear that except for the similar compositions and inscriptions, the brushwork, colour, and spirit of these two albums are all completely different. A hanging scroll also depicting Sounding Strings Spring appears in the newest sale catalogue of Christie's (Fig. 75).⁴⁵ If we compare this scroll with the same subject from Sun's album (Fig. 58), we will be surprised to see so many similarities between these two paintings, such as the way of rendering the top cliff, the spring, the grasses around the base of the pine tree and the signature "*Qushan*" two characters. These two paintings are likely painted by the same

⁴⁵ Christie's sale catalogue (New York: June 1, 1994), lot 158.

person. Like Sun's leaf, the Christie's scroll also might have based on the same subject from Mei Qing's 1690 album.

Apart from changing the formats, the forger also changed some inscriptions in some leaves. He did not invent these inscriptions by himself, but he tried to copy some inscriptions from Mei Qing's other works to this album. For instance, he copied two inscriptions from a set of four undated Mt. Huang hanging scrolls by Mei Qing (Pls. 87 & 88) to the leaves entitled *Hundred Cloudy Steps* (Fig. 50) and *Refining Cinnabar Platform* (Fig. 57). The forger was not content just to copy from Mei Qing's 1690 album and the set of four hanging scrolls alone. At least another two of Mei Qing's Mt. Huang albums are also the sources of Sun's album, which are the undated *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang* and the 1695 *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. For instance, the first leaf of Sun's album, depicting Lion Peak (Fig. 49), obviously is based on the same scene from Mei Qing's undated *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang* (Pl. 232). And the inscription of the leaf depicting Hot Springs from Sun's album (Fig. 60) may have been copied from the leaf depicting the same view in Mei Qing's 1695 *Four Views of Mt. Huang* (Pl. 204).

Although the forger's work was based on at least four of Mei Qing's works, three albums and one set of four hanging scrolls, all of which depicted scenes of Mt. Huang, he could only copy the compositions, not the brushwork, colours and calligraphies, since they are not so easy to copy as the compositions. Still less could he capture the spirit or essence, as that is the part that no copyist can replicate. As the forger based his work on so many works of Mei Qing, even an expert connoisseur like Fu Shen could not distinguish it from Mei Qing's works. Fu Shen agreed that the album collected by Sun Daguang might not have been painted by Mei Qing (personal communication, June 1993, at *The International Conference on the Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting of Chang Dai-chien and P'u Hsin-yu*, in Taipei.) But Fu Shen did not spot the similarities in calligraphic style between the Metropolitan's *Wenshu Plateau* and Sun Daguang's album.

Among modern painters, Chang Dai-chien was a well-known forger. His approach to the practice of copying was that which he taught his student Hu Yan 胡儼:

Choose a painting and hang it up and then follow these three steps: first, make a reduced-size copy of the model, then make an enlargement of the original. Last, make a copy the same scale as the original, trying to reproduce it exactly.⁴⁶

Apart from copying the old paintings, Chang Dai-chien also used photoengraved seals that perfectly reproduced the originals. As Fu Shen has written, Chang Dai-chien ultimately had at least 970 fake seals.⁴⁷ It is rather difficult to identify his forgeries since he was not only good at imitating the styles of ancient masters but also since his range was very broad.

Mei Qing was one of the masters whom Chang Dai-chien admired, and Chang was particularly impressed by Mei Qing's great ability to capture the beauty of the ceaseless changes of Mt. Huang.⁴⁸ Chang Dai-chien himself travelled to Mt. Huang in 1927, 1931, and 1936, and after each trip he painted views of Mt. Huang by combining elements from his favorite Qing models, who were Shitao, Mei Qing, Hongren, Zhu Da, and Kuncan, incorporating his own direct experience of the landscape. An example is the work dated from 1928 painted by Chang in the style of Mei Qing and Shitao (Pl. 273).⁴⁹ In addition to honest imitations, Chang Dai-chien also made forgeries of these artists' works, some of which have been discussed by Fu Shen in *Challenging the Past*. Apart from the *Wenshu Plateau* in the Metropolitan Museum, Fu Shen also points out:

An additional forgery by Chang Dai-chien, a virtual clone of *Wenshu Plateau*, was previously in the collection of Nagahara Oriharu in Japan as a genuine work by Mei Qing. On that version, Chang transcribed a poem from a Mei Qing work called *Wenshu Temple* (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm). Chang appended a line of his own to that poem: "In depicting Wenshu Plateau in the Yellow Mountains, I followed the essence of Huanghe Shanqiao's (Wang Meng) brush."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Bao Liming 包立民 and Wang Zhen 王震 eds., "Chang Dai-chien nianpu." *Duoyun* (1988, no. 4), p. 102. It is translated by Fu Shen in *Challenging the Past*, p. 34.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 8.



































⁴⁸ In an inscription from 1935 on *The Nine Dragon Waterfall in Mt. Huang*, Chang Dai-chien commented: "The Peaks of Mt. Huang are thrusting, thin spires covered from top to bottom by pine trees...Jianjiang (Hongren) captured their bone structure, Shitao their spirit, and Qushan (Mei Qing) their ceaseless change," quoted in Zhu Xingzhai, *Xingzhai duhuaqi* (Hong Kong: Dagong shuju, n. d.), p. 42.

⁴⁹ Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past*, fig. 46; and Sotheby Parke Bernet, *Modern and Contemporary Chinese Paintings* (Hong Kong: November, 1981), lot 73.

⁵⁰ Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past*, p. 101.

Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this forgery by Chang Dai-chien are unknown. But, I find there are some more paintings with a style of calligraphy similar to that on the *Wenshu Plateau* scroll in the Metropolitan Museum, such as the album already discussed in the collection of Sun Daguang, especially the signature. If we compare the signature on *Wenshu Plateau* in the Metropolitan Museum with those appearing in Sun Daguang's album, we will find they are all close to one another. But when we compare these signatures with those on Mei Qing's Mt. Huang albums of 1690, 1692, 1693, 1694 or 1695, it is clear that the first character "qu" 瞿 on those albums is in every case quite different from those on the Sun Daguang's album and on the Metropolitan scroll. The second "mu" 目 of the character "qu" on the *Wenshu Plateau* scroll and Sun Daguang's album is not written in a rectangular shape like those on Mei Qing's albums, but with an additional angle like the shape "目". Table 10 shows these features.

(Table 10) "Qushan 瞿山" on the Metropolitan Scroll, Sun Daguang Album and Five Mt. Huang Albums of Mei Qing

Metropolitan scroll						
Sun Daguang album						
1690 album						
1692 album						
1693 album						
1694 album						
1695 album						

These two different habits of writing the signature strongly indicates that they may well have been written by different persons. The additional angle of the "mu" element and the slightly turned-up horizontal strokes can also be found in some other forgeries signed with the name of Mei Qing: a hanging scroll entitled *Lotus Blossom Peak* which can be found in Christie's sale catalogue (Fig. 61);⁵¹ a hanging scroll painted in the style of Wu Zhen, in the collection of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm (Fig. 62);⁵² a hanging scroll describing Sounding Strings Spring at Mt. Huang, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 64);⁵³ a hanging scroll depicting pine and

⁵¹ Christie's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: June 1, 1989), lot 113.

⁵² Osvald Siren, *A History of Later Chinese Painting*, pl. 181a.

⁵³ National Palace Museum ed., *Lanqian shanguan minghua mu*, fig. 59; also Lin Boshou 林柏壽 col., *Lanqian shanguan shuhua* 蘭千山館書畫 vol. II (Tokyo: Nigensha publishing co., 1978), pl. 64.

rock dated 1695, the whereabouts of which are unknown (Fig. 66)⁵⁴; and a set of four hanging scrolls in the collection of Chih Lo Lou (Zhile lou 至樂樓, Figs. 67-70).⁵⁵ According to the similar signature and calligraphic style, these eight hanging scrolls although of varying dimensions might have been painted by the same person.

(12) *Lotus Blossom Peak* (Fig. 61)

The brushwork of the *Lotus Blossom Peak* hanging scroll illustrated in the Christie's catalogue is rather rigid and the painting also has a signature and turned-up horizontal strokes similar to those of the Metropolitan scroll, such as in the characters "hua 華", "chu 處", "wu 五" and "xiang 香". When we further compare this doubtful scroll with some of Mei Qing's paintings also depicting Lotus Blossom Peak, such as the leaves from the Mt. Huang albums of 1690 and 1692 (Pls. 110 & 129), we find that the rendition of this scroll is much more complicated and rigid than that of Mei Qing's 1690 or 1692 leaf, which indicates that it was probably not painted by Mei Qing. If we compare this scroll with the same subject from the album collected by Sun Daguang (Fig. 54), we will find the dottings on these two paintings are similar, indicating that these two paintings might have been painted by the same forger.

(13) *Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen* (Fig. 62)

The second example, with a signature similar to that on the Metropolitan *Wenshu Plateau*, is in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, painted in the style of Wu Zhen (Fig. 62). At least another three paintings all have a similar inscription as that on this scroll. They are: a leaf from an album in the Cleveland Museum (Pl. 42); a hanging scroll in the Shanghai Museum (Pl.

⁵⁴ Shenzhou guoguangshe ed., *Shenzhou daguan* (xubian), (1931), no. 10.

⁵⁵ Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection* (Zhile lou cang Ming Qing shuhua 至樂樓藏明清書畫) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1992), cat. no. 40.

275);⁵⁶ and a leaf from an album dated the third month of 1695 (Pl. 86).⁵⁷ Through a comparison of all these four pieces of calligraphy (Fig. 63, Pls. 274, 276 & 277), we would suggest that the one on the Stockholm scroll has a different style of signature and horizontal strokes when compared with the other three works. In the Stockholm scroll, the character "qu" is clearly written with one more angle in the second "mu", and many horizontal strokes are slightly turned-up at the left end, such as in the characters "jin 盡", "mei 梅", and "hao 毫". Apart from the signature and horizontal strokes, the calligraphy of the inscription of this scroll appears rather delicate, without any of the slightly fluctuating strokes of Mei Qing's style, which can be found in the other three paintings. As neither the calligraphy nor the signature of the Stockholm scroll are in the style of Mei Qing, we may suggest that the inscription is possibly a close copy of that on the 1695 leaf (Pl. 277), as the configurations of every character are almost the same, but with the additional characteristics of the forger's hand revealed in the "mu" character and in the horizontal strokes, as discussed above.

Although the Stockholm scroll is painted in a rather free manner, it appears quite rough in the foreground. Also there are many strokes which seldom appear elsewhere in Mei Qing's works, such as the rough and broad strokes in the foreground, and the dots with many thin tails. If we compare the tree in the left foreground, which is composed of numerous dots, with the tree on the 1695 leaf (Pl. 86), we will see there are many distinctions between them. The dots on the Stockholm scroll are fused together and generally have a prominent tail. In contrast, Mei Qing's dots on the 1695 leaf appear individually, and are usually round without any tail. I would therefore conclude that the calligraphy of the Stockholm scroll was copied from Mei Qing's 1695 leaf, but that the composition may well have been invented by the forger himself.

⁵⁶ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2693.

⁵⁷ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), figs. 19-26.

(14) *Sounding Strings Spring* (Fig. 64)

The third example with the similar calligraphic style and signature as that of the Metropolitan scroll is the one entitled *Sounding Strings Spring* in the manner of Shen Zhou (Fig. 64). This painting is even more likely to have been painted by Chang Dai-chien than the previous two paintings, since apart from having a similar signature as that on the Metropolitan *Wenshu Plateau* scroll, the heads of many of the horizontal strokes in the inscription are also turned-up like those on the Metropolitan scroll, such as in the characters "fang 髻", "le 樂", "qi 齊", and "qian 前" (Fig. 65).

When I was studying this painting in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, I found that the calligraphy appeared slightly stiff and almost every horizontal stroke began with a turned-up head, unlike the general style of Mei Qing's calligraphy. A hanging scroll also entitled *Sounding Strings Spring* (Pl. 90) from a set of four undated hanging scrolls by Mei Qing, has a similar inscription (Pl. 278) as that on the Palace scroll, but its landscape is obviously different from that on the Palace scroll, though they have the same title. The configuration of each character and every stroke within them are similar between these two scrolls. The calligraphy of the National Palace scroll may well have been copied from this undated hanging scroll, as its strokes are not as free as those on the undated scroll. In addition, there seems not enough space between the inscription and the painting on the National Palace scroll, which again indicates that it may have been closely copied from the undated scroll.

Interestingly, the composition of the National Palace scroll's landscape is similar to that of the hanging scroll in Shanghai Museum (Pl. 275), with an inscription similar to that on the Stockholm hanging scroll. But the composition of the National Palace scroll is even closer to a leaf from the same 1695 album from which the inscription of the Stockholm scroll might have been taken (Pl. 85). Apart from the different formats, the brushwork of these two works is different; that of the 1695 leaf is much broader and relaxed. For instance, the waves on the National Palace scroll are rendered in a regular pattern, while those on the 1695 leaf are in a loose and irregular manner. The calligraphy on the National Palace scroll (Fig. 65) is also written in a rigid style, completely

different from the relaxed style of the 1695 leaf. From the above analyses on the National Palace Museum scroll, we may suggest that the forger imitated its composition from Mei Qing's 1695 album (Pl. 85) and its inscription from Mei Qing's set of four hanging scrolls, which is undated (Pls. 90 & 278).

(15) *Pine and Rock* (Fig. 66)

The fourth example with a similar signature and horizontal strokes as that of the Metropolitan scroll is also a hanging scroll, which depicts a pine tree and rocks (Fig. 66). Coincidentally, both composition and inscription can be found in the same 1695 album on which, as we have seen, the Stockholm scroll and the National Palace Museum scroll are both based. When we compare this scroll with a leaf from the 1695 album (Pl. 84), we may suggest that one of them must be a close copy of the other, as the shapes of their pine trees are rendered in a similar pattern and both the brushwork and compositions of their calligraphies appear almost the same for each character. We may wonder which is a genuine work of Mei Qing. If we further compare some characters between these two calligraphies, we find that some connections between strokes look rather unnatural in some characters of the present scroll, such as "he 和", "hu 呼", and between "kong 空" and "cui 翠", "luo 落" and "cang 蒼", but this circumstance does not happen in the 1695 leaf. The brushwork of the calligraphy and painting of the 1695 leaf is much freer than that of the present scroll. Although the brushwork of the painting and calligraphy of the scroll is rather delicate, the dotting and texture strokes of the trunk are somewhat regular and crowded. The heads of the horizontal strokes of the characters "bi 畢", "cui 翠" and "luo 落" are turned-up unnaturally. From these differences, we may suggest the present scroll is imitated from Mei Qing's 1695 album.

(16) *Four Views of Mt. Huang* (Figs. 67-70)

The last example with the similar style of calligraphy and signature as that on the Metropolitan Museum is a set of four hanging scrolls, depicting four views of Mt. Huang, in the Chih Lo Lou Collection (Figs. 67-70). Two scrolls have the additional angle on the "mu" of the "qu" character

(Figs. 67 & 68), and some characters with the turned-up head for their horizontal strokes appear in every scroll, such as "shi 十", "zun 尊", "qian 千" and "you 有" on the scroll depicting Heavenly Capital Peak (Fig. 67), "mang 茫", "wan 萬" and "ji 寄" on the one depicting Wenshu Plateau (Fig. 68), "cui 翠", "qi 奇", "shu 暑" and "zhen 真" on the one depicting White Dragon Pool (Fig. 69), and "lai 來", "yao 藥", "qian 千" and "nian 年" on the one depicting Refining Cinnabar Platform (Fig. 70). On the whole, these four scrolls are painted in a delicate manner, but they all lack the impression of exaggeration or simplicity that characterizes most of Mei Qing's works.

This set of four hanging scrolls is well designed, but its compositions are mainly derived from an undated Mt. Huang album by Mei Qing (Pls. 225, 229, 236 & 239) and partially from a set of four undated Mt. Huang scrolls by Mei Qing (Pl. 88). The forger based the main designs on Mei Qing's four sketches from the undated album, and tried to closely copy two of its inscriptions. If we compare these two inscriptions on Mei Qing's undated album with those on the Chih Lo Lou scrolls (Ps. 279-280 & Figs. 71-72), we will find that the brushwork of Mei Qing's works is slightly fluctuating, a characteristic which does not appear in the Chih Lo Lou works.

As we have discussed, the album collected by Sun Daguang and the previous eight scrolls, which are written with a similar signature and slight turned-up horizontal strokes as those on the Metropolitan *Wenshu Plateau*, were all probably not painted by Mei Qing. Were they also painted by Chang Dai-chien? As Chang Dai-chien himself wrote in 1945, "...there is only the scenery of Mt. Huang that I could not paint very well...",⁵⁸ this is perhaps one of the main reasons why he imitated many works by those artists who were famous for the depictions of Mt. Huang, such as Hongren, Shitao, Kuncan, and Mei Qing. Since Mei Qing was one of the masters he most admired, he also collected Mei Qing's works, such as the 1693 album in the styles of ancient masters (Pls. 45-56); therefore, it is highly possible that Chang Dai-chien chose several of Mei Qing's works to imitate and forge. Fu Shen has pointed out, "Chang Dai-chien was particularly impressed by Mei Qing's versatile brushwork, which ranged from meticulous to loose and free. Chang liked to quote

⁵⁸ Chang Dai-chien inscribed this on one of his paintings depicting Mt. Huang, for the painting see Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 26, 1990), lot 225.

Mei Qing's style of painting trees and rocks; he painted both free interpretations of Mei Qing's style and actual copies of his paintings."⁵⁹ Apart from the similar signature and calligraphic style, there are some connections between Sun's album and these eight hanging scrolls. First, they are all either hanging scrolls or vertical formats. Second, several of them are based on the same works of Mei Qing. For instance, Sun's album is based on Mei Qing's 1690 Mt. Huang album, an undated *Four Views of Mt. Huang* hanging scrolls and an undated *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang* album; four of the eight scrolls are based on Mei Qing's undated *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang* and an undated *Four Views of Mt. Huang* hanging scrolls; and three of the eight scrolls are based on Mei Qing's 1695 album. Third, the brushstrokes of these paintings are quite similar to each other. Most of them are thin and agitated, though some of them look delicate, both of which reveal a smooth and charming superficiality. Based on this evidence, I would suggest that Sun Daguang's album and these eight hanging scrolls were most likely painted by Chang Dai-chien during the period of 1920s to 1940s when he was most interested in the styles of those masters of the Mt. Huang school. Fu Shen also agrees with my conclusion about these works (personal communication, June 1993).

Many additional paintings signed as Mei Qing are questionable. They are listed in Appendix IV: 4 (B) for future study. The above sixteen forgeries are chosen as examples to illustrate differences between Mei Qing's genuine works and the forgeries. From the discussion of these forgeries, we must conclude that the forgery of Mei Qing's painting is a very complex problem. Nevertheless, we might distinguish a forgery from the genuine works of Mei Qing by examining its material, brushwork, composition, colour, inscription, signature, colophon, seals, spirit, and the records concerning the painting. Apart from these factors, it is indispensable to explore both Mei Qing's background and life through the literary documents, the sources of his works and the course of his stylistic development through study of his reliable works.

⁵⁹ Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past*, pp. 99-101.

CHAPTER V

MT. HUANG SCHOOL

Mt. Huang plays a crucial role in Mei Qing's painting career. It becomes the major subject in his later works, and most of his masterpieces are renditions of Mt. Huang. It would be hard to say whether Mei Qing would have fully extended his talent in painting if he had never seen the scenery of Mt. Huang. Of those early Qing dynasty artists who were famous for their descriptions of Mt. Huang, he is the one who has left the greatest number of renditions of Mt. Huang for us. Mt. Huang is not only important for Mei Qing, but also has an outstanding place in seventeenth-century Chinese landscape painting. An important school of painting formed and developed because of it. Mainly, owing to its true opening in 1606,¹ the magnificent scenery of Mt. Huang was discovered and represented by a group of distinguished painters in the early Qing. It is important to ascertain why this school of painting came into being and how the painters of the school depicted the scenery of Mt. Huang. Before exploring these two questions, the scenery and the history of Mt. Huang will be briefly discussed.

1. The Scenery and the History of Mt. Huang

The Mt. Huang area is considered a range of mountains in the southeastern corner of China's Anhui province, bordered by the four counties of Shexian 歙縣, Taiping 太平, Xiuning 休寧 and Yixian 黟縣, and covering an area of 154 square kilometres (Map 1 & Map 3).² According to *Huangshan tujing* 黃山圖經, the earliest extant gazetteer of Mt. Huang written by an anonymous writer in the Song dynasty, the southeastern part of Mt. Huang belongs to Shexian and the southwestern part of it belongs to Xiuning, both of which are one hundred and twenty *li* in width; the height of Mt. Huang is one thousand one hundred and seventy *zhang* 丈 (one *zhang* equals ten *chi* 尺 and one *chi* is about 30.3 centimetres)³; and there are thirty-six

¹ See page 174.

² Yuan Lianmin 袁廉民, *Marvelous Spectacle Wonder of Huangshan Mountain (Huangshan qiguan 黃山奇觀)*, (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, n.d.), p. 1.

³ By this reckoning, 1170 *zhang* is equivalent to about 3545 metres.

peaks, twenty-four streams, twelve caves and eight crags.⁴ Earlier than this, in one of Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) poems, the height of Mt. Huang is exaggerated as "four thousand *ren* 仞 (one *ren* is about seven or eight *chi*)."⁵ Mt. Huang definitely is not so high as these records in the classics; its three highest peaks, Lotus Blossom Peak, Radiant Brightness Summit (Guangming ding 光明頂) and Heavenly Capital Peak are all over 1800 metres above sea level. Lotus Blossom Peak, the highest one, was so named because the summit is a crowd of many small peaks that look like the petals of a lotus about to bloom. According to *Huangshan zhi dingben* 黃山志定本, a gazetteer of Mt. Huang that was published in 1679, Mt. Huang has seventy-two named peaks: thirty-six large peaks and thirty-six small peaks, twenty-four streams, fourteen caves, seventeen crags, seventeen springs, eleven deep pools, two ponds, and so on.⁶

The area of Mt. Huang is marked by its seas of clouds, wonderful pine trees, grotesque rocks and hot springs, known as the "four wonders". As Mt. Huang is located south of the Changjiang River 長江 (Yangtze River) with abundant rainfall, it is shrouded in a sea of cloud all year round, particularly in spring and winter. This sea of clouds leaves the craggy summits looming out of the mist like islands (Pl. 281). For this reason, Mt. Huang is also known as Yellow Sea (Huanghai 黃海); the formations of clouds are magnificent and endlessly changing and, according to different areas, are separately known as the Front Sea (also called East Sea), Heavenly Sea (also called Middle Sea), Back Sea, North Sea and West Sea.⁷ In summer, visitors can climb the stone steps to the newly opened Cinnabar Cloud Peak (Danxia feng 丹霞峰) where they can watch the sunrise over the East Sea and enjoy the magnificent scene of numerous towering peaks in the West Sea (Pl. 282).

The pine trees of Mt. Huang grow primarily on the bare summits, striking roots deep into crevices (Pl. 283). Most of the pine trees at Mt. Huang are twisted and vigorous, and pine groves are here and there (Pl. 284). Some of the pine trees have been given names to suit their

⁴ Anonymous (Song dynasty 960-1279), *Huangshan tujing* 黃山圖經 in *Huangshan congkan*, vol. 5.

⁵ *HSZDB*, vol. 6, p. 2.

⁶ For the geography and history of the famous sites of Mt. Huang, see *Ibid.*, vols. 1 and 2.

⁷ Front Sea is from Ciguang si 慈光寺 to Wenshu yuan 文殊院; Heavenly Sea is from Wenshu yuan to Shizi lin 獅子林; Back Sea is from Shizi lin to Yungu si 雲谷寺; West Sea is from Shizi lin to Songgu an 松谷庵; North Sea is from Shizi lin to Shixin feng 始信峰.

fantastic shapes, such as the Greeting Guest Pine (Yingke song 迎客松, also called the first pine in Mt. Huang), Sending Off Pine (Songke song 送客松, Pl. 285), Twisted Dragon Pine (Raolong song 擾龍松), Round Mat Pine (Putuan song 蒲團松), and Reclining Dragon Pine (Wolong song 臥龍松). The pine trees growing around Lion Forest (Shizi lin 獅子林), West Sea Gate (Xihai men 西海門) and Pine Valley Monastery (Songgu an 松谷庵) are the most striking. Xu Xiake (1586-1641) 徐霞客, the famous traveller and geographer, observed the fantastic shapes of pine trees around the area of the Heavenly Capital Peak:

From there we made our way into the overhanging cliffs and precipices, whose surfaces are strewn with clinging pines of the oddest shapes. The tallest of these pines are a scant ten feet, while the low ones are only a few inches high. They had flat heads, short boughs, gnarled roots, and knotty trunks. The older they are, the shorter they seem to be, and the smaller they are, the queerer they look. It was an unexpected joy to find such wonders on such a wonderful mountain.⁸

Among the various wonders of Mt. Huang, perhaps the most interesting are its grotesquely shaped rocks and crags (Pl. 286); some of them look like human beings or immortals, such as Two Immortals Playing Chess (Erxian xiaqi 二仙下棋), and others look like animals, such as The Monkey Looking At Sea (Houzi guanhai 猴子觀海). There are still others that constantly stimulate the visitor's imagination. The rocks located between Lion Forest and Pine Valley are most bizarre: on either side of Pine Valley stand myriad stones looking like bamboo shoots, thus this area is named Stone Bamboo-shoot Crock (Shisun gang 石筍缸). The magnificent scene of these rocks parallels that of the Stone Forest in Yunnan 雲南 province.

Hot springs in Mt. Huang are pure and clear. They produce carbonated water and their temperature usually remains a standard forty-two degrees centigrade. Apart from being used for drinking and bathing, the water has a curative effect for certain diseases. Nine Dragon Pool (Jiulong pu 九龍瀑) is the biggest spring in the Mt. Huang area, flowing down from the crag into nine pools that look like nine dragons running swiftly. People Character Waterfall (Renzi pu 人字瀑) and Hundred Zhang Spring (Baizhang quan 百丈泉) are the other two big springs. Throughout the centuries, thousands of visitors, poets, and artists have been fascinated by the

⁸ Xu Xiake, *Xu Xiake youji* 徐霞客遊記 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1964), p. 23. Translation adapted from Li Chi, *The Travel Diaries of Hsu Hsia-k'o* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974), p. 81.

splendour of Mt. Huang. Xu Xiake claimed that "In the world there is no region as bizarre as Mt. Huang. After having climbed it, there is no other mountain worth climbing."⁹

Mt. Huang was originally named Yishan 黟山 (Ebony Mountain); it was renamed on the seventeenth of June in 747 to commemorate the legendary first ruler of China, the Yellow Emperor, Huangdi.¹⁰ It is said that Huangdi, accompanied by Guangcheng zi 廣成子 and Rongcheng zi 容成子, travelled to the area of Mt. Huang to gather herbs and make immortal pills for four hundred and eighty years; finally, Huangdi was taken by a flying dragon into the sky.¹¹ Other legends abound about Mt. Huang.¹² For instance, Lingyang ziming 陵陽子明 was also said to have been taken by a dragon after drinking the distillation obtained by boiling five stones that he had collected in Mt. Huang over a period of three years.¹³

The earliest history about Mt. Huang is recorded by Li Daoyuan (active 227-239). In *Shuijing zhu*, he wrote:

The water of Jianjiang 漸江 comes from Santianzi du 三天子都 (Mt. Huang)...The county was named Yixian 黟縣 as it is located south of Yishan (Mt. Huang)...In the second year of Hongjia 鴻嘉 (19 B.C.), the county became a kingdom, named Guangde guo 廣德國 and a feudal lord was installed who was called Zhongshan xianwang 中山憲王. Yunke 雲客, a grandson of Han Chengdi 漢成帝 (reigned 32-7 B.C.), was a king there....Chenye 陳業 secluded himself in this mountain.¹⁴

As Li Daoyuan pointed out, Chenye may have been the first person who actually travelled to Mt. Huang and secluded himself there at the end of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220).¹⁵

The splendid scenery of Mt. Huang has attracted the attention of poets and painters from the early centuries. Li Bai 李白, the famous Tang poet, may have been the first poet to visit Mt. Huang and describe its scenery.¹⁶ When his friend Wen Chushi 溫處士 (Boxue 伯雪) was going back to his retreat on White Goose Peak (Bai Eling 白鵝嶺, about 1800 metres) at Mt.

⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 72.

¹⁰ Anonymous (Song dynasty), *Huangshan tujing*, p. 1.

¹¹ See *HSZDB* vol. 2, pp. 76-77, quoted from *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記.

¹² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 76-83.

¹³ Liu Xiang 劉向, *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳. In *Siku quanshu*, no. 1058, part 2, pp. 505-506; see also *HSZDB*, vol. 2, p. 78.

¹⁴ Li Daoyuan 酈道元, *Shuijing zhu* 水經注. In *Siku quanshu*, no. 573, p. 585.

¹⁵ *HSZDB*, vol. 2, p. 46.

¹⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 46 & vol. 6, pp. 2-4.

Huang, Li Bai wrote a poem to him. Like Li Bai in poetry, the Tang master Wang Wei 王維 (701-761) may have been the first painter to depict Mt. Huang. One of Wu Li's 吳歷 (1632-1718) extant works, dated 1703 and entitled *The Old Snow Man on Mt. Huang* (Pl. 287),¹⁷ is a copy of Wang Fu's 王綬 (1362-1416) painting which in turn imitated Wang Wei. Although both Wang Wei's and Wang Fu's original paintings have been lost, Wu Li's copy might indicate that Mt. Huang had been painted as early as Tang. Wu Li wrote a long inscription on his copy:

Between Heaven and Earth the world is wide; the pictures by the many masters of the past do not contain everything. There is a particular place on Mt. Huang called the Old Snow Man (Xue Laoren 雪老人). When it was first represented, nobody could believe that it was true, but if you go there your doubts will be dispelled....Strange forms, changing continuously, follow you at every step; you may count them in thousands and tens of thousands...¹⁸

From the inscription, we may assume that Wu Li himself saw the endlessly changing scene of Mt. Huang, especially the Old Snow Man, but there are no records to indicate this. Through a comparison of Wu Li's painting with a photograph of the same scene (Pl. 288), we would suggest that the painting owes more to his visit than to Wang Wei or Wang Fu, as the depiction of the Old Snow Man by Wu Li is so close to the actual scene. Wu Li's painting also indicates that Mt. Huang was still a common subject in the early eighteenth century, though it was not as popular as it had been in the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the Song dynasty (960-1279), the number of people travelling to Mt. Huang increased. For instance, during the Xianchun 咸淳 reign (1265-1274), Wu Longhan 吳龍翰, Bao Luzhai 鮑魯齋 and Song Zuan 宋足庵 travelled together to Mt. Huang, and they even climbed its highest peak, Lotus Blossom Peak.¹⁹ The three earliest gazetteers of Mt. Huang, all entitled *Huangshan tujing* 黃山圖經, were written separately in the Song dynasty by Wang Shimeng 汪師孟, Wentai 文太, and an anonymous writer; although now only the anonymous version has survived and only in part.²⁰ According to the research of Xu Chu 許楚 (17th century), illustrations of the scenery of Mt. Huang in these earliest gazetteers appeared before the

¹⁷ Osvald Siren, *A History of Later Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, Pl. 223.

¹⁸ Translation adapted from Ibid., p. 179.

¹⁹ For the travel accounts of Mt. Huang, see *HSZDB*, vols. 4-5, *Huangshan zhi xuji* vols. 1-2, and *Huangshan congkan*, vols 5-8.

²⁰ *Huangshan tujing* and its preface by Cheng Yansheng 程演生; see also *HSZDB*, vol. 3, pp. 70-72.

Jingyou 景祐 reign (1034-1037) of the Northern Song Dynasty, and subsequent illustrations were made in the editions of 1100, 1156, 1208, 1371, 1462, 1581, and 1582.²¹ Unfortunately, none of the illustrations have survived. In the late Qing, Fang Wangzi 方望子 found an anonymous version in Mt. Yu 虞山 and suggested it was published in the Song dynasty. It included four illustrations of Mt. Huang, each of which contained three levels of depiction: the top one illustrating the thirty-six peaks of Mt. Huang; the crags, caves, and Buddhist houses depicted in the middle level; Buddhist temples and villages below. But, all four of these illustrations had been lost by 1935 when the text was compiled in the *Anhui congshu* 安徽叢書.²²

Before the seventeenth century Mt. Huang was remote and inaccessible. Its altitude, topography, and terrain discouraged climbing and the building of dwellings. But it started to attract widespread attention after the Buddhist monk Pumen 普門 (Xi Weian 奚惟安) built the Merciful-Brilliance Temple (Ciguang Temple 慈光寺) there in the early 17th century. Pumen, a native of Meixian 鄱縣 (in Shanxi Province), had started to seek the teaching of Buddhism since he was very young, came to Mt. Huang in 1606.²³ Merciful-Brilliance Temple is located under the Zhusha Peak, formerly named Zhusha Monastery 朱砂庵 in which Monk Xuanyang 玄陽道人 lived during Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522-1566). Zhusha Monastery was renamed by Wanli 萬曆 emperor in 1611, and many gifts, such as Sutras, money and sculptures of Buddha were made by the mother of Wanli emperor. Merciful-Brilliance Temple even became the most spectacular temple in Xin'an after its big hall was built during 1666-1670.²⁴

According to travel accounts of the Tang, Song and Yuan dynasties, people in those early centuries could only visit a few places on the mountain, including White Goose Peak (Bai'e ling 白鵝嶺), Hot Springs, Cuiwei Peak, Xianyuan 仙源, Xiangfu Temple 祥符寺, Cinnabar Spring 丹砂泉, and Lotus Blossom Peak.²⁵ Later, in the early and middle Ming periods, more people studied or secluded themselves in the mountains, such as Cheng Gao 程誥, Wang Daokun

²¹ *HSZDB*, vol. 3, pp. 62-64.

²² See *Huangshan tujing* and its prefaces by Fang Wangzi 方望子 and by Cheng Yansheng 程演生.

²³ For the biography of Puman, see *HSZDB*, vol. 2, pp. 83-84.

²⁴ For the history of Merciful-Brilliance Temple, see *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 2-3.

²⁵ See note 19.

汪道昆, and Xu Guo 許國,²⁶ but the paths among the mountains were still very difficult to pass.²⁷

The remote and inaccessible views of Mt. Huang were represented in some late Ming woodblock prints, such as *Sancai tuhui* and *Hainei qiguan*. *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪, is a pictorial encyclopedia published in 1607. In this book, Mt. Huang (Pl. 289)²⁸ constructed with thin and refined strokes, is represented as an area crowded with sharp protruding peaks and big jagged rocks that appear to be enveloped by a sea of clouds. There are no buildings and the whole area seems to be a retreat for immortals, not a region for human beings, though there is a path. But in another contemporary illustration of Mt. Huang, from *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀 which is a woodblock print of several famous mountains in China published during 1573-1619 by Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾,²⁹ Mt. Huang (Pl. 290) is depicted not only as a remote place crowded with numerous sharp peaks but also as an accessible area in which many paths and bridges are constructed amid busy human activity. This illustration is actually a series of four that mainly depict the thirty-six major peaks of Mt. Huang and several temples and caves. Each site is named simply with an identifying label.

By the end of late Ming, when more temples were built and roads constructed, Mt. Huang became more accessible. A larger number of people, particularly pilgrims, poets and painters, began to frequent the temples and revel in the landscape. If we compare a woodblock print describing a scene of Mt. Huang (Pl. 291) designed by Zheng Zhong 鄭重 (active ca. 1565-1630) with the illustration of Mt. Huang printed in *Sancai tuhui* (Pl. 289), the great difference between these two descriptions of Mt. Huang can be seen immediately. In Zheng Zhong's depiction, the peaks of Mt. Huang are no longer so sharp, and temples, houses, bridges and paths are presented among mountains and hillocks. For Zheng Zhong, maybe also for his contemporaries, Mt. Huang seemed to be no longer a remote and inaccessible area. Zheng Zhong's design appears in *Tianxia mingshan tu* 天下名山圖, a collection of famous mountain

²⁶ *HSZDB*, vol. 2, pp. 54 & 58-60.

²⁷ *HSZDB*, vol. 2, p. 62.

²⁸ Wang Qi 王圻, *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970; reprinted from the 1607 edition), vol. 7, pp. 42-43.

²⁹ Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾, *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀 (1573-1619 edition), vol. 2, pp. 16-19.

scenes, which was published in 1633, containing fifty-five prints based on designs by late Ming artists such as Lan Ying 藍瑛 (1585-1664), Zhao Zuo 趙左 (ca. 1570-after 1633), and Wu Tingyu 吳廷羽 (zi Zuoqian 左千), a pupil of Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬. Zheng Zhong's design of Mt. Huang later was engraved both in *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志 (1674) compiled by Cheng Hongzhi 程弘志 (Pl. 292) and in *Huangshan zhi dingben* 黃山志定本 (1679) compiled by Min Linsi 閔麟嗣 (Pl. 293). In *Huangshan zhi*, Zheng Zhong's illustration appears with the title Merciful-Brilliance Temple and the name of the painter, but Zheng Zhong's name was omitted in *Huangshan zhi dingben*. When we put these three prints together (Pls. 291, 292 & 293), it is interesting to note that the different tracers and carvers might have created different styles of prints for the same design. The one printed in *Tianxia mingshan tu* is rendered with refined and smooth lines, which must have been cut with extreme care and painstaking precision; but in the one reproduced in *Huangshan zhi dingben* the stiff, angular traces of the carving are clearly shown here and there, and in *Huangshan zhi* the rendering is even more rough. The comparison of these three prints suggests that the artist's original conception must have been more or less lost in its translation into woodblock prints. Also for most artists, their styles of painting might have been quite different from the style of their designs intended for publication in the form of woodblock prints.

Zheng Zhong, whose literary name was Chongsheng 重生, and whose style name was Wuzhuo 無著, was a native of Shexian, in the south of Anhui province. He specialized in Buddhist figure and landscape paintings. Ding Yunpeng praised him as a second Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (literary name Qianli 千里, active ca. 1127-1162), thus the name of Zheng Qianli was spread widely.³⁰ He helped Pumen to open up Mt. Huang, and in 1614 he accompanied Pumen to the court to submit a painting of Mt. Huang that he had himself painted. It is recorded that this painting was painted after one year's observation from the Lotus Blossom Temple;³¹ this painting might be the one entitled Merciful-Brilliance Temple reproduced as a woodblock print in *Tianxia mingshan tu*, though there is no other record to indicate this. In *Shadows of Mt.*

³⁰ *HSZDB*, vol. 2, p. 67.

³¹ It is recorded both by Pan Zhiheng 潘之恆 and Hai Yue 海岳. See *HSZDB*, vol. 2, p. 67 & vol. 3, p. 84.

Huang, another illustration of Merciful-Brilliance Temple (Pl. 294) was mistaken as a work also by Zheng Zhong.³² In fact, it is a print from a series of illustrations of Mt. Huang painted by Xue Zhuang 雪莊 in the 1690s, which was engraved in 1698 in *Huangshan zhi xuji* 黃山志續集 compiled by Wang Shihong 汪士鋐. When we compare the woodblock prints of Merciful-Brilliance Temple designed by Zheng Zhong (Pls. 291, 292 & 293) with that by Xue Zhuang, we will see that the latter is much more detailed and crowded than the former.

Along with a few early illustrations, some larger series of illustrations of Mt. Huang appeared in some seventeenth-century gazetteers of Mt. Huang. One of them entitled *Huangshan zhi* and compiled by Cheng Hongzhi, was the most common and has survived. Cheng's literary name was Shengmu 聖木 and his style name was Zhuanyu zi 專愚子, and he was one of the earliest authors to decide to compile a comprehensive gazetteer of Mt. Huang. He travelled to Mt. Huang every two years, and collected poems relating to Mt. Huang for more than twenty years. He had compiled fifty volumes for the gazetteer and had started to print it when he fell ill. He asked his relative Wang Jin'gu 汪晉穀 to complete it. One of his good friends, Wang Jichun 汪濟淳, also helped him to compile the gazetteer for many years.³³ *Huangshan zhi* was finally published in 1674, and soon after Min Linsi used it as a sketch book and revised it. It took only about two months from May to June 1679 for Min Linsi to revise *Huangshan zhi*, and the new edition was entitled *Huangshan zi dingben*. The compositions of the seventeen illustrations of Mt. Huang in *Huangshan zhi dingben* are all similar to those in *Huangshan zhi*, though they appear to be more exquisite. A noticeable difference is that in Cheng's edition each illustration has its own identifying label and some of them also give the names of the painters, such as the *Xiangfu Temple* by Jiang Zhu 江祝, *Zhibo Temple* by Mei Qing (Pl. 25), and *Disturbed Dragon Pine* by Jianjiang 漸江 (Hongren), but the names of these painters are omitted in Min's revised edition. From Cheng's edition, we can see that the scenes of Mt. Huang were rendered during the seventeenth century by many Anhui painters. Also from the fact that there were at least five different versions of the gazetteer of Mt. Huang published during the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1662-1722), separately by Hong Mei 弘眉,

³² See *Shadows*, p. 50 & fig. 12.

³³ *HSZDB*, vol. 2, pp. 74-75.

Cheng Hongzhi, Min Linsi, Huang Shenxian 黃身先, and Mr. Wu 吳,³⁴ we can be sure that Mt. Huang had become a favourite subject by then.

2. The Formation and the Paintings of the Mt. Huang School

From the extant paintings and records, we find that apart from those appearing in woodblock prints, there are very few paintings dated before the seventeenth century that depict the scenery of Mt. Huang. Along with Wu Li's record of Wang Wei's and Wang Fu's renditions of Old Snow Man on Mt. Huang, it is recorded that the early Ming painter Zhu Tong 朱同 (1338-1385) once depicted a scene of gathering herbs at Mt. Huang.³⁵ In addition, a handscroll dated 1376 is attributed to Xu Ben 徐賁 (1335-1380), a native of Suzhou (Jiangsu province); it represents the scenes of Mt. Huang with the names of the scenes written in red, and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Pl. 295). Unfortunately, the silk is badly worn and the ink and colour now remaining have mostly disappeared owing to the loose texture of the silk.³⁶ But, from the early seventeenth-century Mt. Huang suddenly became a common subject for several painters. As we shall see, apart from Zheng Zhong, it is recorded that Ding Yunpeng (1547-ca. 1621) and Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 (1565-1643) both depicted the scenes of Mt. Huang during the first half of the century.

Ding Yunpeng and Cheng Jiasui both lived in Mt. Huang for a period of time.³⁷ Ding Yunpeng was a Xiuning native; he is best known today for figure paintings, and especially Buddhist paintings. He represents an earlier stage of the literati taste for spare, Yuan-style painting that characterizes most of the Anhui painters in the seventeenth century. It is recorded

³⁴ Mei's *Huangshan zhi* was published in 1667 and Huang Shenxian's *Huangshan zhi lue* was published in 1692. But the title and date of the version by Mr. Wu is unknown. See Shi Gufeng 石谷鳳, "Guanyu Jianjiang [Huangshan tu ce] zhi wo jian 關於漸江[黃山圖冊]之我見". *Duoyun* 朵雲, no. 9 (January 1986), p. 130; also Wang Shiqing & Wang Cong, *Jianjiang ziliaoji*, p. 2.

³⁵ *HSZDB*, vol. 6, p. 37; see also Wang Shiqing 汪世清, "Xin'an huapai de yuanyuan 新安畫派的淵源". *Duoyun*, no. 9 (January 1986), p. 67.

³⁶ Reproduced in Kojiro Tomita and Hsien-ch'i Tseng, eds., *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum: Yuan to Ch'ing Periods* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1961), pls. 27-28. The inscription dated the fifth month of the ninth year of Hongwu reign (1369-1398). There is no signature, but the brushwork of the calligraphy is stable and fine, which is quite close to the style of Xu Ben.

³⁷ *HSZDB*, vol. 2, pp. 66-67 & pp. 68-69.

that he painted a series of views of Mt. Huang in which the changeable clouds were rendered freely with wet brushwork and ink. It was once collected by Cao Shike 曹實可,³⁸ but unfortunately it has not survived. In *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, Jane DeBevoise and Scarlett Jang mistakenly concluded that: "As early as 1606, Ding Yunpeng contributed designs for landscape prints in the *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑, and Mt. Huang was one of the subjects of the prints."³⁹ In fact, the five sacred mountains, including Mt. Tai 泰山, Mt. Hua 華山, Mt. Heng 衡山, Mt. Heng 恆山 and Mt. Song 嵩山, are all illustrated in *Chengshi moyuan*, but no illustrations of Mt. Huang are included in it.⁴⁰

Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 was born in Xiuning, in the south of Anhui, and attempted an official career before settling into the life of a poet in Jiading 嘉定 (in Jiangsu province). He is included among the "Nine Friends of Painting," the group of which Dong Qichang is the central figure. Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), a famous late-Ming poet, wrote: "Cheng Jiasui's poetry often contains images like those of painting, so that seeing his paintings is like reading his poetry."⁴¹ Cheng Jiasui often painted in a sparse and dry manner, reflecting his inclination toward Ni Zan. What he sought was a pure and poetic quality in painting. Cheng Jiasui was identified as one of the founders of the Tiandu school 天都派 by Gong Xian (d. 1689), the Nanjing painter and theorist:

Mengyang founded the Tiandu school, and its breath (*qi*) was sufficient and its power great when Zhousheng 周生 attended it. Mengyang resembled Yunlin (Ni Zan); Zhousheng resembled Shitian (Shen Zhou) and worked in the style of Yunlin. Mengyang was Cheng Jiasui, and Zhousheng was Li Yongchang 李永昌, both of whom were natives of Tiandu. Later, Fang Shiyu 方式玉, Wang Zunsu 王尊素 (Xuandu 玄度), the monk Hongren, Wu Daiguan 吳岱觀 (Shantao 山濤), Wang Wuri 汪無瑞 (Zhirui 之瑞), Sun Wuyi 孫無益 (Yi 逸), Cheng Muqian 程穆倩 (Sui 邃), and Zha Erzhan 查二瞻 (Shibiao 士標) all followed these two. All these gentlemen were Tiandu natives, so they were named the Tiandu school.⁴²

³⁸ Ibid., p. 374.

³⁹ *Shadows*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ Cheng Dayue, *Chengshi Moyuan*, ch. 2, pp. 3-14.

⁴¹ See Zhou Liangong, *Duhualu* 讀畫錄. In Tsin-fu Chou 周駿富 comp., *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 (Taipei: Minwen shuju, 1985), vol. 71, ch. 2, p. 9.

⁴² Gong Xian's inscription is on a handscroll in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

Tiandu peak is one of the highest peaks in Mt. Huang; therefore, Gong Xian used "Tiandu School" to name these painters from Shexian and Xiuning. He saw Cheng Jiasui and Li Yongchang as founders of the school, and Hongren as simply one of the eight important followers. Gong Xian's theory about the school was inscribed on one of his paintings, rather than published, so the term "Tiandu School" has not been widely recognized since then. Zhang Geng, a critic of the mid-eighteenth century, observed, "The Xin'an school, which began with master Hongren, highly regarded the methods of Ni Zan. Many people followed [this school], but they either lacked in tightness or in sparsity."⁴³ Zhang Geng also grouped Zha Shibiao, Sun Yi, Wang Zhirui, and Hongren as the "Four Masters" of the region.⁴⁴ The painters of both the Tiandu and Xin'an schools were natives of either Shexian (Xin'an) or Xiuning, so Wang Shiqing 汪世清 suggests that we could treat the Tiandu school as the early stage of the Xin'an school.⁴⁵ On the basis of these two traditional schools, many modern scholars either use "Anhui School" or "Mt. Huang School" to include artists from other parts of Anhui. Some scholars have suggested these four schools are the same, having different terms; on the contrary, some have argued that they are all different as each school was established under a certain social, economic, and political background and had its own range of painters and period. An attempt has been made to present a clearer definition for the Mt. Huang school in this chapter.

Although no paintings describing the views of Mt. Huang by Cheng Jiasui have been found, it is proposed that a fan painting, depicting the morning scene of rain at the Dragon Pool (one of the pools at Mt. Huang), was painted by Cheng Jiasui in 1624 after he had returned from Mt. Huang.⁴⁶ Apart from this fan painting, one leaf from an album by Cheng Jiasui painted during 1641 to 1643 is suggested to be a rendition of a snow scene of Mt. Huang painted for Zhao Shi 照師, as the inscription on it reads: "There is snow to a depth of three *chi*

⁴³ Zhang Geng 張庚, *Tuhua jingyishi huahun* 圖畫精意識畫論. In *Meishu congshu*, part 3, no. 2, p. 103.

⁴⁴ Zhang Geng, *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄, part 1, p. 16. In *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol. 71. As Zha Shibiao is a native of Haiyang 海陽 (an ancient name for Xiuning), thus some people called the "Four Masters of Xin'an" the "Four Masters of Haiyang".

⁴⁵ Wang Shiqing, "Xin'an huapai de yuanyuan". *Duoyun*, no. 9 (January 1986), p. 70.

⁴⁶ Lin Shuzhong 林樹中, "Tiandupai yu Cheng Jiasui, Li Yongchang 天都派與程嘉燾、李永昌". In *LHSZHPWJ*, p. 67; see also Zhang Guobiao, *Xin'an huapai shilun*, p. 90. This painting has not been found, though Zhang Guobiao believes that it is in Beijing Palace Museum.

尺 covering the waist of Lotus Blossom Peak; there are no sounds of flying birds and no traces of human beings 蓮花峰腰三尺雪,飛鳥無聲人跡絕."⁴⁷

Like Cheng Jiasui, Sun Yi 孫逸 (died after 1663) was a native of Xiuning; his literary name is Wuyi 無逸 and his style name Shulin 疏林. His birth and death dates are unknown. While few of Sun Yi's works have survived, those that do reveal that his style was well within the range of Anhui painters, and related closely to Xiao Yuncong's and Hongren's. Like most of his contemporaries from Anhui, Sun Yi also liked depicting the scenery of his region. It is recorded that he painted the twenty-four pictures of the mountains of Shexian in Anhui that were later engraved in the local gazetteer of Shexian, *Shexian zhi* 歙縣志, edited by Jin Zhijing 靳治荆.⁴⁸ According to two of his extant works, we know Mt. Huang was one of his favorite subjects. In one leaf from an album dated 1639 which is in the Beijing Palace Museum, Sun Yi inscribed: "Goudao ren 垢道人 (Cheng Sui 程邃) likes the *Landscape of Mt. Huang* that I painted for him..."⁴⁹ Also in 1657, he depicted one of the main peaks of Mt. Huang, Cinnabar Peak (Zhusha feng 朱砂峰, Pl. 296),⁵⁰ now in the Chien-lu Collection, Ann Arbor. The Cinnabar Peak, we may assume, is the conical form with sharp top protruding abruptly from the crowded mountain masses. Apart from the trees and buildings in the middle ground that are carefully rendered, the whole scene is represented with simple, dry, linear brushwork and a very few textural strokes which are close to those of Hongren. The zigzag angularity of the dike-path with a walking figure depicted in the lower right corner is also a common motif in the works of both Xiao Yuncong and Hongren.

Because of the pride they took in their native origins, the local topography, especially that of the southern Anhui region and Mt. Huang, is a favourite theme for Anhui artists and patrons. Apart from Mt. Huang, Mt. Bai is also a famous mountain located in the south of Anhui. An album dating to 1534 recording a trip to Mt. Bai (Baiyue 白岳, also called Qiyun Crag 齊雲巖) by the Suzhou master Lu Zhi 陸治 is suggested to be the earliest extant painting to depict Mt.

⁴⁷ This is the first verse from a poem inscribed in a snow painting for Zhao Shi who was going back to Mt. Huang. For this poem see *HSZDB*, vol. 7, p. 2; see also Wang Shiqing, "Xinan huapai de yuanyuan", p. 69. As Wang Shiqing has suggested, this painting might not have survived.

⁴⁸ *Xin'an huapai shilun*, p. 204.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵⁰ *Shadows*, p. 74, no. 18. Also *Comprehensive*, vol. 1, no. A 6-001.

Huang by Jane DeBevoise and Scarlett Jang, who assumed that Mt. Bai is one of the peaks of Mt. Huang.⁵¹ But the gazetteers and travel records of those days indicate that Mt. Bai was already widely recognized as a mountain in its own right, though near Mt. Huang, at least since the early seventeenth century. For instance, as early as 1599, the gazetteer of Mt. Bai, *Qiyunshan zhi* 齊雲山志, had been compiled by Lu Dian 魯點 indicating that Mt. Bai was treated as an individual mountain with its own history. In *Sancai tuhui* (1607), *Hainei qiguan* (1573-1619), and *Tianxia mingshan tu* (1633), Mt. Huang and Mt. Bai are illustrated separately in each case and have their own history of the region. When Xu Hongzu 徐弘祖 (Xiake 霞客) wrote diaries with detailed information on places that he had visited, he also wrote separately on the trips to Mt. Bai and to Mt. Huang.⁵² Obviously, for Xu Xiake, Mt. Bai and Mt. Huang are two different mountains. Also in Mei Qing's preface for the poems he composed during his trips to Mt. Huang in 1678 and to Mt. Bai in 1680, he wrote: "Although Mt. Bai is small, its strange scenery can compete with that of Mt. Huang."⁵³ Mt. Bai is located to the southwest of Mt. Huang.

As we have mentioned, during the first half of the seventeenth century, not only was Mt. Huang illustrated in several woodblock prints, such as *Sancai tuhui*, *Hainei qiguan*, and *Tianxia mingshan tu*, but several painters, such as Ding Yunpeng, Zheng Zhong and Cheng Jiasui, depicted the actual scenery of Mt. Huang. Why were these illustrations and depictions of Mt. Huang produced around this period, and not earlier? There are four factors that might enable us to answer this question. First of all, the mountain was only truly opened after the first formal temple was established there in 1606 by Pumen. After that, a great number of pilgrims, visitors, poets, and painters travelled there. This factor is reflected in the sudden increase of travel records and poems describing the scenes of Mt. Huang that were written after 1606. For instance, among the sixty-one travel records by sixty-one authors from the Tang to the Qing dynasties compiled by Su Zongren 蘇宗仁 in *Huangshan congkan* 黃山叢刊 in 1935,

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁵² Xu Xiake, *Xu Xiake youji*, pp. 15-30. His diary describing the trip to Mt. Bai started from the twenty-sixth of January of the *bingchen* 丙辰 (1616) year and ended on the first of February of the same year. After climbing down from Mt. Bai, Xu Hongzu continued to travel to the nearby Mt. Huang. His trip to Mt. Huang was from the second of February to the eleventh of the month.

⁵³ *QSSL*, vol. 20, p. 1.

more than one third were written during the years 1606-1664. Second, the proximity to the booming commercial centers of southern Anhui might be one of the factors for Mt. Huang's sudden surge in popularity. As Mt. Huang is located not far away from the commercial centers of Shexian and Xiuning, it may have provided a favorite spot for many city dwellers. Third, after the chaos that attended the Manchu conquest of 1644, Mt. Huang was not only still a popular scenic place also became a retreat for many *yimin* 遺民 (leftover subjects) who remained loyal to the fallen Ming, either actively or passively. For those late Ming *yimin*, the magnificent scenery of Mt. Huang represented a survival and affirmation of cultural heritage; therefore, to depict those scenes might have become one of the best ways to express cultural regionalism. They chose it as their subject in both literature and painting. Finally, the physical appearance of Mt. Huang is so magnificent that it attracted the attention of many poets and painters. Undoubtedly, there would not have existed so many impressive paintings of Mt. Huang if the appearance of the mountain had been more ordinary.

Because of the above four factors, more and more renditions of Mt. Huang in the forms of woodblock prints and paintings were produced starting in the early seventeenth century. Eventually, after the mid-century, because the scenes of Mt. Huang had become the common subject of several distinguished painters, such as Cheng Sui (1605-1691), Hongren (1610-1664), Kuncan (ca. 1610-1674), Dai Benxiao (1621-1693), Mei Qing (1623-1697), Jiang Zhu (1625-after 1692), Zeng Min 鄭文 (1633-1683) and Shitao (1642-1707), a school of painting formed. On the one hand, most of these painters were natives of Anhui, and most of them were acquainted with the others, so they might have influenced each other in style. Also because they were all poets, it may be that they all liked applying dry brushwork and light colours to create a simple and poetic image. On the other hand, these painters all stressed the point that representing Mt. Huang should be based on personal experience of the real scenery, but none of them emphasized the likeness of the scene, thus their renditions of Mt. Huang are quite different from each other. Combining strong individuality with some similar characteristics to depict the same subject, a school of painting gradually developed after the middle of the seventeenth century and declined again from the early eighteenth century. The name of the school was not advocated at that time, and the idea of associating a group of painters with the

name "Mt. Huang" did not appear until 1924, in the writings of Huang Binhong 黃賓虹. The term "Mt. Huang Academy of Painting" was first used by Huang to group more than one hundred and thirty Anhui painters from the Tang to the Qing dynasties. Obviously, Huang Binhong's definition of the Mt. Huang school was based on geographical affinity, and the range of period is too long, about one thousand years.

The definition of the Mt. Huang school was raised as a central theme of discussion at the international symposium that was held in 1984 in Hefei 合肥, the capital of Anhui province. In the conference, some scholars argued that Hongren and other painters from Xin'an area should only be called the "Xin'an School" or "Tiandu School", as these two terms have been recognized since the early Qing dynasty. Some scholars suggested that the "Xin'an School", "Tiandu School", "Gushou School 姑熟派", "Anhui School", and "Mt. Huang School" all refer to the same school by different names. Therefore, some proposed to include all these schools in a "Wannan School 皖南派", as these areas are all located in the south of Anhui (the province formerly known as Wan), while some thought it would be more suitable to incorporate all these schools in the "Mt. Huang School," because Mt. Huang is also located in the Wannan area and it is famous not only in Anhui, but in all China.⁵⁴

Not only the name of the school but also the range of its period and its painters caused debate at the conference. Mainly, there are three opinions on these questions. In the past, when Huang Binhong identified the "Mt. Huang Academy of Painting", he included painters from the Tang dynasty, such as Xueji 薛稷 and Zhang Zhihe 張志和, and others down to the Qing painters who followed Hongren. Other scholars have pointed out that those schools in the south of Anhui area range from the transitional period of the Ming and Qing dynasties to the end of the seventeenth century. Recently, some American and Taiwan scholars have suggested that the range of the "Anhui School" should extend back to the second half of the sixteenth-century and down to eighteenth-, nineteenth-, twentieth-century and modern painters, such as

⁵⁴ Guo Yin 郭因, "Guanyu huapai wenti de zhenglun 關於畫派問題的爭論". *Anhui ribao* 安徽日報 (1984, May 15); Zong Dian 宗典, "Wo dui Huangshan huapai dingming zhi jian 我對黃山畫派定名之見". *Anhui ribao* (15 May 1984); Zhang Guobiao, *Xin'an huapai shihun*, pp. 134-149; see also Chi Lin's 池鄰 preface for *Lun Huangshan zhu huapai wenji*.

Huang Binhong and Liu Haisu 劉海粟. Obviously, these extensive time periods are too broad to be meaningful.

If we treat "Mt. Huang" as a geographical term, like Tiandu, Xin'an, Gushou, Wannan or Anhui, the definition of the school should emphasize the geographical affinity of the painters, but if we treat it as a "subject" of painting, its definition should stress the same subject painted by a number of painters. Therefore, in the conference, some scholars suggested that whether an artist ever chose Mt. Huang as his subject should be the main criterion defining whether he belongs to the school or not. For instance, Cha Shibiao never painted any views of Mt. Huang, therefore, he could belong to the Xin'an school or the Gushou school, but not to the Mt. Huang school. On the other hand, some suggested that a single subject cannot define a school of painting, as they observed that a specific stylistic affinity is more important than the same subject for forming a school. As we know, "subject" usually plays an important role in a painting, thus there seems to be no reason why we cannot name a group of artists who were all interested in depicting the same favourite subject as a school. Moreover, these painters all emphasized the importance of depicting the actual scenery. Furthermore, their paintings all present a simple and poetic quality.

The members of a school of painting are usually contemporaries, but some schools extend their period to cover those direct predecessors and followers. If we included all the artists who ever chose Mt. Huang as their subject to be members of the Mt. Huang school, the definition would be too general. Mt. Huang did not attract widespread attention until 1606 when it was truly opened up, and after that it gradually became the common subject of certain painters, thus a school of painting could develop. According to the extant works with Mt. Huang as subject and the periods of activity of painters, one may divide the paintings of the Mt. Huang school into three phases: the formative period (the first half of the seventeenth century); the mature period (roughly the second half of the seventeenth century); and its decline (from the early eighteenth century). As we have discussed, Ding Yunpeng, Zheng Zhong and Cheng Jiasui, who all had painted some scenes of Mt. Huang during the formative period, can be called the predecessors of Mt. Huang school.

These predecessors did paint the scenery of Mt. Huang and did live or visit there for some time. But, there were some other painters who painted the scenes of Mt. Huang, without ever having seen its actual scenery. Xiao Yuncong (1596-1674) was one of them: in 1648 he painted a set of album leaves, entitled *Taiping Shanshui Tu* 太平山水圖⁵⁵ depicting several views in Taiping prefecture for Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選, a minor official who retired from his post in the area and wanted a souvenir of his stay. Interestingly, Xiao Yuncong included a picture of Mt. Huang in this album (Pl. 297); but in an inscription that he wrote in 1665 for Hongren's album of sixty views of Mt. Huang, he said that he had never been there. From his representation of Mt. Huang, we may confirm that Xiao Yuncong had never been there before he painted the scene, as its typical sharp peaks are depicted as several round hillocks in Xiao's picture. It presents Mt. Huang as a small mountain crowded with temples and villas, not a remote area of high mountains as it actually is. His inscription states that he depicts it according to one of Li Bai's poems which describes mooring a boat at Mt. Huang at night.⁵⁶

Moreover, around the mid-century, Xiao Yuncong painted a landscape depicting several strange and angular formations of peaks and rocks, which is based on a poem describing the scenery of Mt. Huang that was composed in 1641 by the talented scholar Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664).⁵⁷ This painting is entitled *Strange Peak (Qi feng tu)* 奇峰圖 Pl. 298). Xiao Yuncong changed Qian's poem entitled *Climbing Shixin Peak and Gazing back to Shisun Bridge* 登始信峰回望石筍缸 in several places to suit the image in his painting; however, Xiao's description fits the poem rather than the actual scenery of Mt. Huang. The texture strokes and the formation of peaks and rocks in this painting are too exaggerated and strange to be like the actual views in Mt. Huang.

Again, in 1669 Xiao Yuncong chose the pines and the rocks of Mt. Huang as the subject of his long handscroll (Pl. 299).⁵⁸ In the long inscription, he describes Li Tinggui 李廷珪, an inkmaker of the Nantang 南唐 period (960-975), searching out pines from Mt. Huang to make

⁵⁵ Xiao Yuncong, *Taiping shanshui tu* (1648 edition).

⁵⁶ For Li Bai's poem see *HSZDB*, vol. 6, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁷ *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, pp. 295-297, cat. no. 222. For the poem by Qian Qianyi, see Lin Minsi, *HSZDB*, vol. 7, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁸ Ma Shiyun and Zhu Xiukun, *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, pp. 94-95. See also *ZGMSQJ*, Huihua bian 9, no. 33.

ink, and he also explains why the pines and rocks of Mt. Huang make excellent ink. Several huge and strange rocks seem to weave together and several old pine trees incline to each other; obviously, without basing his work on the actual scenery, he painted this scene inspired by his own imagination or by other poets' or painters' renditions of Mt. Huang. There are no literary documents to indicate that Xiao Yuncong ever travelled to Mt. Huang. However, these three paintings by Xiao Yuncong probably reflect the fact that around the middle of the seventeenth century the scenes of Mt. Huang might well have become an important and popular theme among contemporary painters, even for those who had never been there, like Xiao Yuncong. It is arguable whether Xiao Yuncong can be included as a member of the Mt. Huang school. Some scholars have suggested that he should not be counted as a member of the Mt. Huang school, as his renditions of Mt. Huang are not based on the actual scenery; but some have argued that he should be, as he chose Mt. Huang as his subject. However, if we understand that it is the beauty of the actual scenery of Mt. Huang that attracted the attention of many seventeenth-century painters, we may suggest that Xiao Yuncong can only belong to the "Anhui School" or the "Gushou School", not the "Mt. Huang School".

Like Xiao Yuncong, Zhang Feng 張風 (active ca. 1636-1662) also painted a scene of Mt. Huang in 1661 based only on the concept of a poem.⁵⁹ Even in 1702, when Yu Zhiding 禹之鼎 (1647-after 1709) painted the portrait of an unidentified high official as a fisherman in idyllic surroundings, he entitled it as *Thatched House at Mt. Huang* (Pl. 300).⁶⁰ The well-built thatched house is depicted beside a pond; interestingly, no sharp peaks, bizarre crags, strange pines, or sea of clouds are rendered to imply any connection with the real scenery of Mt. Huang. We are informed that "The painting was certainly done while the artist was in the capital, and the title may simply reflect...the dreams of the subject, who is posed elegantly if self-consciously beside the fishing pond."⁶¹ Thus Yu Zhiding painted this scene from his own imagination, not from the actual scenery of Mt. Huang. His choice of Mt. Huang as the title of this picture might reflect the fact that Mt. Huang was still a favorite theme among painters in the

⁵⁹ ZGGDSHMU, vol. 2, p. 80.

⁶⁰ *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Paintings from the Forbidden City*, cat. no. 53.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

early eighteenth century, though it was no longer as popular as it had been in the second half of the seventeenth century. By listing most of the important extant paintings depicting the scenery of Mt. Huang by seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century painters,⁶² we may form a clearer idea about the development of the Mt. Huang school.

.....
Sun Yi (active mid-seventeenth century):

Cinnabar Peak (1657, Chien-lu Collection, Ann Arbor)

.....
Cheng Sui (1605-1691):

Scene of Mt. Huang (A leaf from an album of landscapes, undated, Shanghai Museum)⁶³

.....
Hongren (1610-1664):

Pines and Cliffs of Mt. Huang (1660, Shanghai Museum)⁶⁴

Landscape of Mt. Huang (1660, recorded in *Xigan zhi* 西干志)

Heavenly Capital Peak (1660, Nanjing Museum)⁶⁵

Xiaojiang feng bian tu 曉江風便圖 (1661, Anhui Provincial Museum)⁶⁶

View of Mt. Huang (1661, for Wang Hongdu 汪洪度, Wuyan xian 婺源縣 Museum)⁶⁷

Beginning to Believe Peak (1663, Guangzhou Art Museum)⁶⁸

White Dragon Pool (undated, Luo Ming 羅銘 Collection, Xi'an 西安)⁶⁹

Dragon Pine on the Peak of Mt. Huang (undated, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)⁷⁰

Sixty Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)⁷¹

Forty Views of Mt. Huang (undated, recorded in *Huangshan congan* by Haiyue)

Twenty-three Views of Mt. Huang (undated, recorded in *Huangshan zhi lue* compiled by Huang Shenxian)

.....
Kuncan (ca. 1610-1674):

Fishing in the Wintry River (about 1659, Zhang Yuejun 張岳軍 Collection, Taipei)⁷²

Flowing Stream at the Heavenly Capital (August 1660, Hsu-po Studio 虛白齋 Collection, Hong Kong)⁷³

⁶² There must be still some works not listed here; besides, some of these paintings are not available for examination, thus problems of authenticity may be unavoidable.

⁶³ ZGMSQJ, Huiehua bian, no. 37.

⁶⁴ *Shadows*, fig. 5.

⁶⁵ ZGGDSHTM, vol. 7, Nanjing Museum, no. 0476.

⁶⁶ *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, pp. 18-20.

⁶⁷ Recorded in *Xin'an huapai shihun*, pp. 167-168.

⁶⁸ Wang Wei 王緯, Hongren's friend, once inscribed a landscape entitled *Beginning to Believe Peak* by Hongren. The poem was the same one inscribed on the right side of this painting. For the poem see HSZDB, vol. 7, p. 92.

⁶⁹ Zha Shibiao once inscribed a landscape of White Dragon Pool by Hongren for his friend. It is uncertain whether this White Dragon Pool is that one inscribed by Zha Shibiao. For Zha's poem see HSZDB, vol. 7, pp. 98-99.

⁷⁰ *Shadows*, cat. no. 28.

⁷¹ *Century*, vol. 2, cat. no. 115.

⁷² Recorded in Zhang Zining 張子寧, "Kuncan de Huangshan zhi lu ' 髡殘的黃山之旅 " (The Journey to Mt. Huang by Kuncan), in *Lun Huangshan zhu huapai wenji*, p. 360.

Landscape (Mid-autumn 1660, Huo Baocai 霍寶材 Collection)⁷⁴
Journey to Mt. Huang (August 1660, Shanghai Museum)⁷⁵
An Album of Mt. Huang (Late-autumn 1660, two leaves in the British Museum, one leaf in Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin, one leaf in the Cleveland Museum of Art)⁷⁶
Landscape of Mt. Huang (Winter 1660, Nanjing City Museum)⁷⁷
Landscape (October 1660, Hsu-po Studio Collection, Hong Kong)⁷⁸
Lofty and Bare Mountains (Mid-winter 1660, Huang Junbi 黃君璧 Collection, Taipei)⁷⁹
Heavenly Capital Peak (1661, Beijing Palace Museum)⁸⁰
The Lofty Peaks of Mt. Huang (1661, Guangdong Provincial Museum)⁸¹
Autumn Mood among Streams and Mountains (1663, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art)⁸²
Wooded Mountains at Dusk (1666, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)⁸³
Lofty Mountains and Extensive Streams (undated, National Palace Museum, Taipei)⁸⁴

.....
Dai Benxiao (1621-1693):

Twelve Views of Mt. Huang (1675, Guangdong Provincial Museum)⁸⁵
Lotus Blossom Peak (1675, Vannotti Collection, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin)⁸⁶
White Dragon Pool (undated, Anhui Provincial Museum)⁸⁷
Lotus Blossom Peak (undated, Shanghai Museum)⁸⁸
Four Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Shanghai Museum)⁸⁹
Wenshu Temple (undated, Chien-lu Collection, Ann Arbor)⁹⁰

.....
Mei Qing (1624-1697):⁹¹

Eight Views of Mt. Huang (1690, Beijing Palace Museum)
Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang (1690, Beijing Palace Museum)
Ten Views of Mt. Huang (1692, Beijing Palace Museum)
Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang (1693, Shanghai Museum)

⁷³ James Cahill, "K'un-ts'an and His Inscriptions" in Alfreda Murck & Wen C. Fong ed., *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* (New York, Princeton: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 513-534, fig. 236.

⁷⁴ Zhang Zining, "Kuncan de Huangshan zhi lu", pp. 361-362

⁷⁵ *Century*, vol. 2, cat. no. 118.

⁷⁶ Zhang Zining, "Kuncan de Huangshan zhi lu", pp. 365-366.

⁷⁷ *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 6, Nanjing City Museum, no. 59.

⁷⁸ James Cahill, "K'un-ts'an and His Inscriptions", fig. 239.

⁷⁹ Zhang Zining, "Kuncan de Huangshan zhi lu", p. 364.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ This painting is formerly collected by Hsu-po Studio. For this painting, see Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy in The Hsu-po Studio* (Tokyo: Nigensha Publishing Company, 1983), fig. 11.

⁸² *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 232.

⁸³ James Cahill, "K'un-ts'an and His Inscriptions", fig. 235.

⁸⁴ National Museum of History (Republic of China) ed., *Four Monks of the Late Ming: Chien-chiang, Shih-ch'i, Shih-t'ao, Pa-ta-shan-jen* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1978), cat. no. 8.

⁸⁵ *ZHMSQJ*, Huiehua bian 9, no. 93.

⁸⁶ Recorded in *Xin'an huapai shilun*, p. 250.

⁸⁷ *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 134.

⁸⁸ *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2646.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 2645.

⁹⁰ *Shadows*, cat. no. 54.

⁹¹ For the details of these paintings and other paintings of Mt. Huang, see Appendix IV:

Ten Views of Mt. Huang (1694, Cheng Te-k'un Collection, Hong Kong)
Four Views of Mt. Huang (1695, Tianjin Art Museum)
Ten Views of Mt. Huang (1695, C. T. Loo's Successor, Frank Caro, N. Y.)
Two Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Ostasiatiska Museet, Stockholm)
Twelve Views of Mt. Huang (undated, whereabouts unknown)
Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang (undated, whereabouts unknown)
Wenshu Temple (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)
Heavenly Capital Peak (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)
White Dragon Pool (undated, light colours on paper, Beijing Palace Museum)
White Dragon Pool (undated, ink on satin, Beijing Palace Museum)
West Sea of Mt. Huang (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)
Hot Spring (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)
Refining Cinnabar Platform (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)
Lotus Blossom Peak (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)
The Strange View of Mt. Huang (undated, Shanghai Museum)
The Cloudy Sea of Mt. Huang (undated, Shanghai Museum)
Heavenly Capital Peak (undated, Liaoning Museum)
White Dragon Pool (undated, Lushun Museum)
Refining Cinnabar Platform (undated, Anhui Provincial Museum)
Peaks of Mt. Huang (undated, The Art Museum, Princeton University)

.....
 Jiang Zhu (1625-after 1692):

Fifty Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)⁹²
The Landscape of Mt. Huang (undated, Anhui Provincial Museum)⁹³
Two Views of Mt. Huang (from an album, n.d. Beijing Palace Museum)⁹⁴
The Pines of Mt. Huang (painted for Chekong 澈空, recorded in *Jiangzhu shi ji*)
The Landscape of Mt. Huang (recorded in *Jiangzhu shi ji*)

.....
 Zheng Min (1633-1683):

Nine Dragon Pool (1673, Beijing Palace Museum)⁹⁵
Journey to Mt. Huang (1673, Shanghai Museum)⁹⁶
The Landscape of Mt. Huang (1675, Shanghai Museum)⁹⁷
Four Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Shanghai Museum)⁹⁸

.....
 Shitao (1642-1707):

View of Mt. Huang (1667, Collection unknown)⁹⁹
Thirty-six Peaks of Mt. Huang (A leaf, 1694, Los Angeles County Museum of Art)¹⁰⁰
Scenes of Mt. Huang (1699, Sumitomo Collection, Japan)
Twenty-one Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)¹⁰¹
Six Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)¹⁰²

⁹² Recorded by Shi Gufeng 石谷鳳, "Guanyu Jianjing [Huangshan tuce] zhi wojian", pp. 130-136.

⁹³ *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 147.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

⁹⁵ *ZGMSQJ*, Huiehua bian 9, no. 40.

⁹⁶ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 5, Shanghai Museum, no. 3070.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 3071.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 3074.

⁹⁹ *Studies in Connoisseurship*, fig. 21.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Edwards ed., *The Painting of Tao-chi*, cat. no. VII.

¹⁰¹ *Century*, vol. 2, pl. 158.

Eight Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Sumitomo Collection, Japan)¹⁰³
Twelve Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Formerly in the Sumitomo Collection)¹⁰⁴
Landscape of Mt. Huang (dated after 1687, Jean A. Keim Collection, Paris)¹⁰⁵

.....
Yao Song (1648-after 1716):

Pines and Cliffs of Mt. Huang (1707, Shanghai Museum)¹⁰⁶

.....
Xue Zhuang (active late seventeenth- early eighteenth century):

Travelling Mt. Huang on a Rainy Day (1691, recorded in *Huangshan zhi xuji*)

Forty-three Views of Mt. Huang (1690s, engraved in *Huangshan zhi xuji* in 1698)

Landscape of Mt. Huang (1703, recorded in *Huangshan congkan* by Huang Zhaomin 黃肇敏)

Cloudy Boat (Yunfang 雲舫) in Mt. Huang (1705, Changzhou City Museum)¹⁰⁷

Cloudy Boat in Mt. Huang (1718, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art)¹⁰⁸

Flowers of Mt. Huang (undated album, recorded in *Huangshan zhi xuji* by Song Luo 宋瑩)

Flowers of Mt. Huang (undated album, Shi Shuqing 史樹青 Collection, Beijing)¹⁰⁹

.....
Yi Zhi:

Forty-four Views of Mt. Huang (1714, Capital Museum)¹¹⁰

The Landscape of Mt. Huang (1722, Beijing Wenwu Store)¹¹¹

The Landscape of Mt. Huang (1722, Suzhou Lingyanshan Temple 蘇州靈巖山寺)¹¹²

.....
Mei Chong:

Eight Views of Mt. Huang (undated, Beijing Palace Museum)¹¹³

Sea of Clouds at Wenshu Temple of Mt. Huang (Guangzhou Art Gallery)¹¹⁴

A View of Mt. Huang (from an undated album of ten leaves, whereabouts unknown)¹¹⁵

.....
As the list shows, most dated works depicting Mt. Huang were painted during the second half of the seventeenth century when the school was approaching its zenith. Many masters

¹⁰² ZGGDSHML, vol. 2, p. 112.

¹⁰³ *The Painting of Tao-chi*, cat. no. 1.

¹⁰⁴ For five of the leaves, see Richard Vinograd, "Reminiscences of Ch'in-huai: Tao-chi and the Nanking School" in *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 31 (1977-1978), fig. 2-6.

¹⁰⁵ *The Painting of Tao-chi*, cat. no. 6.

¹⁰⁶ ZGMSQJ, Huihua bian 9, no. 104.

¹⁰⁷ ZGGDSHML, vol. 6, Changzhou Museum, no. 23.

¹⁰⁸ *Century*, vol. 2, pl. 171.

¹⁰⁹ Recorded in *Xin'an huapai shihun*, p. 286.

¹¹⁰ ZGGDSHML, vol. 1, Capital Museum, no. 79.

¹¹¹ Ibid., Beijing Wenwu Store, no. 249.

¹¹² ZGGDSHML, vol. 6, Suzhou Lingyanshan Temple 蘇州靈巖山寺, no. 25.

¹¹³ ZGGDSHML, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 5148. The paintings of Mei Chong are discussed in the next chapter.

¹¹⁴ Mayching Kao, *Paintings of the Ming & Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 50.

¹¹⁵ Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: 26 November, 1990), lot 60.

found inspiration in the real scenes of Mt. Huang, but their representations of the scenes differ in style from each other. We shall see the differences even when they depict the same scene. The differences arise mainly because every painter emphasized his own personality, feelings, imaginations, and skill of painting, also because the scenery of Mt. Huang changes with every season, every day, or even at every moment.

Hongren was one of the most important masters, being deeply inspired around the middle of the century by the scenes of Mt. Huang. He himself noted that the famous masters, such as Dong Yuan, Huang Gongwang, and Guo Xi, all depicted the physical appearances of their environments, and he concluded that painting has its original source in nature.¹¹⁶ It is unknown when Hongren started to travel to Mt. Huang, but after 1656, when he accompanied Wang Jiazhen 汪家珍 to visit Mt. Huang, he went there every year.¹¹⁷ One mid-autumn Hongren and his nephew Jiang Zhu climbed Mt. Huang and sat outside the Wenshu Temple where Hongren played the flute and Jiang Zhu sang songs.¹¹⁸ In addition, it is recorded that Hongren and his friend Wang Wei 王煒 took six days in August 1660 to complete a tour of the area.¹¹⁹ According to the statements of his contemporaries, we learn that Hongren was strongly inspired by the physical beauty of Mt. Huang. For instance, Zha Shibiao wrote that Hongren's paintings were transformed after he visited Mt. Wuyi 武夷山 in Fujian, and his style was stranger after he came back from Mt. Huang.¹²⁰ In a colophon for Hongren's *Xiao jiang feng bian tu* 曉江風便圖, Shitao wrote: "Old Hongren travelled Mt. Huang the longest, thus he got the real temper of Mt. Huang. Every tree and every stone in his paintings are the original appearance of Mt. Huang...."¹²¹ Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰, a contemporary scholar, also wrote: "After coming back from Mt. Huang, his (Hongren's) brush and ink made a great progress."¹²²

¹¹⁶ Wang Taizheng 王泰徵, "Jianjiang heshang zhuan 漸江和尚傳". *Anhui congshu*, series 1, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ See Wang Jiazhen's colophon on Hongren's sixty views of Mt. Huang, in Beijing Palace Museum; and *HSZDB*, vol. 2, p. 97.

¹¹⁸ See Tang Yansheng's 湯燕生 inscription on Hongren's "Gu ke han xiao tu 古柯寒筱圖". For this painting see *Ming Yimin hua xuji* 明遺民畫續集. Compiled by Zheng Zhenfeng 鄭振鋒. It is quoted in *Xix'an huapai shilun*, pp. 159 & 172.

¹¹⁹ Wang Wei 王煒, "Huangshan youji 黃山遊記". *Huangshan zhi xuji*, vol. 2, pp. 9-14.

¹²⁰ Zha Shibiao's colophon on Hongren's sixty views of Mt. Huang.

¹²¹ Ma Shiyun and Zhu Xiukun eds., *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, pp. 18-20.

¹²² See Wu Zhantai's preface for Xue Zhuang's *Forty-Three Views of Mt. Huang* published in *Huangshan zhi xuji*.

Hongren might have been the first painter to make so much effort to observe and present the different scenes of Mt. Huang. It is recorded by his contemporaries that Hongren painted at least three albums of Mt. Huang, which separately depicted sixty, forty, and twenty-three different views. An undated album of sixty scenes of Mt. Huang, now in the Beijing Palace Museum, is generally recognized as an original work by Hongren. It explicitly reflects Hongren's close observation of nature. Hongren takes a diagrammatic and conventionalized approach as he depicts one scene after another. The close-up view and the identifying labels have some of the characteristics of a map or travel guide. However, the authenticity of this album has been doubted by James Cahill. As these sixty leaves betray technical inability and are quite different from the angular forms and sparse designs of Hongren's later works. James Cahill suggests that several leaves are closer to the style of Xiao Yuncong rather than to that of Hongren.¹²³ Moreover, he points out that the only seal used in the album, which appears on every leaf, is a forgery and that the genuine colophons by several contemporaries have been moved from an original album of Hongren to this album. But, on the basis of brushwork, Xu Bangda 徐邦達 suggests this album was definitely painted by Hongren.¹²⁴ He recognizes that the strokes on this album are not as unrestrained as those on Hongren's other works, but argues that this effect is mainly caused by the rough paper and the small brush Hongren used.

Another Chinese scholar, Shi Gufeng 石谷鳳, agrees with James Cahill that the size and material of the eight colophons are all different from the sixty leaves,¹²⁵ but concludes that this does not necessarily prove the album a forgery. Hongmei 弘眉, a friend of Hongren, said about Hongren: "He often lived quietly in Mt. Huang; wherever he passed he painted the scene on a small piece of paper....All these paintings present the 'various styles of old masters' 嘗栖靜黃山,杖履所經,輒作一小圖...備悉諸家體制."¹²⁶ While Cahill says, "Hongren did not paint Mi-dots and blue-green colours," Shi Gufeng argues that, "The sixty views of Mt.

¹²³ James Cahill 高居翰, "Lun Hongren [Huangshan tu ce] de guishu 論弘仁(黃山圖冊)的歸屬". *Duoyun*, no. 9 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1986, January), pp. 108-124.

¹²⁴ Xu Bangda 徐邦達, "[Huangshan tu ce] zuozhe kaobian (黃山圖冊)作者考辨". *Duoyun*, no. 9, pp. 125-129.

¹²⁵ Shi Gufeng, "Guanyu Jianjiang [Huangshan tu ce] zhi wojian ". *Duoyun*, no. 9, pp. 130-136.

¹²⁶ Wang Shiqing and Wang Cong, *Jianjiang ziliaoji*, p. 181, quoted from Hong Mei's 弘眉 *Huangshan zhi*.

Huang present the style of Hongren's middle period when he learned from both the ancient masters and nature, a style which is quite different from the spare and angular style that he painted after 1660." Apart from his own opinions on this album, Shi Gufeng also discusses the collecting history of this album and of Jiang Zhu's fifty scenes of Mt. Huang. Shi Gufeng mentions that he once saw *Huangshan zhi lue* 黃山志略 compiled by Huang Shenxian 黃身先 and published in 1692; in this gazetteer there are twenty-three illustrations of the views of Mt. Huang which were painted by Hongren and traced by Jiang Zhu. Comparing these twenty-three illustrations with the sixty views of Mt. Huang in the Beijing Palace Museum, Shi Gufeng observes that these two albums differ greatly. He suggests Jiang Zhu might have made his tracings from Hongren's other album of Mt. Huang, not from the one collected by Beijing Palace Museum. Apart from the sixty views and the twenty-three views of Mt. Huang, Hongren also painted another album of forty views of Mt. Huang that was recorded in 1696 by Hai Yue 海岳. Hai Yue said it was collected by Wang Heier 汪匪爾 then and that it had never been published.¹²⁷ There is no other record of this album.

Hongren's album of sixty views of Mt. Huang was in the collection of his nephew Jiang Zhu when Tang Yunjia 唐允甲 wrote a colophon for it in 1674, and in 1698 when Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰 wrote a colophon for Xue Zhuang's 雪莊 forty-three views of Mt. Huang, he mentioned that Hongren's sixty views was owned by someone else and that he was unable to see it. The album was not published until Su Zongren compiled it in *Huangshan congkan* in 1935. But Su Zongren was not absolutely sure that it was the same one mentioned by both Tang Yunjia and Wu Zhantai. We have seen that James Cahill argues that this album of sixty leaves was not painted by Hongren, but by Xiao Yuncong. Both Xiao Yuncong and Hongren grew up in the same social and political background, and they knew each other, so it would not be surprising to find some similar characteristics in their paintings. However, there is no record either to indicate that Xiao Yuncong ever painted sixty views of Mt. Huang or that he ever forged any works. It is possible that Hongren intended his sixty views of Mt. Huang as a set of designs for illustrations in a gazetteer or travelogue, so the brushwork of it is not as delicate as that of his

¹²⁷ Hai Yue 海岳, "Huangshan tujing tici 黃山圖景題辭". In *Huangshan congkan*, vol. 4, pp. 1-2. Compiled by Su Zongren.

most later works. In *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen*, Jason C. Guo analyzes this album as one of Hongren's genuine works and observes that it "exemplifies Hung-jen's well-articulated formal arrangement and structural clarity."¹²⁸

However, Hongren's sixty views of Mt. Huang must have been known among contemporary painters, though it was not printed in *Huangshan zhi* (1674), *Huangshan zhi dingben* (1679), or *Huangshan zhi xujì* (1698). This album, along with his other two albums and other works of Mt. Huang, established a pattern for his younger contemporaries. Like Hongren, Dai Benxiao, Shitao, Mei Qing, Jiang Zhu, Xue Zhuang, and Mei Chong all painted detailed albums of several particular scenes of Mt. Huang, and they either identified each leaf with labels or did the same in the inscriptions. From this point of view, Hongren can be called the founder of the Mt. Huang school. His importance was already recognized by contemporary and slightly later writers. In modern critical writings, he, along with Mei Qing and Shitao, is praised as one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school. Numerous renditions of Mt. Huang were painted by these three masters, who all observed Mt. Huang closely and discovered its different qualities. Painters of the school also stressed the importance of finding sources in nature.

The solemn impression of Mt. Huang is represented explicitly in Hongren's 1663 hanging scroll entitled *Beginning to Believe Peak (Shixin Peak 始信峰)*, Pl. 301.¹²⁹ The whole composition is mainly constructed by two groups of crags which are separated somewhat unclearly by a stream. The main peak is piled up by various angular and geometric forms of rocks and some rounded hillocks in the center. Many gnarled pines protrude from the edges of the crags, thus appearing as the typical vision of Mt. Huang. A path from the lower right corner winds up to the rocks at top right and suggests that the spatial relations among them are logical. The brushstrokes are thin and refined, and the use of wash, colours, and texture strokes are minimal. There is little interior drawing on the rocks, except for a few tiny dots painted along their contours to indicate vegetation. The rocky, huge, and heavy quality of Mt.

¹²⁸ Jason C. Kuo, *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen*, p. 63.

¹²⁹ Mayching Kao, *Paintings of the Ming & Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 29. *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 3.

Huang is completely represented by Hongren's affirmative brushwork and well-organized forms of various rocks and crags.

Similar motifs and composition can be found in another hanging scroll (Pl. 302)¹³⁰ by Hongren's nephew and follower, Jiang Zhu (1625- after 1692). Like Hongren's *Beginning to Believe Peak*, this hanging scroll by Jiang Zhu is also crowded with many rugged rocks, though they are not as angular as those of Hongren's. The twisting pines cling to the rocks precariously and grow out of them vigorously; besides a few vegetation dots and spikes, there is almost no interior texturing. Instead of drawing the zigzag path and an empty hut, Jiang Zhu portrays himself on the right flat-topped rock looking towards the peaks of Mt. Huang in the far distance. Jiang Zhu was born in Shexian. His poems on Mt. Huang were highly regarded by the famous contemporary poet Shi Runzhang.¹³¹ Like his uncle, Jiang Zhu was fascinated by the scenery of Mt. Huang and went there often. As he knew Mt. Huang very well, when his friend Shi Runzhang and others went to Mt. Huang in 1672, he could guide them.¹³² According to one of his friends Yin Shu's statement 殷曙 (1623-1692), Jiang Zhu lived with Hongren at Mt. Huang and they experienced the same scenery together.¹³³ In addition, in 1692 when Huang Shenxian compiled *Huangshan zhilue*, twenty-three scenes of Mt. Huang by Hongren were traced by Jiang Zhu as illustrations for the book, thus it is not surprising to find that Jiang Zhu's works always reveal a strong stylistic affinity with Hongren's.

A comparison of one leaf depicting the Refining Cinnabar Platform (Pl. 303) from the album of sixty views of Mt. Huang with Jiang Zhu's description of the same scene (Pl. 304),¹³⁴ reveals that these two paintings are close to each other both in brushwork and in composition. It is highly possible that Jiang Zhu based this painting on Hongren's work, because Hongren's sixty views of Mt. Huang was in Jiang Zhu's collection around 1674. Hongren's composition is much more lucid than that of Jiang Zhu. The peaks in Jiang Zhu's work are too similar to distinguish. Instead of an empty platform, Jiang Zhu draws a figure sitting inside the platform.

¹³⁰ *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 147.

¹³¹ *Shexian zhi*, pp. 1665-1666.

¹³² Shi Renzhang, "Huangshan youji 黃山遊記". In *HSZDB*, vol. 5, pp. 61-63.

¹³³ *Jianjiang ziliao ji*, p. 8.

¹³⁴ For Hongren's work see *The Century of Tang Ch'i Ch'ang*, vol. 1, pl. 115; Jiang Zhu's work see *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 149.

The brushwork of Jiang Zhu's painting is harder than that of Hongren's and does not have his austerity. In Shi Gufeng's essay, he mentioned that one of Jiang Zhu's surviving works is an album of fifty scenes of Mt. Huang, inscribed by eighty-five contemporaries and now in the collection of Beijing Palace Museum.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, Jiang Zhu's album of fifty scenes of Mt. Huang was not available in this study, for it has never been published.¹³⁶

If we compare these two paintings with one of Mei Qing's renditions of the same scene (Pl. 181:B),¹³⁷ we find both Hongren and Jiang Zhu are much more concerned about recreating the actual scene than Mei Qing,¹³⁸ who simplified the whole scene. A sea of clouds envelops most of the peaks and separates the platform from the front rocks. With a few light brushstrokes and wet ink washes, the platform is made to appear as though it is floating on clouds. Mei Qing was deeply inspired by the fantastic scenery of Mt. Huang when he first visited it in 1678 for seven days, and he wrote many poems to eulogize the beauty of Mt. Huang. The area became the main source for his later works, especially after his second trip to Mt. Huang in 1690. Both Hongren and Jiang Zhu were Mei Qing's friends and they both travelled to Mt. Huang earlier than Mei Qing did, thus Mei Qing might have seen some of their renditions of Mt. Huang, but there is little connection between their and Mei Qing's works.

Shitao is another painter who often travelled to Mt. Huang, at least three times, separately in 1667, 1669, and 1676. Mt. Huang became an important source throughout Shitao's painting career. On his second trip to Mt. Huang, Shitao was accompanied by Cao Fen 曹鈐, son of the then Xin'an Prefect, Cao Dingwang 曹鼎望. When Cao Dingwang heard that Shitao was travelling to Mt. Huang, he asked Shitao to draw the seventy-two peaks of Mt. Huang on seventy-two pieces of paper for him. Shitao imitated the style of a Song or a Yuan master for

¹³⁵ See Shi Gufeng, "Guanyu Jianjiang [Huangshan tu ce] zhi wojian"; also *Xin'an huapai shihun*, pp. 264-266. This album has never been published, also it is not recorded in *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, which lists the works in the Beijing Palace Museum.

¹³⁶ I have written several times to the Beijing Palace Museum for purchasing photographs of this album, but failed.

¹³⁷ Edmund Capon & Mae Anna Pang, *Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties XIV-XXth Centuries*, p. 112, cat. no. 50.

¹³⁸ On each of Mei Qing's two visits to Mt. Huang he wrote a poem to describe the Refining Cinnabar Platform, a site he evidently liked very much. For the two poems describing the scene, see *QSSL*, vol. 20, p. 6 & vol. 29, p. 16.

each painting.¹³⁹ Unfortunately, these seventy-two renditions of Mt. Huang have not survived. The intimate relationship between Shitao and Mt. Huang is clearly revealed in his own inscriptions. For instance, "Mt. Huang is my mentor, and I am its friend" was inscribed by Shitao in 1687 on a hanging scroll dated 1667¹⁴⁰, and "I have attained the temper of Mt. Huang, thus there is no need to specify the site when I depict it," on an undated album for Huang Yanlǚ 黃硯旅.¹⁴¹ In a leaf from the album of *Eight Views of Mt. Huang*, which is the most refined and detailed set of paintings of Mt. Huang by Shitao, Shitao even inscribes: "[My] heart and mind are as pure as jade and ice. [My] personality is as righteous as iron and stone. [I am] master of Mt. Huang and minister of Xuanyuan (a legendary emperor)." By addressing himself as the master of Mt. Huang, Shitao revealed his pride at being able to explore its unusual beauty and translate it with his brush and ink.

Shitao's great ability to translate nature to painting is completely revealed in his *Eight Views of Mt. Huang*. The uniformity in brushstrokes and tonalities of dull yellow and pale blue colours accompanies different compositions to present each view harmoniously and vividly. When we compare one leaf of the album entitled *Sounding Strings Spring* (Mingxian quan 鳴絃泉, Pl. 305) with one of Mei Qing's renditions of the same scene (Pl. 182:A), we see that different qualities are conveyed through different types of brushwork, colouring, and designs. Shitao's brushwork is animated while Mei Qing's is smooth; Shitao's colouring is vivid while Mei Qing's is simple. In a close-up view, Shitao seems to portray himself with a servant standing under a rugged, tiger-like rock, listening to the sound of the spring, which is depicted in the top center to contrast with the rock in the lower right corner. It is a provocative and fantastic composition. Shitao inscribes a poem, "The place of the Cinnabar Well is unknown; Herb Stove is still smoking. What year then came the stone tiger, crouching to listen at the Sounding Strings Spring?"¹⁴² Unlike Shitao, Mei Qing depicts this scene from a distance. Mei Qing portrays himself as a small figure with a *qin* sitting on a foreground hillock to face the

¹³⁹ Li Lin, "Da Dizi zhuan" quoted by Wang Shiqing in "Qiufeng wenji zhong youguan Shitao de sheween". *Wenwu*, (1979, no. 12), p. 47.

¹⁴⁰ *Studies in Connoisseurship*, fig. 21.

¹⁴¹ This inscription can be found on an album painted for Huang Yanlu, formerly Sumitomo collection, Japan.

¹⁴² The poem is translated in *The Painting of Tao-chi*, pp. 30-31.

distant spring. The small figure provides a scale in contrast to the overwhelming waterfall in the centre. Mei Qing's exaggeration of the lines of the falling waters' makes them look like real strings.

In another leaf entitled *Lotus Blossom Peak* (Pl. 306), Shitao depicts the view from a distance to show the height and loftiness of the peaks. With thin, wet and soft brushwork and light colours, the peak is constructed with clusters of petal-like rocks as if it were the flower itself. As Lotus Blossom Peak is one of the favorite scenes for the painters of the Mt. Huang school, the differences among them when they present this scene are significant. Comparing Shitao's painting with the photograph of the peak (Pl. 158), we will see that Shitao's depiction also owes a great deal to the real scenery. Like Shitao, Hongren also depicts a smaller peak, which may be the Lotus-Bud Peak, standing straight besides the main peak, but the main peak is piled up with several small angular forms of rocks that are presented with dry, hard strokes, and light green colours (Pl. 307). Though also based on the actual scene, the peak is simplified and exaggerated as a real blossoming flower in Mei Qing's work, which is rendered with a close-up view (Pl. 129). Mei Qing inscribed one of his poems on the painting to describe the tall and erect peak blossoming like lotuses. The poem reads:

Whose hands planted those immortal roots?
Here in the land, the lotuses are blossoming.
Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven,
As if mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.
Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way,
Through intricate, tunnelled paths to the crest.
When are the lotus-seeds going to be ripe?
By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.
仙根誰手種大地此開花,直飲半天露齊擎五色靄。
人從香國轉路借玉房遮,蓮子何年結滄溟待泛楂。

The poem enables us to imagine the painting, and the painting provides visual impressions which allow us to understand the poem. This strong connection between poem and painting can be seen in most of Mei Qing's works. Like Shitao, Mei Qing was interested both in inner worlds and outer visions; therefore, he made man's relationship to nature his subject. There are two tiny figures who have climbed up to the top of the peak and another figure with a long staff

appears to climb the steps; these three figures are all hardly recognizable, because they are depicted with similar brushwork, colours and forms as are the rocks.

Unlike Shitao, Hongren and Mei Qing, Dai Benxiao presents this scene subjectively (Pl. 308). Without presenting the lofty image of the peak, the main mountain is constructed with several geometric forms of rocks that are accomplished entirely with dry, discontinuous contour drawing and slight touches of rubbed ink. As in most of his paintings, Dai Benxiao rendered an empty hut beside the mountain. Dai Benxiao's painting is a leaf from an album in which twelve scenes of Mt. Huang are depicted, painted during his trip to Mt. Huang in the third month of 1675. Some of his favorite sites, such as White Dragon Pool, Wenshu Temple and Lotus Blossom Peak, appear not only in this album, but also in other large size formats. The hanging scroll entitled *White Dragon Pool* (Pl. 309), is one of the few large-size paintings by Dai Benxiao. The crags are again rendered in strangely geometric forms one after another that appear organic and imposing. Because it is painted on silk, the dry rubbed-ink strokes are not easily applied, and the rock surfaces are more heavily shaded here. Although both the title and the inscription describe the White Dragon pool, the small-scale waterfall rendered on the left edge and the pool without any indication of water seem hardly to attract the viewers' attention. Mei Qing's depiction of the same scene (Pl. 310) is very different. To emphasize the rushing water, Mei Qing depicts not only the water itself but also the rocks and trees along the river with animated and rhythmic brushstrokes. The water flows diagonally out over the cliffs to produce foam on the pool that attracts the attention of the three visitors sitting on the pavilion. The pool is the central focus of the painting. We can almost hear the sound of the water when we look at Mei Qing's painting, but this does not happen when looking at Dai Benxiao's. Mei Qing's painting is vivid, impressive and exaggerated while Dai Benxiao's is quiet and fanciful. Among Dai's extant works, a set of four hanging scrolls depicting the scenes of Mt. Huang is one of the most impressive (Pl. 311);¹⁴³ in all four scrolls the rocks are rendered in interestingly fantastic form. The mountains do not appear imposing, but they do present the lofty impression of Mt. Huang. Dai Benxiao was not only acquainted with Mei Qing, but also knew

¹⁴³ ZGGDSHTM, vol. 4, no. 2645.

Hongren and Shitao.¹⁴⁴ Although Dai Benxiao shared the common base of the Anhui dry and linear style, he exploited it in a different direction to create his own style. Like most of the contemporary Anhui painters, Dai Benxiao also loved the grandeur and strangeness of famous mountains such as Mt. Tai, Mt. Hua and Mt. Huang, and he travelled widely and painted many topographical paintings.

Dai Benxiao's style is said to be like Cheng Sui's, but the merit of his painting is characterized as "plainness" (*kudan* 枯淡), compared with the "oldness" (*canggu* 蒼古) of Cheng Sui's.¹⁴⁵ Dai Benxiao and Cheng Sui were both among Mei Qing's best friends. Cheng Sui (1605-1691) was born in Xin'an, but after the Ming dynasty fell he moved to Yangzhou, then to Nanjing in 1679, where he came to know Gong Xian. He shared with other Anhui painters a number of characteristics of style, such as his use of dry, linear brushstrokes, and the tendency to reduce the texture-strokes and washes in his paintings to a minimum, and he also applied parched, broken dots of ink over his paintings. Both his painting and calligraphy are strikingly close in style to the work of another individualist of the period, Kuncan (ca. 1610-1674). It is not easy to establish which artist initially created the style. Although Cheng Sui was seven years Kuncan's senior, Kuncan received higher praise than Cheng Sui from contemporary critics. Cheng Sui was a nephew of Cheng Zhengkui 程正揆 (1604-1676), a close friend of Kuncan; and both he and Kuncan were good friends of Shitao. Thus it is likely that Cheng Sui and Kuncan also knew and influenced each other. They were both inspired by the magnificent scenery of Mt. Huang. On the basis of his memory of Mt. Huang where he had visited ten years before, Cheng Sui depicted an old temple in the remote mountains (Pl. 312). The whole composition is constructed with dry and parched strokes, rubbed-ink dots, and a minimum of texture-strokes and washes. There are hardly any continuous brushstrokes appearing in the painting, which has a quality of solemnity and desolation. Such a parched and rubbed-ink style of brushwork can also be found in Kuncan's painting.

¹⁴⁴ Minoru Nishigami 西上實, "Dai Benxiao yanjiu 戴本孝研究." Translated by Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春. In *LHSZHPWJ*, pp. 118-178; Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu*, p. 18; Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, "Wan Ming huajia yu hualun 晚明畫家與畫論." *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1978), pp. 39-66.

¹⁴⁵ Qin Zuyong, *Tongyin lunhua*. In Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰 ed., *Shumu leibian* 書目類編 vol. 84 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1978), ch. xia, p. 5.

In an inscription on a painting entitled *Landscape of Mt. Huang* and dated 1660,¹⁴⁶ Kuncan wrote: "I have spent over a year at Mt. Huang..." which indicates that Kuncan visited Mt. Huang during 1659-1660. It is probable that Kuncan's trip to Mt. Huang was in the company of Cheng Zhengkui for part of the time. In another painting, entitled *Flowing Stream at the Heavenly Capital Peak* dated 1660 (Pl. 313),¹⁴⁷ Kuncan inscribed:

I often discussed history and painting with Qingxi 青溪 (Cheng Zhengkui), and every morning and evening we climb up the peaks and gaze into the distance in order to comprehend the true aspects of mountains as seen from afar....I came back from the Heavenly Capital Peak, and have been depicting the beauties of rivers and streams, the luxuriant shade of groves and trees--all of the scenery was unlike any that the old masters ever rendered.

Kuncan approached the scenery of Mt. Huang from different angles and created his own specific images of it. For instance, Kuncan concentrates on depicting the luxuriant shade of groves and trees in the *Flowing Stream at the Heavenly Capital Peak*, but he does not emphasize the loftiness and sharpness of the peak. After returning to the Nanjing region in 1660, Kuncan was pre-occupied by the images of Mt. Huang, and they became the main sources of his painting. As Zhang Zining 張子寧 has pointed out, no fewer than seven extant paintings, all of which somehow embody his memories of Mt. Huang scenery, date from the eighth to the twelfth month of 1660 alone.¹⁴⁸ And most of Kuncan's finest surviving works are dated in the few years from this period until 1663, indicating the strong influence of Mt. Huang's beauty in his work.

Unlike most painters of the Mt. Huang school, Kuncan's style is dense, crowded, and lush with textural effects of ragged, stubby brushwork. Moreover, Kuncan's renditions of Mt. Huang, along with his inscriptions, are not as explicit as the works of his contemporaries. When discussing a painting by Kuncan painted in the tenth month of 1660 (Pl. 314),¹⁴⁹ soon after Kuncan's return from Mt. Huang, James Cahill has given a detailed analysis of the painting, the inscription, and the relationship between them:

¹⁴⁶ This painting seems never to have been published and its present whereabouts are unknown. The inscription is quoted from Zhang Zining, "Kuncan de Huangshan zhi lu", pp. 359-371.

¹⁴⁷ *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy in The Hsu-po Studio*, pl. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Zhang Zining, "Kuncan de Huangshan zhi lu".

¹⁴⁹ James Cahill, "K'un-ts'an and His Inscriptions". In *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, fig. 239, pp. 513-534.

In this work, once more, he seems to merge recollections of the grandeur of the scenery of his Huang-shan travels (in the distant peaks as well as in the brief allusion in the poem) with the more mundane and immediate experience of living among the wooded hills and rivers of the Nanking region, in an idealized fusion of memory and present reality. Moreover, in avoiding the consistent formal systems of most of his contemporaries and predecessors, he presents a world that is unruly, too diverse in its sensory material to be comprehended within the ordinary limits of a style. The effect parallels that of his poems, with their rich successions of shifting sensations, but the imagery and sensations of paintings and inscriptions, as we noted earlier, do not neatly correspond...K'un-ts'an's poems, as we have seen, describe phenomena that painting cannot depict, and his paintings convey visual impressions beyond the descriptive and evocative power of words. On one level, then, the paintings and their inscriptions complement each other, each concentrated on communicating what the other cannot.¹⁵⁰

When we carefully read the inscription by Kuncan himself on the painting, we will probably agree with what James Cahill suggests. The poem reads:

Excited peaks stand steep against the sky,
The vast ocean rolls around the earth,
Mists arise from the river, pale and thin,
Wind in the pines makes a sighing sound.
I set my will and pleasure among these,
Going and coming unhurriedly,
Wearing a pair of green-grass sandals,
Living in a few rooms of a yellow-thatched house.
Smiling as I look at the layered groves,
Or walk to the Thirty-six Peaks [of Huang-shan].
I can stand with my feet firmly planted
And face, from here, the bases of the hills. (James Cahill)

聳峻矗天表，浩翰匝地岫
溪雲起淡淡，松風吹謖謖
樂志於其間，徜徉不受促
兩隻青草鞋，幾間黃茅屋
笑看樹重重，行到峰六六
可以立腳根，方此面山麓¹⁵¹

As in most of his paintings, what Kuncan presents in this painting does not correspond to what he describes in the inscription, and his painting conveys something beyond that description. He might never present the scene directly and simply either in the forms of the painting or of the poem. Unlike the other painters of the Mt. Huang school, no one of his extant paintings presents a specific scene of Mt. Huang, although he painted many paintings based on his

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 521.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

memories of Mt. Huang and, like the other painters of the school, Kuncan was interested in inscribing his own poems on his paintings.

Zheng Min (1633-1683), a native of Shexian, was both a poet and a painter. He was a good friend of Hongren, and admired both Hongren's personality and his art. When Hongren died, Zheng Min wrote eight poems in his memory.¹⁵² In 1668, Zheng Min recorded thirty-three poems by Hongren which the latter had inscribed on his own paintings.¹⁵³ Like Hongren, Zheng Min also chose Mt. Huang as his favourite inspiration for painting. From the inscriptions on his own works, we know that Zheng Min visited Mt. Huang at least twice in the year of 1673, in summer and again in the tenth month. After he came back from Mt. Huang in the tenth month of 1673, he painted the scene *Nine Dragon Pool for Jingyuan* 驚遠 (Pl. 315), probably a friend of his. It is one of the most impressive of his extant paintings. This painting, representing a scene of a pool among crags, is a good example of his combination of dry and wet style. It is constructed with dry contours and numerous long dry texture strokes, then adds numerous wet dots to indicate vegetation and stones. The brushwork is soft and loose. Zheng Min's style in this painting is closer to Hongren's than to Mei Qing's depiction of the same scene (Pls. 316 & 179). Both Hongren and Zheng Min emphasize the plain aspects of the scene, but Mei Qing exaggerates its grand and fantastic aspect. Mei Qing's refined brushwork appears all over the painting, especially in the foam of the water. There are no figures in either Hongren's or Zheng Min's paintings, both of which simply present a quiet corner of nature, but Mei Qing portrays himself with a friend enjoying the imposing waterfall, which makes the scene tangible. Zheng Min preferred to paint the scenes of Mt. Huang in a tall vertical format which easily reproduces the lofty impression of Mt. Huang. A set of four long hanging scrolls rendering the scenes of Mt. Huang by Zheng Min is in the collection of the Shanghai Museum. Like most of the masters of Mt. Huang, Zheng Min inscribed each painting with a note of the specific site and also inscribed on each a poem describing the scene. In one of them entitled *Refining Cinnabar Platform* (Pl. 317), the spare peaks in the foreground are rendered with several small round rocks on the top that are strangely fancy. In contrast, the summit depicted

¹⁵² These eight poems are quoted in *Xin'an huapai shihun*, p. 234.

¹⁵³ Hongren & Jiang Zhu, "Huajie fu Jiang Zhu shiji ." In *Anhui congshu*, series. 1.

on the top right is crowded with pines and rocks that do not appear imposing or awesome. An interesting comparison can be made between Zheng Min's *Refining Cinnabar Platform* and other masters' renditions of the same scene (Pls. 303, 304 & 181:B). The multiple representations of the same scene prove that when depicting the topography, these Mt. Huang masters did not rely only on their own observation but also employed their personal imagination.

Most of the important painters of the Mt. Huang school were active during the second half of the seventeenth century, but there were still some minor painters continuing to depict Mt. Huang in the early eighteenth century. The detailed and crowded style pursued by these early eighteenth-century painters is quite different from the simple and poetic style used by most masters of the Mt. Huang school who worked during the second half of the seventeenth century. Xue Zhuang 雪莊 is one of the few painters depicting Mt. Huang at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Xue Zhuang (d. ca. 1718, *zi* Xingtang 惺堂, *hao* Tiexue daoren 鐵鞋道人 and Huangshan pifaweng 黃山披髮翁), a monk-painter from Chuzhou 楚州 (modern Huaian 淮安, Jiangsu province), entered a monastery as a child and took the Buddhist name Chuanwu 傳悟. In 1689 he entered Mt. Huang and decided to settle at Pipeng 皮篷, a remote site high in the peaks of the mountain.¹⁵⁴ He built a simple residence that he named Yunfang 雲舫 (Cloudy Boat) where he lived out the remainder of his life. Among his extant works, two are renditions of this residence: one is dated 1705, in the Changzhou 常州 Museum of Jiangsu province (Pl. 318); the other is dated 1718, in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (Pl. 319). In both paintings, his residence is presented in the centre, surrounded by trees and rocks, but the styles of these two paintings are different. In the former the brushwork is thin and the forms of trees, rocks, and the house are painted in bird's eye view, but in the latter the brushwork is looser and the forms of trees and rocks are simpler and depicted in the near distance. From these two paintings, we may suggest that a crowded composition is characteristic of Xue Zhuang, quite different from the simple composition of most of the paintings by those seventeenth-century masters of the Mt. Huang school. In the long

¹⁵⁴ *Huangshan zhi xuji*, vol. 7, pp. 42-43, also Wu Zhantai's colophon on Xue Zhuang's *Fourty-Three Views of Mt. Huang*.

inscription of the former painting, Xue Zhuang wrote: "Yunfang is named for its shape, as it looks like a boat....I have been in Mt. Huang for seventeen years. My temper is harder than iron, thus I can confine my steps within the thousand peaks."

As Xue Zhang described himself, his steady and tranquil spirit led him to observe nature directly and carefully, so he was able to depict not only forty-three different scenes of Mt. Huang, but also one hundred and twenty kinds of flowers found on Mt. Huang. His series of forty-three renditions of Mt. Huang was chosen by Wang Shihong to illustrate the scenes of Mt. Huang in the continuation edition of the gazetteer of Mt. Huang, *Huangshan zhi xuji*. The colophon by Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰 for Xue Zhuang's forty-three scenes of Mt. Huang reads: "...Old Xue has been in Mt. Huang for a very long period, lying among clouds and chewing snow; his temper combines with the landscape, thus his brushwork and ink look like the creation of Heaven. 雪公久於黃山，臥雲嚼雪，其性情與山水爲一，故其筆墨與天工俱化也"¹⁵⁵ Among Xue Zhuang's one hundred and twenty flower paintings of Mt. Huang, Wu Song 吳崧 chose thirty-five of them to compile a book entitled *Huijian* 卉箋. Wu Song wrote a colophon for it: "Those strange flowers of Mt. Huang are so outstanding that they can not be planted outside Mt. Huang. The Chuzhou monk Chuanwu, living in Pipeng of Mt. Huang, usually brings paper and brush with him and portrays the flowers in the profound cliffs and ravines to cheer others' mind and eyes. 黃山奇葩異卉，迴絕寰區，不能移植山外，楚州僧傳悟居黃山皮篷，時攜紙筆於幽崖邃壑間，貌形寫照娛人心目"¹⁵⁶

Yi Zhi 一智 (zi Linfeng 廩峰, Shifeng 石峰, or Huanghai yunfang 黃海雲舫) was another monk who produced several paintings of Mt. Huang in the early eighteenth century. He was a native of Xiuning, and a follower of Xue Zhuang. His extant paintings of Mt. Huang are dated between 1714 and 1722 in the declining phase of the school. The descriptions of Mt. Huang by Yi Zhi are far more detailed than those by Xue Zhuang. There are no records about his life and his paintings. From the appearances of his six surviving works, we may assume that he painted these scenes based on his close observation of Mt. Huang, not from his imagination or the

¹⁵⁵ *Huangshan zhi xuji*, the colophon by Wu Zhantai.

¹⁵⁶ For Wu Song's colophon, see "*Huijian*" in *Huangshan congkan*, vol. 4.

others' works, as every scene is represented descriptively. For instance, in a hanging scroll dated in 1722 (Pl. 320), we can see the small house, fence, steps, and trees in the foreground are depicted in detail, while even the peaks of Mt. Huang in the background are rendered carefully. The detailed and crowded style of Yi Zhi's paintings is quite different from the simple and poetic style of most of the masters of the school who were active during the second half of the seventeenth century. Therefore, a strict definition of the Mt. Huang school should only include those poet-painters of the second half of the seventeenth century who were inspired by the real scenery of Mt. Huang, but a broader definition of the school would include those painters of the early seventeenth century and of the early eighteenth century who also chose Mt. Huang as their subject.

According to the above discussion of the paintings of several major painters of the Mt. Huang school, there are four common characteristics among them. First of all, they were all inspired by the actual scenery of Mt. Huang. They all painted it based on their own direct observation, but they did not depict it in detail, nor did they emphasizing the likeness of the actual scene. Instead, they focused on capturing one aspect of the scenery. Second, they were all poets or scholars, so their presentations of Mt. Huang usually exhibit a strong poetic image and a lofty literati taste. They liked to inscribe their own poems on their paintings, and most of their poems describing the scenes of Mt. Huang correspond to their renditions of them. Third, they often applied dry, linear brushwork and light colours. This characteristic might be partly because they were all literati painters, or partly because most of them knew each other and influenced each other, or again because they had the same social, cultural, political, economic, and geographical background. Finally, almost every one of them emphasized their own individual styles. Some of these painters might have learned some motifs from the others, but they did not follow the others too closely. Although they usually applied the dry brushwork and light colours to depict the same scenery, every one of them captured different qualities of Mt. Huang and presented it differently.

Most of the renditions of Mt. Huang were painted during the second half of the seventeenth century, the period that can be called the mature phase of the school. Mei Qing was one of the masters who produced numerous renditions of Mt. Huang during this period. He liked nature,

and he was interested in depicting it, especially Mt. Huang. He stressed the importance of using his own way to create an individual style. Being a poet, he was good at simplifying and exaggerating the scenes of Mt. Huang to express his poetic thoughts. Owing to his fantastic presentations of Mt. Huang, Mei Qing, along with Hongren and Shitao, is called one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang School by modern painters and critics. His strong individual style stands out in comparisons with the other painters of the school. His importance is revealed not only from his works but also from his influence on his contemporaries and his later followers. The relationship between Mei Qing's works and those of his followers is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF MEI QING'S PAINTINGS

Mei Qing was known as a poet when he was young, but his great ability at painting had already been recognized by his contemporaries as early as the 1670s. For instance, in 1674 when *Huangshan zhi*, the gazetteer of Mt. Huang, was published, one of the illustrations entitled Zhibo Temple was based on a design by Mei Qing (Pl. 25).¹ Its publication in the same gazetteer with other depictions of Mt. Huang by his older contemporaries Zheng Zhong and Hongren,² indicates that Mei Qing's works were already widely known. Mei Qing's design might have influenced some beginners, especially those who had never been there, to paint the scenes of Mt. Huang from woodblock prints. During Mei Qing's lifetime, Wang Shizhen, the contemporary famous scholar-critic, wrote the following analysis of his painting:

Mei Qing...is a famous poet in the region of Jiangzuo (Jiangnan). His landscapes belong to the marvelous class (*miaopin* 妙品) and his pine paintings reach to the divine class (*shenpin* 神品):...He painted...twelve views of Mt. Huang that completely capture the magnificence of its ever-changing clouds....He sent me a handscroll of plum painting that is covered with fog and snow, with branches and trunks that were bizarre. The painting appears to be much better than those of Wang Mengduan 王孟端 (Wang Fu 王紱)....[Mei Qing's] paintings are much appreciated at present, and those fragmentary paintings by him should have the same value as those by Su (Su Shi) or by Huang (Huang Gongwang) in the next few decades.³

Elsewhere, Wang Shizhen went so far as to claim that Mei Qing painted the best pine-paintings on earth.⁴ Along with Wang Shizhen, more than thirty-five contemporary scholars and painters wrote poems in praise of Mei Qing's marvellous pine paintings.⁵

¹ Mei Qing might have designed this scene from his own imagination or from paintings by others, as according to Mei Qing's own writings, he first went to Mt. Huang in 1678.

² *HSZDB*, Illustrations.

³ Wang Shizhen, *Juyi lu* 居易錄, vol. 17, pp. 11-12.

⁴ Wang Shizhen, *Canwei xuwen*, preface.

⁵ *QSSL*, "Tianyange zengyan", vol. 3.

Mei Qing's unique style was not only recognized in his time, but also has attracted many followers since then. In an attempt to further understand Mei Qing's individual style and assess his influence, we turn to some of his important followers. Mei Geng 梅庚 (1639-after 1716), Mei Chong 梅冲 (active c. 1690), Chang Dai-chien 張大千 (1899-1988), and Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (b. 1896) are the four most important followers of Mei Qing chosen for discussion here.

1. Contemporary Followers

Mei Geng and Mei Chong were both younger relatives of Mei Qing: they were the sons of Mei Qing's nephews,⁶ though their ages do not appear as being two generations' younger than Mei Qing. Mei Geng and Mei Chong were cousins, both of whom had a very close relationship with Mei Qing. According to Mei Qing's complete poetry collection, *Qushan shilue*, we learn that they often travelled, painted paintings, and wrote poems together with him. Although they were not direct students of Mei Qing, they must have had many opportunities to see Mei Qing's paintings and to observe Mei Qing's methods of painting; therefore, it is not surprising to see that some of Mei Qing's motifs or characteristics were adopted by them. According to both their stylistic and geographical affinities, some modern scholars have suggested that Mei Qing with Mei Geng, Mei Chong and some other minor painters from the same area can be grouped as a school of painting called the "Xuancheng School", of which Mei Qing was the leader.

Mei Geng and Mei Chong often cooperated with Mei Qing to paint on certain occasions. For instance, in 1689 Mei Qing, Mei Geng, Mei Chong, Mei Wei (a son of Mei Qing), Tao Yu 陶淵, and some other friends together painted and inscribed a long handscroll with six sections for Wen Weng 文翁.⁷ Mei Geng was sixteen years younger than Mei Qing. His literary name was Ouchang 耦長, and his style name Xueping 雪坪. His great-grandfather was Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚, the famous scholar, dramatist, poet, and bibliophile, and his father Mei Langzhong 梅朗中 was also a

⁶ As both Mei Geng and Mei Chong called Mei Qing "Shuzu 叔祖", which means "grandfather's brother". See QSSL, "Hwaguohui changhe shi", pp. 6-7 & 9-10.

⁷ ZGGDSHTM, vol. 4, no. 2673.

poet and painter. He lost his father when he was only three years old. He was good at writing poems and *bafen* script 八分書 (a kind of clerical script). He had two writing collections, *Manyu ji* 漫與集 and *Tingshan shichao* 聽山詩鈔. He got his *juren* degree in 1681, and later became an officer at Taishun 泰順 (in Zhejiang province).⁸ As early as 1663, Mei Geng accompanied Mei Qing to some literati gatherings.⁹ Around the 1660s and 1670s, he also attended the society of poets and painters held at Xuancheng. As he often accompanied Mei Qing to gatherings of poets and painters, he knew most of Mei Qing's friends and occasionally painted landscapes or wrote poems jointly with Mei Qing. For instance, as we have mentioned, in 1673 when Mei Qing gathered Mei Geng, Shi Runzhang and some friends for a boating excursion on the Blue Stream, Mei Qing drew a painting to describe the scene and Mei Geng and others inscribed poems on it (Pl. 23). From the writings of Shi Runzhang and of Wang Shizhen, we know that Mei Geng also had a very close relationship with them, especially with Shi Runzhang.¹⁰ In the leaf from the 1689 cooperative handscrolls for Wen Weng, Mei Geng depicted two groups of angular mountains on the right, on which a man with a long staff is climbing the steps to the top (Pl. 321). A cluster of pine leaves is rendered on the edge of the belt-shaped clouds that are floating among the mountains, and many sharp peaks are depicted in light washes in the background. Such a motif of depicting the top part of pines along the edge of clouds perhaps is derived from a leaf in Mei Qing's 1680 album *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng* (Pl. 29), in which more pine leaves are dramatically depicted.

Again, in 1693, Mei Qing and Mei Geng with some other friends, Xue Zhuang 雪莊, Wu Sugong 吳肅公, Wang Hongdu 汪洪度, Wang Shihong 汪士鋐, Cheng Yuanyu 程元愈, and Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰, painted and inscribed thirteen leaves for Qu Dajun 屈大鈞,¹¹ a famous contemporary scholar. In the same year, Mei Geng painted an album for someone he called elder

⁸ Li Huan 李桓 comp., *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 (Taipei: Wenyou shudian, 1966), no. 13, vol. 222, pp. 27-28.

⁹ *QSSL*, vol. 9, pp. 5, 8, & 9.

¹⁰ Shi Renzhang, *Shi Yushan xiansheng quanji*, "Yushan xiansheng shiji", vol. 35, p. 14, vol. 39, p. 12, vol. 40, p. 5.

¹¹ For these thirteen leaves see *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2679.

Dai 待, that might be the most refined and detailed work among his extant paintings.¹² It contains ten leaves, and is now in the Shanghai Museum. Many motifs in this album are obviously adapted from Mei Qing. Three leaves from this album are suggested to be based on Mei Qing's 1692 album, which consists of twelve leaves for Chong Gesi 程格思.¹³ A comparison of these three leaves from Mei Geng's album (Pls. 322-324) with the three leaves from Mei Qing's 1692 album (Pls. 325-327), leaves no doubt that the main motifs of Mei Geng's three leaves are all derived from those of Mei Qing. It is likely that Mei Geng saw Mei Qing's album and slightly changed some designs. Instead of Mei Qing's simple and free quality, Mei Geng painted this album in a rather realistic and descriptive manner.

Like Mei Qing, Mei Geng was also interested in depicting pine trees. In 1698, he depicted a vigorous pine tree whose branches bend over to the right at the top (Pl. 328).¹⁴ The leaves are rendered with fine needle-shaped strokes and the trunk and branches are freely modelled with oval-shaped texture strokes and then horizontal dots. These elements might be also derived from Mei Qing's works. Through a comparison of this painting with Mei Qing's 1695 pine painting (Pl. 84), the similarities between them are seen clearly, such as the needle-shaped leaves and the free dottings. But Mei Qing's strokes are more energetic and straight than those of Mei Geng's, especially those appearing on trunks and on rocks. Mei Geng was famous as a poet rather than a painter. He had some other important extant works, such as *Ruchuan fangzhi tu* 如川方至圖 in the Museum of Chinese History, and *Qiulin shuwu tu* 秋林書屋圖 in the Shanghai Museum.¹⁵ In Zhang Geng's 張庚 (1685-1760) *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄 (1735), he praised both Mei Geng's landscapes and his flower paintings as graceful.¹⁶

¹² This album is recorded in Chen Kuilin's 陳夔麟 *Baoyue shuhualu* 寶迂閣書畫錄 (1915 edition), vol. 2, p. 64. For the reproduction of the album, see *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 5, Shanghai Museum, no. 3097.

¹³ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2677.

¹⁴ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 5, Shanghai Museum, no. 3098.

¹⁵ *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1, The Museum of Chinese History, no. 385 and vol. 5, Shanghai Museum, no. 3099.

¹⁶ Zhang Geng 張庚, *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄. In *Qingdai zhuanji congan*, vol. 71.

Mei Chong was another direct follower of Mei Qing. Mei Chong's literary name was Peiyi 培翼, and his style name was Wenji shanren 文脊山人. Like Mei Qing, Mei Chong also had a seal that read "Huasong 畫松" (painting pine trees) that indicates his considerable interest in painting pine trees. One of his most impressive extant works is a rendition of two pines which both bend over to the left; it is undated, in the Shanghai Museum (Pl. 329).¹⁷ Mei Chong exaggerated the pines with numerous refined needle-shaped leaves and several curved branches. Besides, Mei Chong applied many round dots on the trunks and on the branches. Under the pines, a rock with two small stones and two fungi seems to echo the curved trees. Although the leaves and branches are numerous, there is no feeling of crowding or disorder. Every leaf and every branch are clearly seen and the tints of ink in the leaves are different to one another suggesting a different depth of distance. Again, in comparing this painting with Mei Qing's 1695 pine painting (Pl. 84), we find that Mei Chong applied the loose and delicate strokes which are similar to those of Mei Qing, but he transformed Mei Qing's simple design to a more decorative and descriptive one. If we further compare this pine painting of Mei Chong with another pine painting entitled *The Lonely Pine*, also signed with the name of Mei Chong, in the Xubai Zhai 虛白齋 (Hsu-po Studio) collection in Hong Kong (Fig. 73 in page 535),¹⁸ we will see two completely different qualities between them, that suggests that these two paintings might have not been painted by the same painter or might have been painted by the same painter but during two different periods. The brushstrokes of the pine leaves and the texture strokes of the trunks of the Shanghai painting (Pl. 329) are either delicate or loose whereas those of the Xubai Zhai scroll are regular and stiff, though both are painted, according to their inscriptions, in the manner of Liu Songnian. Two similarities lead us to recognize that one of these two paintings must be copied from the other. First, they both imitate the style of the same model. Second, their compositions are close to each other. The brushwork of the Xubai Zhai scroll is quite different from Mei Chong's style, and as we shall see, most of Mei Chong's strokes are either delicate or loose.

¹⁷ ZGGDSHTM, vol. 5, Shanghai Museum, no. 3347.

¹⁸ Jao Tsung-i, *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy in the Hsu-po Studio*, pl. 43.

Mei Chong's delicate style of painting will stand out when we make more comparisons between his paintings and forgeries of his work. For instance, an undated hanging scroll entitled *Sea of Clouds at Wenshu Temple of Mt. Huang* by Mei Chong, in Guangzhou Art Gallery (Pl. 270 in page 516), might be the main source of two forgeries. The two main groups of peaks are separated by a sea of clouds. The peaks are modelled with numerous dry, delicate and swirling strokes. Mei Chong might have been influenced by Mei Qing, as we can find this type of stroke in many of Mei Qing's works, but Mei Chong extended it to be more detailed. It is interesting to find the similar composition appearing in two other paintings. One of them is entitled *The White Clouds of Mt. Tai* and is signed with the name of Mei Chong, in the collection of Zhile Lou 至樂樓 (Chih-lo Lou) in Hong Kong (Fig. 74 in page 535).¹⁹ When we compare the brushstrokes of these two paintings, we will find that those on the Zhile Lou painting are regular, and not so swirling as those on the Guangzhou painting. No dots appear on the Zhile Lou painting, but, in contrast, there are numerous free and dry dots on the Guangzhou painting. The pine trees in the Zhile Lou painting are depicted with hard and stiff strokes, but those in the Guangzhou painting appear delicate and lively. Furthermore, it is surprising to note that such similar compositions have different titles, one claiming to be Mt. Huang and the other, Mt. Tai. According to Mei Qing's poems and one of Mei Chong's albums, which we shall turn to later, we learn that Mei Chong visited Mt. Huang with Mei Qing in 1690; therefore, he must have known the real scene of Wenshu Temple at Mt. Huang very well. How could he depict two similar compositions, but inscribe them as two different scenes on two different mountains? If we compare these two paintings with Mei Qing's renditions of the Wenshu Temple of Mt. Huang, such as the two leaves separately from his Mt. Huang albums of 1690 (Pl. 114) and 1692 (Pl. 125), we can be sure that these two paintings, like Mei Qing's renditions, must both depict the scene of the Wenshu Temple at Mt. Huang, which is located between the Heavenly Capital Peak and the Lotus Flower Peak. Obviously, the forger, who wrote a

¹⁹ Mayching Kao ed., *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, cat. no. 41.

long inscription concerning Mt. Tai, perhaps tried to distract the viewers' attention from the painting itself.

Another similar composition also inscribes the scene as Wenshu Temple of Mt. Huang, not a scene of Mt. Tai, but this undated painting is signed with the name of Mei Qing, not that of Mei Chong (Fig. 46 in page 516). We have discussed this painting in the fourth chapter. The brushwork of this painting is short and regular. It appears even stiffer than that of the Zhile Lou painting. Although it is inscribed as being painted in the manner of Wang Meng, not many of the swirling strokes have been used, again indicating this painting is a forgery. It is possible that this painting, like the Zhile Lou painting, was also copied from the Guangzhou painting of Mei Chong. Why did the forger write the same poem as that on the Guangzhou painting, but sign it with the name of Mei Qing, not Mei Chong? One possible reason is that the forger not only thought that Mei Chong's style looks like that of Mei Qing, but might also have believed that Mei Qing's fame was higher than that of Mei Chong. It is also possible that on one hand, the forger, like most forgers, tried very hard to copy every detail from the original painting, but on the other hand, he also tried not to copy it exactly the same as the original one. This contradictory attitude may be able to explain why these two forgers both copied such a similar composition but changed either the inscription or the signature.

Like Mei Geng, Mei Chong had a very close relationship with Mei Qing, especially in the latter's late years. During 1688, Mei Chong lived in Mei Qing's Tianyan Pavilion and attended the Huaguo poetry gatherings with Mei Qing.²⁰ The intimate relationship between Mei Qing and Mei Chong can be found in an undated album by Mei Chong that contains eight leaves depicting several actual places, including Mt. Wenzheng 問政山, Taiping Shisi 太平十寺, Hengchuan Pavilion 橫川閣, Shuicheng Garden 水澄園 and Mt. Huang.²¹ Mei Qing inscribed poems on six of them

²⁰ QSSL, "Huaguo hui changhe shi", pp.9 & 12.

²¹ Nine leaves of the album are printed in Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 26, 1990), lot. 60. Five leaves are in ink and colours on paper, and another five leaves are in ink on paper.

for Mei Chong.²² The album might have been painted in 1690 (rather than around 1693 as the Sotheby catalogue suggests), when Mei Chong visited these places together with Mei Qing, as we can find all the poems inscribed by Mei Qing were edited in the twenty-ninth chapter of Mei Qing's *Qushan shilue*, which was dated as 1690 by Mei Qing himself. This album completely reveals Mei Chong's interest in depicting actual sites with a realistic and descriptive manner. Mei Chong's interest in presenting topography might have been influenced by Mei Qing. When we compare the leaf depicting Mt. Huang (Pl. 330) with any of Mei Qing's renditions of Mt. Huang, we will see Mei Qing's style is much simpler than that of Mei Chong. The other leaves are also depicted with thin and refined brushwork, detailed composition, and light blue or ink tints of colouring, such as the leaf depicting Taiping Shisi (Pl. 331). This leaf depicts Mei Chong, Mei Qing, Jiang Zhu and some other friends boating together at Taiping Shisi.

Mei Chong's interest in depicting actual sites can also be found in an undated album containing eight leaves (Pls. 241-248), in the Hashimoto collection in Kyoto; four of the leaves are by Mei Qing in the styles of ancient masters, and another four by Mei Chong are renditions of four different scenes, Echo Hill Pond (Xiangshan Pool), Santian Cave 三天洞, Mt. Jingting, and the North Lake Pavilion 北湖亭. We have discussed those leaves painted by Mei Qing in the fourth chapter. From the leaf depicting the Huaguo poetry gathering at North Lake Pavilion (Pl. 248), we can presume this album might have been painted around 1692, as this event of gathering at North Lake Pavilion can also be found in two poems by Mei Qing, which he dated on the eleventh of the sixth month in 1692. One of Mei Qing's poems also records that there are twenty-six members attaining the gathering.²³

It is interesting to find that some of the motifs on Mei Chong's leaf from this album depicting the scene of Santian Cave (Pl. 245),²⁴ are very close to those appearing on the leaf entitled *Nine Dragon Pool* from Mei Qing's 1693 album depicting nineteen scenes of Mt. Huang (Pl. 179). The

²² Mei Qing's inscriptions can be found in *QSSL*, vol. 29, pp. 10, 11, 12 & 15.

²³ *QSSL*, vol. 32, pp. 4-6.

²⁴ *Shadows*, cat. no. 61.

similar ways of modelling the rocks, the similar tints of light green colouring, and the same motifs of trees all suggest that there is a strong connection between these two paintings. If this album was painted by Mei Chong in 1692 as suggested above, then it would be possible that Mei Qing got these motifs from Mei Chong's painting, as we can not find similar motifs in any other extant works by Mei Qing dated earlier than 1692. When we compare another leaf by Mei Chong from this album which depicts Mt. Jingting (Pl. 247) with Mei Qing's 1690 hanging scroll that depicts Mt. Bojian (Pl. 102), again we can see similar motifs applied on these two paintings, such as the swirling texture strokes on rocks and peaks, and dynamic style of pine trees. Such swirling texture strokes do not appear in Mei Chong's other extant works dated earlier than 1690, such as in the previous 1690 album, when Mei Chong emulated Wang Meng's style to depict the scenes of Mt. Huang (Pl. 330), his strokes are not so swirling. Therefore, it suggests that Mei Chong might have obtained this motif from Mei Qing. From these two examples, we might suggest that, apart from Mei Qing's influence on Mei Chong, Mei Qing sometimes might also have inspired by new motifs from Mei Chong's works, but that he transformed Mei Chong's style to make it more fanciful.

Like Mei Qing, Mei Chong also used two different types of brushstrokes. In addition to the detailed and refined strokes such as those painted in this and the previous albums, his other type of brushwork is free and loose. Mei Chong's free and loose type of brushstrokes are revealed completely in one undated hanging scroll, entitled *Searching for Magnificence in a Remote Forest* (Pl. 332).²⁵ It is interesting to note that the several tall trees depicted on either side of the path in the middle ground are motifs similar to those in Mei Qing's 1692 hanging scroll in the manner of Guo Xi (Pl. 333) and a leaf from the 1692 album painted for Cheng Gesi (Pl. 326). It is impossible to figure out who invented this motif, as Mei Chong's painting is undated. If we compare Mei Chong's scroll with his two undated albums (painted perhaps in 1690 and 1692), the styles of which are both descriptive and decorative, which might have painted separately in 1690 and 1692, we may suggest that this relaxed and loose style of painting by Mei Chong might have developed

²⁵ *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20, p. 30.

later than the descriptive and decorative one. The tall and leafless trees are depicted in an unrestrained manner, with strokes that are refined and loose. The hillocks in the foreground are rendered with a few broad texture strokes and loose dots. The awkward building is also rather similar to the typical buildings depicted by Mei Qing.

Owing to the close relationship between Mei Qing and Mei Chong, Mei Chong's late style is close to that of Mei Qing. For instance, when we compare another two leaves, one by Mei Qing dated 1695 (Pl. 334) and the other undated leaf by Mei Chong (Pl. 335), both mounted together in the same album,²⁶ we will be surprised to see such a closeness in style between them. The free dottings, the loose and light strokes, and the diagonal composition are the common elements of these two paintings. Mei Qing depicted sparse trees and cliffs on two opposite corners to balance each other, and a simple empty hut on the top of the cliff. In Mei Chong's leaf a figure is depicted on a boat under the cliffs; this detail reveals his concern about the realistic description. The whereabouts of this album are unknown. It contains four leaves, including another two leaves separately painted by Mei Geng and Caiyao 蔡瑤 who was a close friend of Mei Qing. In Mei Geng's leaf, dated 1691 (Pl. 336), the cliffs are rendered with dry and swirling strokes, and the pine leaves are depicted dynamically, looking like those in Mei Qing's 1690 hanging scroll (Pl. 102) and Mei Chong's rendition of Mt. Jingting (Pl. 247). This album again suggests that some similar motifs were used by Mei Qing, Mei Geng and Mei Chong, especially in their late works. As Mei Geng and Mei Chong both often met Mei Qing, it would be likely that they had more and more opportunities to learn Mei Qing's style day by day. Mei Chong had often accompanied Mei Qing since 1688, therefore it would not be impossible for Mei Qing to try some motifs from the younger; also it is possible that when Mei Qing was getting old, he may sometimes have asked the younger artist to paint on his behalf and then signed his name to such paintings, however, no evidence at present suggests this possibility.²⁷

²⁶ *Yilin yuekan* 藝林月刊, no. 76, pp. 3-6

²⁷ *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20, p. 37.

Apart from Mei Geng and Mei Chong, Mei Qing's fourth son Mei Wei might also have been slightly influenced by Mei Qing. His literary name was Baofang 豹方, and he was interested in painting landscape and Buddhist figures. What he learned from Mei Qing might be the diagonal composition and the simple, loose style of brushwork. In an undated single leaf from a cooperative album now in the Anhui Provincial Museum, Mei Wei depicts a fisherman fishing on a boat among reeds (Pl. 337).²⁸ A diagonal cliff on the left side is rendered with a few simple and free strokes, and the numerous reeds are depicted with dynamic strokes. Mei Wei was better known for portraying Buddhist figures, but unfortunately, no Buddhist figures by him have been found. It is recorded that in 1673 he painted a Buddhist Guardian 大力 and that Mei Qing inscribed a poem on it.²⁹ Moreover, contemporary scholars, Wang Wan 汪琬 and Wang Shihong 汪士鋐, both inscribed poems on one album of lohans by him.³⁰

No documents indicate that Mei Qing ever painted for any patron or sold any paintings. Apart from for his own joy or interest, Mei Qing only painted for his friends or relatives; therefore, his paintings did not circulate widely among collectors during his lifetime. Moreover, no evidence suggests that Mei Qing had any students. Only some of his close relatives, such as Mei Geng, Mei Chong and Mei Wei, had the chance to learn some motifs and brushwork from his paintings. Mei Qing created a unique style that is so impressive that several modern critics have proclaimed his importance in the history of painting and some great modern masters have been inspired by his paintings. Chang Dai-chien and Liu Haisu are two important masters who both chose Mei Qing as their model.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 29. The other four leaves from the same album are separately painted by Mei Qing, Mei Keng, Mei Chong, and Mei Zhuocheng 梅琢成.

²⁹ Feng Shi 馮氏 & Ping Shian 萍實齋 MS., *Shibaizhai shuhua lu* 十百齋書畫錄, vol. 酉.

³⁰ Wang Wan 汪琬, *Yaofeng wenchao* 堯峰文鈔 in *Sibu congkan jibu* 四庫叢刊集部, no. 89 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1975), vol. 3, p. 43. About Wang Shihong's poem, quoted by Mu Xiaotian in *Mei Qing*, p. 20.

2. Modern Followers

Chang Dai-chien's original name was Quan 權, and his style name was Jiyuan 季爰. He was born in Sichuan Province. As mentioned in the fourth chapter, he travelled to Mt. Huang three times, separately in 1927, 1931 and 1936.³¹ He was so fascinated by the scenery of Mt. Huang that it became one of the most common subjects in his artistic career. Fu Shen has pointed out that:

Chang Dai-chien first came to know China's magnificent Yellow Mountain range in Anhui Province through the paintings of Shitao (1642-1707)....During the 1920s Chang Dai-chien had become increasingly enamored of a group of artists who had taken the Yellow Mountains as a mainstay of their repertoire. Chang expanded his studies beyond Shitao to include Mei Qing (1623-1697) and Hongren (1610-1664), all members of the so-called Anhui School. Chang diligently copied them all--sometimes he even forged them.³²

Mei Qing was one of Chang Dai-chien's favourite masters, so Chang knew Mei Qing's style very well. For instance, as early as 1928 when Chang painted a landscape in the style of Mei Qing and Shitao (Pl. 273), he inscribed, "Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 and Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 are the only two painters who have succeeded in combining the style of Mei Qing and Shitao. Nevertheless, this artist (himself) will give it a try."³³ Moreover, in a leaf dated 1929, he wrote: "I depict two pines of Wenshu Temple, which are different from those painted by Qushan (Mei Qing) and Xueping (Mei Geng)."³⁴ Even when he was eighty years old (1978), he still clearly remembered the paintings of Mei Qing; as in one painting recalling his trip to Mt. Huang painted in the year (1978), he inscribed: "I have seen the depiction of the Hegai Pine 鶴蓋松 at Mt. Huang by Mei Qing...."³⁵

Although Chang Dai-chien tried hard to learn Mei Qing's and Shitao's styles, he seemed not to be able to capture their spirit. For instance, in his 1928 hanging scroll, he seemed to imitate only Mei Qing's free dotting and Shitao's way of modelling the rocks. His brushwork is too sharp and

³¹ Bao Limin and Wang Zhen, "Zhang Daiqian nianpu." *Duoyun* (1988, no. 4), pp. 103, 105 & 112.

³² *Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien*, p. 99.

³³ Sotheby Parke Bernet, *Modern and Contemporary Chinese Paintings* (Hong Kong, November 1981), lot 73.

³⁴ Bao Limin & Wang Zhen, "Zhang Daiqian nianpu", p. 104.

³⁵ National Museum of History ed., *The Paintings and Calligraphy of Chang Dai-chien*, vol. 1, p. 74, pl. 48.

angular to be like those of Mei Qing or Shitao. Chang himself also understood that his depictions of Mt. Huang are quite different from those by Mei Qing or by Shitao. In an inscription from 1931 on *The Wenshu Temple in Mt. Huang* (Pl. 338),³⁶ Chang also inscribed that his description of Wenshu Temple is different from those by Shitao and by Mei Qing. The great difference will be seen immediately, when we compare this painting with Mei Qing's (Pls. 114 & 125) or with Shitao's (Pl. 339)³⁷ depictions of the same scene. Chang applies long, hard and sharp strokes to depict the scene of Wenshu Temple. The peaks and pine trees are both rendered in a tight and descriptive manner that completely lacks the quality of softness that is the common characteristic of Mei Qing's and Shitao's paintings. Even in 1945, when Chang depicted the scene of Mt. Huang (Pl. 340)³⁸, he inscribed that, "Only Mt. Huang I cannot paint very well...." Like most of his other renditions of Mt. Huang, the pines and rocks in this painting are modelled with hard, angular strokes and continuous and thin contours, that create a quality of stiffness. Even Chang himself was not satisfied with his own renditions of Mt. Huang; perhaps that is one of the main reasons why he so admired Shitao's and Mei Qing's abilities to depict Mt. Huang and tried so hard to imitate their styles.

In 1935 張學良 he painted the scene of Nine Dragon Waterfall in Mt. Huang for his close friend Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (b. 1898), a former Manchurian warlord. On it he inscribed that Jianjiang (Hongren) captured the bone structure of Mt. Huang, Shitao the feelings, and Qushan (Mei Qing) its ceaseless change. Furthermore, he observed that the Mt. Huang school was a popular topic around 1930s; he also pointed out that Hongren, Shitao, and Mei Qing were the three greatest masters of Mt. Huang school and argued that no one could surpass them. Partially owing to Chang Dai-chien's commendation and studies on Shitao, Hongren and Mei Qing, their styles and their importance came to be known by more people. Chang's influence on the popularity of these masters and of the Mt. Huang school was also

³⁶ Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 25, 1991), lot 137.

³⁷ It is a leaf from an undated album of *Eight Views of Mt. Huang*, in the Sumitomo collection.

³⁸ Sotheby's catalogue of *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 26, 1990), lot 225.

recorded in the *Morning Newspaper of Beiping* (*Beiping Chenbao* 北平晨報) on September 10th 1934 by Huaiyu 懷玉, one of Chang Dai-chien's friends, who wrote: "Dai-chien has first learned the styles of Bada 八大 and Shitao, and later those of the painters of Mt. Huang, such as Jianjiang (Hongren) and Qushan (Mei Qing); therefore, painters from Shanghai all follow him, and thus the "Mt. Huang School" has become recognized."³⁹

In fact, in the early years of this century both Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Wang Caibai 汪采白 (1887-1940) had visited Mt. Huang and had painted several scenes of Mt. Huang. Besides, in 1924 Huang Binhong started to compile a book about the origins of Mt. Huang painters. In addition, a booklet entitled *Huangshan huayuan lue* 黃山畫苑略, which includes more than one hundred and thirty Anhui painters from the Tang to the Qing dynasties, was published around 1930.⁴⁰ The term "Mt. Huang School" might have first been recognized then. Huang Binhong did not particularly emphasize the style of Hongren, Shitao, or Mei Qing in his books, and he even did not include Shitao as a member of the school. It was Chang Dai-chien who first advocated Hongren, Shitao, and Mei Qing as the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school. During 1920s and 1930s, Mt. Huang became a popular theme among painters, such as Qian Shoutie (1897-1967), Qian Songyan 錢松品 (1899-1985), and He Tianjian (1890-1977) all of whom chose Mt. Huang as their subject.

Among these modern painters, Chang Dai-chien was the one who tried the hardest to learn Mei Qing's style. Fu Shen has suggested that: "Chang Dai-chien was particularly impressed by Mei Qing's versatile brushwork, which ranged from meticulous to loose and free." Fu Shen points out that a painting entitled *Wenshu Plateau in Mt. Huang* and signed as Mei Qing, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was forged by Chang Dai-chien (Fig. 47). Fu Shen further notes that "Chang Dai-chien's brush strokes are thin, agitated lines that do not have the strength to 'penetrate' into the

³⁹ Bao Limin and Wang Zhen, "Zhang Daiqian nianpu", p. 109.

⁴⁰ This booklet was later edited in Huang Binhong's another book entitled *Guhua wei* 古畫微, and republished in 1960. See Huang Binhong, *Guhua wei fu Huangshan huayuan lue*.

paper, and ultimately they taint his version with a slightly slick and charming superficiality."⁴¹ The calligraphy on Chang's *Wenshu Plateau in the Mt. Huang* is characterized by his horizontal strokes whose heads have a slight upward slope. Some paintings with this specific style of calligraphy, though signed as Mei Qing, are here suggested as having been forged by Chang Dai-chien. These doubtful works are discussed in chapter four. Chang was really fascinated by Mei Qing's style, so he not only collected Mei Qing's works but also imitated and forged Mei Qing's paintings. For instance, an album dated 1693 and painted in the styles of several ancient masters was once in his collection (Pls. 45-56).

In 1928 Chang Dai-chien pointed out that only two modern painters, Qian Shoutie (1897-1967) and Yu Jianhua, had succeeded in combining the styles of Mei Qing and Shitao, but actually their works do not reveal much influence from Mei Qing. Unfortunately, no paintings in the manner of Mei Qing have been found by either artist. The only relevant work is a rendition of Mt. Huang painted by Qian Shoutie in 1929, in which Qian imitates the styles of Shitao and Kuncan (Shixi) (Pl. 341).⁴² In this painting, Qian Shoutie tried to construct the mountains and streams in a descriptive manner in Kuncan's usual fashion, but his brushwork is much thinner and stiffer than that of Shitao or Kuncan. If compare this painting with any of Mei Qing's renditions of Mt. Huang, we will find that Mei Qing seldom designed such a crowded composition and that he would not have modelled the peaks with such thin, wet and long texture strokes.

He Tianjian 賀天健 (1893-1974) was a modern artist and critic. He followed Chang Dai-chien in advocating the school of "Mt. Huang". In 1957 he wrote an essay entitled "Mt. Huang School and Mt. Huang" in which he pointed out that, as Chang Dai-chien had argued, Hongren, Mei Qing, and Shitao were the three greatest masters of the school. He observed, "Although Mei Qing's paintings are void and empty in appearance, they are highly summarized in substance, so I admire the way in which he captured the shadows of Mt. Huang."⁴³ After discussing Mei Qing's paintings

⁴¹ *Challenging the Past*, 101.

⁴² Arnold Chang and Brad Davis, *The Mountain Retreat: Landscape in Modern Chinese Painting* (Colorado: The Aspen Art Museum, 1986), cat. no. 17.

⁴³ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan hua ji*, preface by He Tianjian, p. 1.

from the aspects of both appearance and substance, He Tianjian further claimed that, "Mei Qing had a certain place in the history [of painting], as from the Yuan to the early Qing periods he was the only one who developed and extended the system of Wang Meng and Fang Congyi 方從義."⁴⁴ Moreover, he warned learners not to accept all the types of Mei Qing's brushwork, emphasising the need to choose the best. He explained that this was not only because some of them were not suitable for learning but also because some of them were rather difficult to control. In theory, He Tianjian seemed to understand Mei Qing's brushwork very well, but this understanding is not reflected in his painting. Judging from his renditions of Mt. Huang, none of them betrays any similarity to the works of Mei Qing. For instance, when he depicted the scene of Wenshu Plateau in 1940 (Pl. 342),⁴⁵ he rendered it with broad and hard contours, long linear textural strokes, and stiff pine leaves which are all quite different from the elements of Mei Qing's paintings, such as his depictions of the same scene in the Mt. Huang album of 1690 (Pl. 114) or 1692 (Pl. 125). Perhaps as he himself suggested, some of Mei Qing's brushstrokes, such as dry big dots, delicate and unravelled texture strokes, are difficult to control,⁴⁶ so that even he could not learn them well.

Along with Chang Dai-chien, Liu Haisu is another great modern artist who has been directly inspired by Mei Qing's paintings. Liu is a native of Changzhou 常州, in Jiangsu province. His original name is Pan 槃, and his literary name is Jifang 季芳. Liu is an influential figure in the modernization of Chinese art. As one of the founders, in 1912, of the first modern art academy in China, the Shanghai Academy of Art, Liu advocated learning from the modern masters, especially those of the Post-Impressionist and Fauvist movements, to cause an artistic revolution in Chinese art. He argued that China's imitative and lifeless tradition could be revived by direct observation of nature. He discovered the creative spirit of the seventeenth-century individualists, especially Shitao, who exerted a tremendous influence on Liu. In 1923 he wrote an essay comparing Shitao

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁵ Arnold Chang and Brad Davis, *The Mountain Retreat Landscape in Modern Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 9.

⁴⁶ Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), p. 2.

with the Post-Impressionists.⁴⁷ Like Shitao, Liu was so deeply inspired by the spectacular scenes of Mt. Huang that he has visited the mountain ten times to seek inspiration. One of Liu's seals reads, "Mt. Huang was my teacher in earlier days, and now I am its friend," reflecting Liu's pride in having chosen Mt. Huang as his main subject throughout his career.⁴⁸

Mei Qing, as well as Shitao, was a seventeenth-century individualist who had an important influence on Liu Haisu. For instance, in 1972, when Liu painted ten leaves of landscapes for Yingnan 穎南,⁴⁹ he copied four leaves from one of Mei Qing's 1695 albums. If we put these four leaves of Liu Haisu (Pls. 343-346) together with Mei Qing's four leaves (Pls. 139, 142, 146 & 148), we shall see Liu copied almost exactly the brushstrokes and compositions, and even the poems written by Mei Qing. Comparing Liu's copies with Mei Qing's leaves, the subtle difference is revealed in the brushstrokes. Mei Qing's strokes look soft and light while Liu's appear slightly tight and dynamic, especially in their respective depictions of the hut. Liu's dual development in Western and Chinese techniques was not harmonious in his early days; however, in his later years, when Mt. Huang had become his main source of inspiration, he finally created his own style in landscape by using splashed-ink and splashed-colour.⁵⁰ If we compare Liu's *Heavenly Capital Peak* (Pl. 347)⁵¹ with Mei Qing's 1693 *Refining Cinnabar Platform* (Pl. 181), we can see an almost similar effect of representing the sea of clouds. Like Mei Qing, what Liu tries to capture is the ceaseless changing of Mt. Huang. Unfortunately, no examples of Liu's imitations of Mei Qing's renditions of Mt. Huang have been found; however, it is possible that Liu's own representations of Mt. Huang are also inspired by Mei Qing's depictions of the mountain.

⁴⁷ His essay entitled "Shitao yu houqi yinxiang pai 石濤與後期印象派" (Shitao and Post-impressionism) later was translated by Kuroda Masahito: published in Nanga Kansho in 1935. Mayching Kao, *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting* (Hongkong: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 143. See also Gao Yuzhen 高玉珍 ed., *Liu Haisu shuhua ji* 劉海粟書畫集 (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1989), preface.

⁴⁸ Gao Yuzhen, *Liu Haisu shuhua ji*, preface.

⁴⁹ Liu Haisu, *Haisu dashi shanshui xiaojing* 海粟大士山水小景 (Singapore: Vicent Printing Press, 1975).

⁵⁰ Mayching Kao ed., *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, p. 143.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 6.11.

Through a comparison of Mei Qing's paintings with those by his important followers, Mei Qing's unusual and unique style stands out more clearly. Although Mei Chong's late works are rather close to Mei Qing's, his realistic and descriptive manner is basically different from Mei Qing's poetic description. Chang Dai-chien tried very hard to imitate and forge Mei Qing's style, but he seemed to have never captured the simple and soft quality of Mei Qing's works. It seems that none of Mei Qing's followers were really able to capture either the brushwork or the spirit of his paintings. Perhaps the objective reason is as He Tianjian suggested, that many of Mei Qing's brushstrokes are difficult to control, and the main reason might be that no one has the same inward nature as Mei Qing. His works, both poems and paintings, reveal a harmonic combination of real nature with his strong poetic fancy. Mei Qing's importance can be seen from his strong influence on his important followers. Although Mei Qing did not directly attract as many followers as Hongren or Shitao did, his significant role in later Chinese landscape painting can also be established both by his unique style and by his numerous renditions of Mt. Huang which may well have inspired many later painters.

CONCLUSION

The fame of Mei Qing as a painter has undergone changes in degree since his life time. Mei Qing's paintings were ardently collected by his contemporaries, but they were not spread widely. Therefore, apart from his friends and relatives, no other contemporary art critics mentioned his painting. Mei Qing was not mentioned by Zhou Lianggong 周亮功 (1612-1672) in his *Duhua lu* 讀畫錄 (1673), nor was he counted as one of the members of the "Tiandu School" by Gong Xian 龔賢 (1619-1689). After his death, his paintings attracted little attention among eighteenth-century critics. In Zhang Geng's 張庚 *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄 (1735), Mei Qing was even placed under the name of Mei Geng. Zhang Geng mistook Mei Qing as the elder brother of Mei Geng, and he claimed that Mei Qing's fame was inferior to that of Mei Geng. Opinion about Mei Qing changed later, as Mei Qing's paintings became known and praised by many critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as Liang Tingnan 梁廷柅, Qin Zuyong 秦祖永, Li Yufen 李玉棻 and Pei Jingfu 裴景福.¹ Although these critics suggested that strangeness, pureness, simplicity, plainness and the antique were the main characteristics of Mei Qing's paintings, they failed to mention the significant role that Mei Qing played in the history of Chinese landscape painting.

Some modern painters and critics eventually drew attention to the importance of Mei Qing's contributions in landscape painting. Chang Dai-chien was the first critic to suggest that Mei Qing, along with Hongren and Shitao, was one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school. Since the Mt. Huang school was recognized in the 1930s, Mei Qing's place in the school has never been denied nor questioned by critics. Mei Qing, however, has never attracted as much attention as Hongren or Shitao. Mei Qing's individual style has been hard to delineate because of the large number of forgeries, and because his paintings were not widely circulated. Facts about his life remain obscure, further discouraging serious consideration of

¹. See Liang Tingnan 梁廷柅, *Tenghuating shuhuaba* 藤花亭書畫跋. This book was first published in 1855, and now it is included in *Jinshi shuhua tiba congkan* 金石書畫題跋叢刊 (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1977), see vol. 8, pp. 306-310; Qin Zuyong, *Tongyin lunhua*, vol. I [上], p. 11. This section was first published in 1880. Li Yufen's *Oubohuoshi shuhua guomu kao* was first published in 1895, for this book see *Meishu congshu*, vol. 25; Pei Jingfu's *Zhuangtaoge shuhua lu* was first published in 1924, and was reprinted in 1971 by Zhonghua shuju in Taipei, see vol. 16, pp. 1072-1073.

his position in Chinese painting history. In 1956, Chen Rentao 陳仁濤, a modern collector and critic, noted this and wrote: "Mei Qing's paintings are derived from actual scenes, which are so unique that they are able to compete with those by Shitao. Unfortunately, during his time, his fame was inferior to those of the Four Wangs, Yun Shouping and Wu Li. Nowadays his fame is also inferior to that of the Four Monks."² Nevertheless, Chen believed that "there will be a final judgement, and Mei Qing will take his proper place among the most famous."

Slightly earlier than Chen Rentao in 1937, Yu Jianhua, a modern critic, noted the achievements that Mei Qing made in Chinese landscape painting. He proposed that Mei Qing was the leader of the painting of actual landscape during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Yu was the first critic to place Mei Qing's painting in the continuum of the history of Chinese landscape painting. Unfortunately, Yu's remarks on Mei Qing have not been supported by later critics. This indicates that Mei Qing's paintings are not yet fully understood and his place in Chinese painting still needs to be established. This study was an attempt to address these two issues. Yu's comment on Mei Qing reveals that there are some differences between Mei Qing's paintings and those by the other great painters who were active before Mei Qing. Shen Zhou, Dong Qichang, Xiao Yuncong and Hongren all were interested in depicting topography and all have received much more attention than Mei Qing, yet Yu did not claim that any of them, nor any other painters of the Ming or Qing dynasties, were leaders of the painting of actual landscape. Although Yu did not further explain this assertion, three probable reasons are suggested to support it.

First, Mei Qing may well have been the first painter during the Ming and Qing dynasties who took such a great interest in depicting actual scenes. It seems that artists who were active before Mei Qing did not leave so many works that are the renditions of actual places. At least nine albums of Mt. Huang and two albums of Xuancheng by Mei Qing have survived. Among Mei Qing's extant paintings, more than one-third are the depictions of actual scenery. Second, Mei Qing relied upon personal experience in depicting scenery. This characteristic can be

². "Four Wangs" means Wang Shimin 1592-1680, Wang Jian 1598-1677, Wang Hui 1632-1717 and Wang Yuanqi 1642-1715; and "Four Monks" means Hongren, Kuncan (1612-after 1692), Shitao and Bada shanren (1626-about 1705). See Chen J. D., *Jinkui lunhua* 金匱論畫 (Hong Kong, 1956), p. 78.

found in both his poems and paintings. He travelled widely, and wherever he visited he often described the scene through painting and poetry. He seldom painted sites where he had never been, but when he did, he made note of the fact, inscribing them. For instance, through his inscriptions, we know that his renditions of Wulao Peak and Heshi Dwelling, two sites at Mt. Huang, were based on Shitao's paintings. Third, Mei Qing created almost every scene by combining his detailed observations with his poetic imagination. With his limitless imagination, Mei Qing captured the most magnificent corners of Mt. Huang and simplified or exaggerated them. He created a simple but grand style of representing the actual scenery.

Mt. Huang might be the first site to have inspired so many painters in the history of Chinese painting. Hongren, Mei Qing and Shitao have been acknowledged as the three greatest masters who painted the best paintings of Mt. Huang. Through their creativity and skilled techniques, they captured the different aspects of Mt. Huang, revealing their individual styles. As a poet, Mei Qing translated the scenes of Mt. Huang through his poetic imagination. Mei Qing seemed never to tire of depicting Mt. Huang, which became the focus of his later painting career. It is no surprise that Yuan Qixu 袁啓旭, one of Mei Qing's friends, made such a comment after seeing one of his albums entitled *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*: "In the future when I look at the paintings, I will wonder whether Qushan (Mei Qing) looks like Mt. Huang or Mt. Huang looks like Qushan. 它年一展卷間未知先生之貌黃山黃山之貌先生也."³

By reading the poems of Mei Qing and those of his friends, we learn that he had loved travelling among mountains and rivers since he was young, and that his interest in depicting actual sites had started from an early age. It seems, however, that he was only able to indulge completely in painting in the last ten years of his life when he gave up his goal of passing the *jinshi* examination. Because of his literati background, his desire to serve the court and people, and his financial shortage, Mei Qing felt compelled to sit for the *jinshi* examination as many as nine times. Mei Qing was an open-minded poet and painter who had a large circle of friends, most of whom were scholars and painters. Among his painter friends, Mei Qing had a very close relationship with Shitao during the late 1660s and early 1670s during which they often

³. Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (*Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*), colophon by Yuan Qixu.

exchanged poems and paintings. After examining their poems and comparing their works painted during the period in which they often met, we can see that Mei Qing's brushstrokes are quite different from those of Shitao and even more refined than those of Shitao. This shows that Mei Qing was not influenced by Shitao at that time. Only when Mei Qing was old did he occasionally recall some motifs from his early memories of Shitao's paintings.

Mei Qing travelled to Mt. Huang twice, once in 1678 and then in 1690. None of the scholars who have dealt with Mei Qing's painting have properly explored when Mei Qing went to Mt. Huang, and some of them, such as Yang Chenbin, were misled in thinking that Mei Qing's first visit to Mt. Huang was in 1672. Because of inaccuracy in dating his trips to Mt. Huang, some forgeries, such as the album *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*,⁴ have been accepted as genuine works by Mei Qing. This proves that understanding the background and life of an artist is indispensable to understand his works.

By examining Mei Qing's important dated works, we have learned that Mei Qing's style of painting can be roughly divided into three stages: the early stage from 1649 to mid-1660s, the middle stage from mid-1660s to mid-1680s, and the late stage from mid-1680s to 1696. The brushwork developed from unrefined and dynamic to thin, dry and fine, then to meticulous or simple and loose; the composition changed from a monumental design to a more descriptive style, then to a simple or dramatic one. On the basis of Mei Qing's stylistic development, nine undated works (five of them are albums) have been assigned likely dates and sixteen works (three of them are albums) are identified as forgeries.

There are four main reasons for the existence of so many forgeries. First, because Mei Qing repeatedly depicted several favorite scenes of Mt. Huang, and often inscribed the same poem for the same scene, that left many examples for forgers as a basis for every single site. Second, both Mei Qing's brushwork and composition appear simple and plain, giving forgers the impression that his paintings were easy to forge. Third, Mei Qing has since the 1930s been regarded as one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school, and hence has attracted the attention of many forgers. Finally, some of his important works have been published since

⁴. It was formerly collected by Zhou Jinjue, but its present whereabouts are unknown.

the early years of this century, which meant that there were more reproductions for forgers to copy or imitate. Most of the forgeries are based on the three important albums of Mt. Huang dated in 1690, 1692 and 1693, and most of the methods used to forge his paintings consist of closely copying his compositions and tracing his calligraphy. Among the forgeries discussed in the fourth chapter, some of them may well have been forged by the famous modern collector and painter, Chang Dai-chien, who admired Mei Qing's style.

Among Mei Qing's extant works, about one-half are painted in the manners of ancient masters and more than one-third are the depictions of actual scenes. It is evident that Mei Qing was influenced by contemporary art theory which stressed the importance of emulating ancient models and depicting actual scenery. Mei Qing painted in a wide range of styles and he showed preference for the literati masters, especially Li Cheng, the Four Late Yuan masters and Shen Zhou. Mei Qing transformed the styles of his favorite models into his own style. The most direct inspiration for Mei Qing's numerous renditions of Mt. Huang remains, however, the unusual and ever-changing scenery of Mt. Huang.

The term "Mt. Huang School" was first proposed around 1930, and its importance has been gradually recognized since then, but no proper definition of the school has been proposed. Most scholars have defined the school in the geographical sense, some from a stylistic point of view, and only a few on the basis of the subject matter. A clearer and more precise definition of the school has been suggested in this study through an exploration of its formation. We learned that Mt. Huang attracted the attention of poets and painters after it was truly opened in 1606. We also found that during the seventeenth century, especially in the second half of the century, Mt. Huang became the subject matter for many literati painters, such as Hongren, Kuncan, Jiang Zhu, Dai Benxiao, Mei Qing, Zhen Min and Shitao. It is this subject matter, Mt. Huang, which enables us to group these literati painters of the second half of the seventeenth century into a school. As they were literati painters, and not professional or court painters, their renditions of Mt. Huang share many features. Although artists still depict Mt. Huang, never again has a group of closely-knit artists chosen it as their common subject matter. Through comparisons between Mei Qing's renditions of Mt. Huang and those by other famous members of the school, Mei Qing's unique style stands out more clearly. As Osvald Siren suggested,

"...he (Mei Qing) has given them (the formations on Mt. Huang) individual meaning by emphasizing their imperious grandeur."⁵

Not only did Mei Qing write his travel poem in one hundred lines and many other poems to exalt the scenes of Mt. Huang, he also painted at least thirteen albums and numerous hanging scrolls. By reading his poems, we can more fully understand his paintings; and by looking at his paintings, we can better know his poems. Mei Qing was not the first painter to portray actual scenery in the history of Chinese landscape painting, but he may well have been the first painter to pay so much attention to the representation of real scenes. Most importantly, however, his way of presenting the topography in combining his detailed observations with his poetic-fantastic imagination inspired many later painters, such as Mei Geng, Mei Chong, Chang Dai-chien and Liu Haisu. It is no wonder that not only did many critics praise Mei Qing as one of the three greatest masters of the Mt. Huang school, but Yu Jianhua also considered Mei Qing to be the foremost painter of actual scenery during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

⁵. Osvald Siren, *A History of Later Chinese Painting*, p. 105.

APPENDIX I MEI QING'S CHRONOLOGY¹

1623:

Born on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month in Xuancheng, Anhui Province, to which town his ancestors had moved from Wuxing in Zhejiang Province during the late Tang (*Wanya shanbian*, vol. 2, p. 1). The Mei clan in subsequent generations produced a number of scholars and artists including the famous Song poet Mei Yaochen. Mei Qing's original name was Mei Shixi; his literary name was Yuangong and his style name was Qushan (*Wanya shanbian*, vol. 8, p. 10). There were five sons in the family, among whom he was the fourth.

1638:

Passed the *tongzishi* (basic civil examination), and enrolled in the government's school. His father died.

1639-1641:

He was often unwell during this period; meanwhile he learned poetry from Fang Yushan. He began to study and exchange poems with some friends and relatives, such as Tang Yunjia, Yu Shou, Mei Xiangxian, Mei Lei, Mei Longzhong, Mei Wending.

1642:

In summer, recited poems with his nephew Mei Lei every night; later, some of his classmates joined them: Shi Renzhang, Ni Zheng, Wu Sugong, Cai Yao, and Wang Lu. The peasant army led by Zhang Xianzhong invaded the regions near Xuancheng, such as Nanjing and Hefei. Mei Qing was deeply affected by the turbulence. He thought very hard about how to restore order; consequently he gave up attending the civil examination, and also took up archery and horse riding. Moved away from Chaxia, in the city of Xuancheng, to a village named Jiayuan, just outside the city.

1642-1648:

The poems written during this period were entitled "Jiayuan cao 稼園草" and were edited as the second volume in Mei Qing's poetry collections, both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with prefaces by Min Dufei, Ni Zheng, and Mei Lei. During this period he already started to paint paintings for his friends and relatives. On a spring day during this period, Mei Qing gathered Fang Erzhi, Ma Mengxuan, Cai Daimei, and Mei Jishen for a boating excursion at Echo Hill Pond (Blue Stream).

1648:

Travelled to Caishi (Dangtu) and Guangning (Yangzhou).

1649:

Moved from Jiayuan to Xintian, facing Mt. Huayang and Mt. Bojian, where his family's finances were worse but he worked even harder on paintings, calligraphy, writing poems, and attending literature gatherings. Shi Renzhang, one of Mei Qing's best friends, obtained the *jinshi* degree.

1649-1653:

The poems written during this period were entitled "Xintian ji 新田集" and were edited as the third volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with prefaces by Gu Mengyou, Qian Guangxiu and Ni Zheng.

¹ The main source of this chronology is Mei Qing's poetry collections: *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, both of which were edited chronologically. Apart from these two books, other sources are noted briefly in parentheses. Chinese characters which have already appeared in the text are not repeated here unless they are important for understanding. Mei Qing's paintings are edited in Appendix IV.

In a poem written to Sun Wuyan who was going back to Mt. Huang, Mei Qing said: "I see Mt. Huang in my dreams clearly; I have missed it for thirty years."

Visited Diezhang Tower with Wang Kansi and Lu Zaipu.

His five-year-old son, Yalong, died.

1654:

He was recommended by his county as a *juren*.

In spring, Mei Qing showed Qian Guangxiu his collection of ink-sticks.

In autumn, moved from Xintian to Pinglu Pavilion (renamed Tianyan Pavilion around 1662).

In winter, went to the capital to participate in the *jinshi* examination held the following spring.

1655:

Failed in the *jinshi* examination for the first time.

1656:

Xiao Yuncong, with whom Mei Qing became friends around 1646, painted *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* (depicting several famous sites around Xuancheng).

1655 & 1658:

Poems written in these two years, most of which written on his way to and from the capital, were entitled "Yanzheng cao 燕征草". It was prefaced by Shi Duanjiao, Yu Shou, and Huang Yunhe and was edited as the fourth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*.

Wrote two poems to describe the old pines at Baoguo Temple.

1656-1657:

Poems written during this period were entitled "Wandong 宛東" and were edited as the fifth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with prefaces by Xu Juen and Chen Shixiang.

Visited Xu Dun's villa.

Gathered many friends at Mt. Jingting.

Wrote twelve poems to recall his friends, including Xiao Yuncong, Xu Juen, Qian Guangxiu, Tang Yanfu 湯巖夫...etc.

1657

Wrote two poems about Mt. Tai (which he finally visited in 1670).

1658:

Failed in the *jinshi* examination for the second time.

1659:

Poems written in this year were entitled "Xiuxia ji 休夏集" and were edited as the sixth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with prefaces by Zhang Yuhuang and Wang Lu.

In spring, Mei Qing compiled the genealogy of the Mei clan.

In summer, Mei Qing sat for almost two months at the Pinglu Pavilion to see the flood.

In autumn, Mei Qing visited Mt. Jingting with Gu Huanggong 顧黃公 and Wei Weidu 魏惟度.

1660:

In winter, Mei Qing went to the capital via Shanxi to participate in the *jinshi* examination for the third time.

1660-1661:

Poems written from the winter 1660 to 1661 were entitled "Quchen ji 驅塵集" and were edited as the seventh volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Ku Jingxing.

Visited several mountains and rivers on his way to and from the capital, including Mt. Taihang 太行山.

Wrote a poem to Wang Shizhen.

1662:

Visited the mountains and valleys of Yue 越 area (Zhejiang Province).

Poems written in this year were entitled "Yue you 越遊" and were edited as the eighth volume in both *Tianyang shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Xu Jien.

In autumn, Mei Qing visited Nanjing where he met Chen Zhuo and painted ten paintings for him.

Wrote sixteen poems to inscribe paintings.

1663-1664:

Poems written in these two years were entitled "Ruanyu ji 阮餘集" and were edited as the ninth volume in both *Tianyang shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Jiang Pingjie.

Gathered several friends at Mt. Jingting.

1665-1666:

Poems written in these two years were entitled "Hanjiang ji 寒江集" and were edited as the tenth volume in both *Tianyang shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Wang Maolin.

Took a boat trip to Qinhuai (near Nanjing), Caishi, Wankou, Mt. Jiuhua.

In a poem written to Cai Yao, Mei Qing wrote: "...Mt. Tai is my teacher."

1667:

During the late 1666 and early 1667 Mei Qing hurriedly travelled to the capital to attend the *jinshi* examination for the fourth time.

Spring in the capital, gave a painting to Wang Shizhen.

Most of the poems he wrote during the year describe his way back from the capital via Tianjin 天津 by boat, thus he entitled these poems "Guizhou cao 歸舟草". These poems were edited as the eleventh volume in both *Tianyang shanhoushi* and *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Zou Zhimo 鄒祇謨.

Boated at Echo Hill Pond with Gong Fuwan 龔扶萬.

Mei Qing was in charge of repairing two bridges at Xuancheng.

Inscribed a painting to Zhang Youliang 張右量: "Mountains and rivers have harmonious principles, it is not enough to look at them days and nights."

1669:

In winter, went to the capital to sit for the *jinshi* examination for the fifth time. He visited Yao Wenxie 姚文燮 on his way to the capital.

1670:

Mei Qing climbed to the top of Mt. Tai for the first time.

Mei Qing edited his poems concerning Mt. Tai written in 1657, 1666 and those poems written in 1670 as the twelfth volume in his poetry collections. This volume of poems was entitled "Yueyun ji 嶽雲集" and was prefaced by Mei Juan.

Late spring, Yu Shou visited Mei Qing who had just come back from the capital where he took the *jinshi* examination for the fifth time.

Shitao sent a landscape of Mt. Huang to Mei Qing; Mei Qing wrote a long poem to thank Shitao. In the poem, Mei Qing wrote: "I painted the clouds of Mt. Tai...You painted the clouds of Mt. Huang...When are you travelling to the top of Mt. Tai? Look! now I am very eager to climb Mt. Huang."

Mei Qing with some friends visited Shitao and Hetao at Jinlu Temple 金露庵 and Wanjin 宛津庵 Temple which were their temporary places of residence at Xuancheng.

1671:

In the ninth month, Mei Qing met together with Mei Geng, Zhang Yuhuang 張羽皇, Shi Renzhang, Gao Yong, Tang Chie 唐恥義, and Ding Xuan 丁宣 at Mt. Jingting and composed poems with them.

1671- the ninth month of 1672:

Mei Qing was sick from the autumn of 1671, so he stayed at Tayin Temple 塔陰庵, in ancient times known as Meixi Villa 梅溪別墅. The poems written during this period were entitled "Meihuaxi shangji 梅花溪上集" and were edited as the thirteenth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shihue*, with a preface by Xu Huamin.

Wrote a poem to describe Quxing Stoneroom.

Wrote a poem to describe Shuixi 水西.

Mei Qing's friend Wang Fuchen 汪扶晨 invited Mei Qing to visit Cuiwei Peak, a separate peak on the outskirts of Mt. Huang.

Mei Qing planned to travel to Mt. Huang and sent a landscape painting to Cheng Zhongshan 程中山.

Except for one poem which seems to have been written when Mei Qing visited Cuiwei Peak, there are no other poems by Mei Qing to describe the other scenes of Mt. Huang. It is possible that Mei Qing was hindered by the severe weather, as in one poem Mei Qing complained that it was snowing on his journey.

Early summer (maybe 1672), Mei Qing with Wang Erhuai, Zhang Youyan, Xu Zirou, Shi Renzhang, Shen Bi, Mei Juan, and Mei Keng boated at Blue Stream (Echo Hill Pond).

1672:

In the tenth month, Mei Qing's mother died.

Poems written from the tenth month of 1672 to 1674 were entitled "Xuelu oucun cao 雪廬偶存草" and were edited as the fourteenth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shihue*, with a preface by Zhang Wu 張.

In winter, Mei Qing, Yun Shouping and Dan Chongguang studied and inscribed a painting of Wang Hui together (*Qinghe zengyan*, vol. 9, pp. 5-6).

1673:

Mei Qing participated in the compilation of *Wanling zhi* (*The Local History of Wanling*) (*Meishi shihue*, preface by Mei Qing; also *Shiyushan xiansheng quanji*, "Yushan xiansheng shiji", vol. 30, p. 3)

Mei Qing met with Mei Juan, Shi Renzhang, Wang Erhuai, Shen Fangye, Mei Keng at Echo Hill Pond (*Shiyushan xiansheng quanji*, "Yushan xiansheng shiji", vol. 30, p. 3).

1674:

In the third month, Mei Qing met with many friends to view peonies at Tianyan Pavilion.

Mei Qing took his family to stay at Qinggan 青干 for several months, as there were disturbances in the village next to theirs. The poems written during Mei Qing's stay at Qinggan were entitled "Qiuyan cao 秋巖草" and were edited as the sixth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shihue*, with a preface by Yu Huai 余懷.

Mei Qing wrote thirty verses to Wang Shizhen.

In a poem written to Xu Qingyan, Mei Qing wrote: "...Mt. Huang and Boyue....where I want to travel, but it is difficult to follow."

The poems written during 1674 and 1675 were entitled "Jujian ji 菊間集" and were edited as the fifth volume in both *Tianyange shanhoushi* and *Qushan shihue*, with a preface by Huang Jinliang 黃晉良.

1675:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Wuyin 吳吟" and were edited as the seventeenth volume in *Qushan shihue*, with prefaces by Song Shiyong 宋實穎 and Wang Wan 汪琬.

In spring, Mei Qing with Mei Geng made a journey around Wuxing 吳興 and met lots of friends there.

Mei Qing searched for Mt. Zhixing 支硎山 and Mt. Tianchi 天池山 by boat.

Mei Qing with Jiang Zhu 江注, Cai Yao, Mei Geng, Wu Qingyan 吳晴岳, Wu Jingyuan 吳驚遠 and Wang Dongda 汪東大 drank at Wu Shengfei's 吳聖飛 villa.

In summer, Mei Qing invited Jiang Zhu, Ni Zheng, Shen Bi, Wu Qingyan, Wu Jingyuan, Wang Dongda and Zhong Yunxie 鍾允諧 to see his collections of calligraphy and painting (*Jiangzhu shi*, "Wanling shi", p. 2).

Shi Yushan gathered Mei Qing, Jiang Zhu, Mei Ziyang 梅子彥, and Wu Jingyuan to visit Mt. Jingting (*Jiangzhu shi*, wanling shi, p. 8).

1676:

On New Year's Day, Mei Qing was in the capital (Changan 長安), where there was a snowstorm. After coming back from the capital where he took the *jinshi* examination for the sixth time, Mei Qing was in a low mood.

The poems written in this year were entitled "Xuezhuang cao" 雪裝草 and were edited as the eighteenth volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Xu Yuqiao 徐與喬.

Mei Qing wrote a long poem to Deng Xiaowei 鄧孝威.

Mei Qing, Shi Renzhang, Wu Tongfu 吳同甫 and Wu Tianshi 吳天石 were invited by Deng Weinan 鄧偉男 to drink at the Yanyu Pavilion 煙雨亭 at Shuixi.

1677:

Mei Qing visited Taiping shisi 太平十寺 with Jiang Zhu, Mei Yijun 梅以俊, Cheng Feier 程非二 and Wu Fugong 吳公.

Cheng Shanzun 程山尊 gathered Mei Qing, Jiang Zhu, Mei Yijun, Cheng Feier and Cheng Yishu 程以樞 to visit Mt. Wenzheng 問政山.

Wrote a long poem to describe white lotus blossoms, in which he wrote: "I love white lotus blossoms...."

During the period of 1677 and 1678 Mei Qing did not travel too far. He visited only the places near his hometown Xuancheng, such as Youzhou 猶州, Shacheng 沙城, Xianyuan 仙源, Xin'an and Mt. Huang.

1678:

In the sixth month, Mei Qing visited Mt. Huang for the first time. The trip took seven days. He wrote a long poem with one hundred verses of five characters to describe the scenery of Mt. Huang, and composed many other poems to separately describe his favorite scenes: Pine Valley Temple, Lion Forest, Western Sea Gate, Beginning to Believe Peak, Refining Cinnabar Platform, Zhiyue Temple, Brightness Summit, Lotus Blossom Peak, Wenshu Temple, Ciguang Temple, Heavenly Capital Peak, White Dragon Pool, Zhibo Peak, Five-Dragon Pool, Welcoming Pine, Cuiwei Fountainhead, Yipin Peak, Guanyin Cave, Hot Pond.

After coming back from Mt. Huang, Mei Qing painted several scenes of Mt. Huang for Deng Xing 鄧性 and inscribed a painting of Mt. Huang for Wei Zuozhan 韋左瞻.

The poems describing Mt. Huang and Mt. Bai (Baiyue 白嶽) were edited together as the twentieth volume in *Qushan shilue* and were entitled "Huang shan Baiyue cao 黃山白嶽草". It was prefaced by Deng Xing 鄧性, Wang Lin 王鄰 and Xie Qixiu 謝起秀. Mei Qing visited Mt. Bai two years later.

1679:

Mei Qing met Wang Shizhen, Shi Runzhang, and Mei Keng in the capital (Changan) where he took the *jinshi* examination for the seventh time.

Shitao visited Xuancheng and asked Shi Renzhang and Mei Qing to compose poems for the painting which he had painted on the wall of the Qingyin Pavilion 淸音閣 (*Shitao nianpu*, pp. 54-55).

1679-1680:

The poems written in these two years were entitled "Jiaojū jí 郊居集" and were edited as the twenty-first volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Huang Yuji 黃虞稷.

Mei Qing wrote a poem to send off Shitao; also wrote another poem for Shitao's dwelling "Yizhi chu 一枝處", and a poem for Hetao's dwelling "Yangjing chu 養靜處".

Mei Qing with Cheng Sui, Liu Gonghan, Kuncan gathered at Fang Xiushan's 方繡山 Liumo Pavilion 留墨亭. Visited Qinhuai (near Nanjing) again, and tried to see Gong Xian, but failed.

Climbed the top of Mt. Tianque 天闕山.

1681-1682:

The poems written during these two years were entitled "Xiyōu shī 昔遊詩" and were edited as the twenty-second volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by He Qi 何槩.

Mei Qing wrote twelve long poems to recall the places he had been. In one of the poems, Mei Qing wrote: "I have passed Mt. Tai three times...."

Mei Qing, Cheng Sui, Liu Gonghan and Wang Hui drank at Qinhuai and Mei Qing tried to find Zhou Liangong's 周亮功 Dushu Tower 讀書樓.

1682:

Mei Qing participated in the compilation of *Wanling xuzhi* (*The Revision of Local History of Wanling*) (*Meishi shilue*, preface by Mei Qing).

Mei Qing took the *jinshi* examination for the eighth time.

1683-1684:

Mei Qing participated in the compilation of *Jiangnan tongzhi* (*The General History of Jiangnan Area*) for about a year (*Meishi shilue*, preface by Mei Qing).

The poems written during this period were entitled "Hongqiao ji 虹橋集" and were edited as the twenty-third volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Yuan Qixu.

Mei Qing with the members who compiled *Jiangnan tongzhi* boated at Qinhuai on the second day after the Mid-Autumn Festival.

Cao Qiuyue 曹秋岳 gathered Mei Qing and several friends at Lan Garden 懶園. Mei Qing asked Cao Qiuyue to inscribe some pieces from his collection: a handscroll by Li Gonglin and a calligraphy entitled *Daiguan tie* 大觀帖.

Mei Qing's wife died.

Zheng Hushan 鄭瑚山 gathered Mei Qing and other friends at Qinhuai Water Pavilion.

1684:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Mange 漫歌" and were edited as the twenty-fourth volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Zhang Yanshi 張延世.

In a poem Mei Qing wrote: "...Farmers and fishermen are my teachers."

Mei Qing wrote two poems for the death of his youngest brother, Mei Su.

Mei Qing described how his hair was getting white in one poem, and described how his teeth were weak in another poem.

In a poem to Mei Juan, Mei Qing wrote that many of his cousins and nephews were already in the capital and he would be the last to arrive there.

Mei Qing wrote nine poems to recall his friends, including Zhen Zhao, Mao Qiling 毛奇齡, Qian Guangxiu, Wang Shizhen, Xu Yuanwen, Wang Fuchen, Yu Huai, Tang Yanfu and Xue Xiomu 薛孝穆.

Mei Qing wrote two poems for Shi Renzhang's death.

1685:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Yuhua youji 語花偶集" and were edited as the twenty-fifth volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Mei Yijun.

The official Zheng Hushan gathered Mei Qing, Mei Wuan, Ye Hanzhang 葉漢章, Jiang Jihu 蔣季虎 and some other friends at Wenchang Platform 文昌臺.

Mei Qing with Shen Bi, Yuan Qixu, Mei Wei, Mei Jizhou, Mei Yijun, Shi Yanke 施彥恪 and another eleven friends had spent a night boating at Wang Stream. They continued to boat on Blue Stream on the following day.

On the day before the seventh day in the seventh month Shi Yanke with Mei Qing, Shen Bi, Mei Wei and some other friends gathered at Jiyun Tower 寄雲樓 to see *lan* (*Cymbidium ensifolium*: a fragrant species of orchid originally grown in Fujian).

On the Double Nine Festival (the ninth day of the ninth month), Shi Xiaoqian met together with Mei Qing and several friends to climb Ao Peak 鰲峰.

On the fifth day after the Double Nine Festival, Mei Qing, Shen Bi, Wu Qingyan, Cai Yao, Yuan Qixu, Mei Wending, Mei Keng, Mei Chong, Mei Wei and some others gathered at Peifeng Tower 培風樓.

In winter, Mei Qing with his youngest son Mei Xi moved away from Tianyan Pavilion to their old dwelling Chaxia Villa 茶峽草堂.

The poems written during the winter 1685 to the winter 1686 were entitled "Chaixia Villa ji 茶峽草堂集" and were edited as the twenty-sixth volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Shen Tinglu 沈廷璐.

1686:

Mei Qing participated in the compilation of *Xuancheng xianzhi* (*The Local History of Xuancheng*) (*Meishi shilue*, preface by Mei Qing).

In spring at Shacheng 沙城, Mei Qing planned to travel to Mt. Huang with Mei Geng, Mei Dingjiu, Yuan Qixu, Wang Liting 汪栗亭, Wu Zhantai and Wu Song, but for some reason Mei Qing could not travel with them (*Mei Qing Huangshan tuce*, preface by Yuan Qixu).

Wang Liting gathered Mei Qing and other friends at Mt. Qizhen 棲真山.

Fang Weizhai 方位齋 gathered Mei Qing, Wu Yu'nan 吳羽南 and some other friends at Mt. Zi 梓山.

In the second month, Wu Zhantai and Wu Song asked Mei Qing to paint a plum garden for them. Mei Qing inscribed forty characters on this painting.

She Tianyi 余天益 invited Mei Qing, Jiang Jihu and other friends at Peifeng Pavilion 培風閣.

Boated at Ju Stream 句溪.

Xu Songyou 許松友 gathered Mei Qing, Zhong Yunxie and other friends to see sweet osmanthus.

1687:

Mei Qing invited several friends and relatives to hold occasional poetry and painting gatherings named "Huaguohui 花果會". The gatherings were held twice in the year: twenty-two persons participated in the first gathering held in the autumn; twenty-seven persons attended the second gathering held on the Double Nine Festival at Baofeng Platform 保豐臺. Mei Qing edited the poems written at these two meetings and at another two meetings held in 1688 in an appendix of his *Qushan shilue*, and entitled those poems "Huaguohui changheshi 花果會唱和詩".

Those poems written during this year were entitled "Huaguo yuyin 花果餘音" and were edited as the twenty-seventh volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Shi Runyu 施閏毓.

Mei Qing visited Mt. Yu 玉山.

Mei Qing with some officers and friends visited Mt. Jingting.

Wrote a poem to send off Wang Lingting and Wu Song who were going back to Mt. Huang.

In autumn, Shitao visited Xuancheng and painted a landscape painting at Mei Qing's Tianyan Pavilion (*Shitao nianpu* pp.62-63).

Mei Qing wrote a long poem to describe Xu Yun's 徐雲 horse painting which was painted in the western style.

Mei Qing wrote six poems describing plum blossoms.

Mei Qing's eldest son died.

1688:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Laokuang ji 老狂集" and were edited as the twenty-eighth volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Mei Zhifeng.

Mei Qing invited Mei Chong, Mei Wei and several friends to hold two Huaguohui gatherings in this year: the first was held in the third month at Tianyan Pavilion; thirty-one persons participated in the second gathering held on the Double Nine Festival at Chaixia Villa.

Mei Qing boated at Echo Hill Pond.

Mei Wei invited several friends to drink, as there were more than one hundred peonies blossoming at Tianyan Pavilion.

Wrote a poem to Dai Benxiao and Dai Yixiao.

Wrote a long poem to Zan Yuanyan 贊元彥.

Mei Qing visited Santian Cave 三天洞 and Xianren Cave 仙人壑.

1689:

The poems written during 1689 and 1690 were entitled "Jigeng ernian shi 己庚二年詩" and were edited as the twenty-ninth volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Wang Shihong 汪士鋐.

In the third month, Mei Qing with the other members of Mei clan went to Mt. Bojian to clean the graves of the ancestors and did ancestor worship for seven days.

Mei Qing with Mei Chong and several friends climbed Ao Peak on the Double Nine Festival.

1690:

Wu Song and Wu Zhantai invited Mei Qing, Wang Liting, Shen Bi, Mei Geng and an officer at their dwelling at Shacheng.

In spring, Mei Qing and Mei Chong went to Xin'an.

Wu Paozhai 吳匏齋 invited Mei Qing, Mei Chong and other friends at Mt. Wenzheng 聞政山. Jiang Zhu, Xu Wentao 許文濤, Wang Dongdai gathered Mei Qing and Mei Chong to boat at Taiping shisi.

Wu Song, Wu Zhantai and several other friends invited Mei Qing and Mei Chong to visit Yan Stream and lodge at Hengchuan Pavilion 橫川閣.

Mei Qing and Wu Zhantai visited Wang Lingting's Shuixiang Garden 水香園.

Wu Song and Wu Zhantai invited Mei Qing, Mei Chong and other friends to boat at Yan Stream and gathered at Qiushan Hall 虯山堂.

Mei Qing with Shi Hongyu 施虹玉, Wu Song, Wu Zhantai and Mei Geng visited Hong Yuping's 洪雨平 Wanhugu Garden 萬華谷園.

Mei Qing and Mei Chong travelled to Mt. Huang in the fourth month. On this second trip to the mountain, Mei Qing wrote nine poems to describe the scenery.

Mei Qing missed Wang Liting, Wu Song, Wu Zhantai, and several other friends when he climbed to Wenshu Temple.

1691:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Oucun gao 偶存稿" prefaced by Tang Yi 湯逸 and were edited as the thirtieth volume in *Qushan shilue*.

Mei Qing wrote a poem to Zha Shibiao to invite him to attend the Huaguohui gathering.

Wrote a poem to Cheng Gesi 程格思.

Mei Qing completed the compilation of *Meishi shilue* 梅氏詩略.

On a snowy night, Mei Qing wrote thirty-three poems to recall his close friends including Ni Zhen, Wu Sugong, Cheng Sui, Dai Benxiao, Wang Shizhen, Song Shiyong, Zha Shibiao, Song Cao, Chen Zhao, Shen Xizhai, Zhang Ziwei, Tang Yansheng, Wu Fangwong, Zhang Fengxiang, Huang Yutai, Liu Juyan, Wu Song, Cai Yao...etc. These thirty-three poems were entitled "Xueyin 雪吟" and were edited as the thirty-first volume in *Qushan shilue*.

1692:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Changcun ji 長存集" and were edited as the thirty-second volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Shi Yanke.

In a poem Mei Qing wrote that he had been to Mt. Tai, Mt. Heng, and Mt. Taihang, and that he had had a hard time travelling to the capital nine times.

She Tianyi gathered Mei Qing, Cheng Gesi, Mei Chong and several friends at Zhishang 止上.

Mei Qing mailed a poem to Wang Shizhen.

In the sixth month, Mei Qing, Mei Chong, and many other friends gathered at Hutian Hall 壺天館 for "Huaguohui".

Wrote a poem to say good-bye to his friends at Wu River 蕪江.

In winter, Mei Qing, Mei Chong, Mei Riwen 梅日文 and other friends gathered at Peifeng Pavilion.

Mei Qing wrote a poem for Ye Hanzhang's death.

1693:

The poems written in this year were entitled "Changyu ji 長餘集" and were edited as the last volume in *Qushan shilue*, with a preface by Mei Riwen.

In spring, Mei Qing invited Zhong Yunxie, Zhong Qianji 仲謙吉, Chen Liang 陳亮 and another two friends at Peifeng Pavilion.

Han Zhenxi 韓震西 gathered Shi Yanke, Shen Ying 沈英, Shen Shanzhen 沈善貞 and Mei Geng for a boating excursion at Echo Hill Pond.

Wrote five poems to inscribe on paintings.

Wrote two poems to recall plum blossoms.

Mei Qing revised all his poems to publish them as a complete poetry collection, entitled *Qushan shilue* 瞿山詩略, in which a self-portrait was included.

1697:

Died.

APPENDIX II

A TRAVEL POEM OF MT. HUANG IN ONE HUNDRED LINES

BY MEI QING

梅清黃山紀遊詩一百韻

I have longed for Mt. Huang, but I frequently could not fulfil my commitments.

夙昔懷黃山，屢負仙源約

At first, I was hampered by wild wind and heavy rain; the clouds were as dense as a black curtain.

初爲風雨淹，雲嵐盡如幕

Second, I met frost and sleet. The northern wind blew furiously at the top of the mountain.

後逢霜霰零，巖巔北風惡

It is June now. I, however, face the atrocity of the demon of drought.

茲當六月中，旱魃復爲虐

My companions are all discouraged as they are more afraid of the hot weather than torture.

同游色俱沮，畏炎勝炮烙

The hazy atmosphere of the mountains inspires our interest, and our serene aspiration is soaring.

嵐影撩人懷，幽興愈飛躍

Therefore, we plan to visit the Pine Valley and stay there for a whole day.

權爲松谷游，竟日聊可託

The servant is admonished to arise in the mid-night; we set out while the sound of the night-watchman striking wood from the east still could be heard.

戒僕中宵起，東方尚鳴柝

We can hardly discern things in twilight; the mountains gradually reveal their enormous figures.

晨光辨依稀，群巒漸磅礴

We can discern one of the peaks is Hibiscus, the other Wangxian; then we try to trace the names of other peaks.

芙蓉與望仙，峰名始相索

The Cuiwei peak stands to the west and a stream flows down the peak.

其西爲翠微，循流分澗洛

Two rocks form the gate to the peak; one crosses each other, making a lock.

雙石立關門，交牙爲鎖鑰

There are no inhabitants from here onward; therefore, nowhere is the dust to fall.

自此斷人煙，塵埃何地著

At noon, we arrive at a lonely temple, which is quietly surrounded by the shadows of pines.

日午抵孤庵，陰松四寂寞

The monk kindly welcomes us, and repeatedly makes strong tea to treat us.

衲子善迎人，濃茶再三瀹

He encourages us to visit Five Dragon Pool where our spirits could be purified.

指點五龍潭，俯仰濯幽魄

The sunset is fading, and the twilight reflects on the mountain in the clouds.

向晚夕陽斜，半射雲中壑

We intend to visit thirty-six high peaks briefly.

三十六高峰，將毋見大略

The old monk chastises us for spending so little time.

老僧謂不然，所見乃包絡

Where is the Heavenly Capital Peak? Suddenly, I see its outskirts.

何處爲天都，驟驚郭與郭

I shout loudly, and cannot curb my lofty spirit.

余乃疾聲呼，高懷那能遏

I don't want to be carried on a sedan-chair, and I tighten my grass-shoes instead.

且莫返籃輿，芒鞋更緊縛

The way had been inquired about and discussed in advance in front of the lamp.

燈前問已經，曲折預商酌

The sound of the birds in the mountains is strange, like the ringing of bells

山中鳥聲異，如鈴復如鐸

We can't sleep that night, and the heat escapes into the autumn night.

是夜不得眠，暑氣秋先奪
 We eat a lot before walking under the stars; everyone wants to lead ahead.
 披星促飽餐，濟勝門強弱
 At first, we walk in the bottom of the ravine; our walking staffs can't push aside the dense bush.
 初從潤底行，莽深杖難撥
 Fortunately, there are no vipers, but the monkeys try to scratch us.
 所幸無蝮蛇，而乃逼猿獼
 When we look up we see the gate of clouds which stands straight as a sack.
 仰首瞻雲門，夾立如懸棗
 We see the angle of stone-bamboo only after climbing more than ten *li*.
 攀援十餘里，始見石筍角
 The top of the stone-bamboo can be seen from the city, and its diameter is as small as an erected awl.
 城中望筍尖，徑寸如錐卓
 We know, after passing by its root, that its diameter is more than one hundred *xun*.
 及旁筍根行，百尋不可度
 I walk all the way with my straw sandals.
 迴俯經過地，取次在兩屬
 What I admired yesterday becomes trivial today.
 昨爲仰面尊，今爲培塿末
 From now on I can say that I really know that about Mt. Huang which cannot be learned.
 從此識黃山，方知不可學
 All eyes open widely, and all mouths lose their ability to speak.
 群目盡皆瞪，群口不能諾
 Numerous peaks surrounded together look like bunches of blossoming flowers.
 繚繞千萬峰，簇簇散花萼
 It seems that two seas merge together with no boundary.
 想像鋪兩海，前後何寥廓
 The peak undulating beside the stone-bamboos is Water Lily Peak; they stand as two horns.
 起伏爲菡萏，與筍互觶角
 Lots of stone-bamboos stand together, where the heaven-flowers suddenly fall.
 群筍叢聚處，忽見天花落
 The next peak is called Beginning to Believe; the sound of the immortal shouting out breaks the sharpness of the peak.
 其峰謂始信，峰斷因仙喝
 The branches of pines stretch naturally which link together like a big spoon.
 天然松樹枝，接引宛如杓
 Passing the bridge, we are astonished by the mirage, which is almost alive.
 過橋驚海市，一一幾於活
 The mirage looks like animals and human beings as well; some look like beasts, and some sparrows.
 肖物復肖人，成獸亦成雀
 The creation of Heaven is so delicate that I am wondering whether it is a mountain or not.
 翻疑不是山，天工太瑯瑤
 Looking west, we see the West Sea Gate; the sea of clouds is as straight as the end of an arrow.
 西望西海門，一線同箭括
 The purple clouds are dense at dusk; this is the place where ghosts live and thrive.
 日落紫煙深，魑魅實棲拓
 I playfully throw some stones; but we are chased away by hail immediately.
 戲以石投之，頃刻走冰雹
 When we stop and turn back, we see the brightness of moon-light, which is so near that it can pass through our clothes.
 回見月華生，咫尺透衣葛
 We lodge at the Lion Forest at night. The monk named Hotang lights the lonely lamp.
 夜宿獅子林，孤燈吼堂灼
 It is very hot at the bottom of the mountain, but here we need to be covered by quilts.
 下界盡炎方，到來抱綿杓
 We climb up the Refining Cinnabar Platform in the morning; then the vapour of the clouds is very chilly.
 晨陟鍊丹臺，海氣寒漠漠
 The wave of the sea of clouds is ever-changing, and the wave's crystal light is lively.

波濤無定形，晶光流活潑

I regret that the cinnabar stove still exists, but no one comes to pick the herb and use it.

惜哉丹灶存，何人更采藥

We climb up eastward to Brightness Peak where it is empty and vast.

東登光明頂，其勢轉空曠

It forms a triangle with The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak.

天都與蓮華，鼎立差相若

What an enormous cave; it must have been excavated by five giant immortals.

何物神鰲洞，五丁幻開鑿

We move slantingly downward into the mysterious darkness; we fumble in the dark with our hands instead of our feet.

側身下窅冥，以手代足摸

The cloud-stair has about one hundred steps; each step is so precipitous that the former climber's foot occasionally will meet the head of the later one.

百折轉雲梯，躡與頂相錯

Neither the right side nor the left has a place to hold on, and it is as narrow as the spine of fish.

左右茫無據，魚脊幾多闊

We follow the way curving round the Lotus Peak. As we become more dizzy, our fright increases.

盤繞上蓮花，目眩魂逾愕

A pass that seems to lead to the very centre of Heaven, which if we would ascend we must learn to climb like gibbons.

一竅汲天心，升堂學猿攫

We know that our lives depend on whether we move forward or not; all my companions cry and tease each other.

進退分死生，從者泣還譴

If we fail and sacrifice our lives to the spectacular views, we will not regret being buried here.

以身殉奇觀，葬此抑何作

We encourage ourselves to climb up the top of the peak; we are both dizzy and panting.

賈勇登絕頂，閉目喘交作

After reaching the top, we bend down to grasp stones in order to stand firm; then we realize how far we can see.

蹲身抱危石，曠哉吾眼豁

Mt. Jiuhua is on the north of Mt. Huang, and Mt. Bai on the west.

其北爲九華，其西爲白嶽

Mt. Tianmu is covered by several levels of clouds, and Jinling is full of smoke.

天目嵐幾層，金陵煙一抹

The Yangzi River looks like a lapel of a robe, and the vast sea looks like a large spoon.

長江襟帶間，大海等漚沔

We overlook several thousand *li* around us, and the Wu and Yue areas can be seen easily.

週遭數千里，指顧了吳越

I regret that I don't have two wings; otherwise, I would like to transform myself into a lonely crane and ride the wind away.

苦無雙飛翰，乘風化孤鶴

After climbing this peak, the scene is more dangerous; we are scared just like having a nightmare.

下此險亦夷，如夢驚方覺

I am going to extol the scene as the best one; the heavenly land, meanwhile, becomes even more outstanding.

吾將歎觀止，仙境愈奇駭

How high is Wenshu Plateau; it is the happiest place in the sky.

巍哉文殊臺，凌虛稱極樂

The vast sea of clouds is in the centre surrounded by numerous peaks which looks like a palace surrounded by ten thousand officials.

大海此中央，萬笏擁闐闐

Lying down on the wooden bed to have a nap, I struggle with the dense vapour of cloud.

木榻求小憩，雲氣虛相搏

It doesn't matter what kind of food the kitchen has; even the root of vegetable is good enough to comfort our starving stomachs.

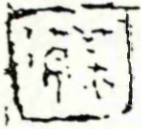
香廚何所有，菜根恆大嚼

Descending eastward down the Be Careful Slope, we are still frightened.

東下小心坡，前此膽仍怯
 We don't know how many caves have been passed which are located secretly one after one.
 洞壑隱層層，經過不知數
 I rest my old head on my staff, we have just arrived at the foot of Heavenly Capital Peak.
 杖拂老人頭，始抵天都腳
 It soars against the sky thousands of feet in height; all of the travellers are frightened.
 天都千仞高，游者步齊卻
 There is no path to place our woven ropes and stairs, because the cliff is straight like a wall.
 無徑置綆梯，壁立矗如削
 With the drifting of the light breeze, faintly we listen to the music of heaven.
 微風吹縹緲，隱隱聞天樂
 The path is even more slippery from here onward, having been covered by dry shell of bamboo for many years.
 過此踰愈滑，經年積枯籜
 Each peak is completely different from the other; every peak is so divine, without any secular mediocrity.
 一峰變一峰，凡骨盡皆脫
 The [mountain] screen opens like vermillion sand shining to reveal the cinnabar ^{colour.} ~~caldron~~
 屏幃開殊砂，燦爛布丹矐
 The old Bashui monk lives in the central peak; his appearance is odd and frightening.
 古衲棲中峰，形容見古甕
 We greet each other by shaking hands as if we were old friends. He guides me to lodge at a mountain pavilion.
 握手如故人，引我宿山閣
 The moon is peculiarly bright that night, and we play the *qin* to each other.
 是夜月愈明，抱琴兩酬酢
 The heavens echo when we are playing; the peaks shine like jewels.
 諸天齊答響，拱立儼瓊珞
 We have a bath at Hot Springs in the morning, and the water foams in our hands like pearls.
 凌晨浴湯泉，手弄珍珠沫
 The divine water spurted out from the spring; now it is used to heal the disease of human beings.
 昔爲仙液噴，於今起民瘼
 We go back to Peach Fountain after bathing in the spring; we also try to find the trace of the dragon at the Dragon Pool.
 浴罷歸桃源，龍潭辨尺蠖
 After refreshing ourselves in a delicate temple during the day, we still prefer to venture out later.
 長晝息精廬，餘興尚搜掠
 We have travelled in the mountain for seven days, but our journey covered is only a part of Mt. Huang.
 山中凡七日，何能盡廣博
 However, every peak we visited reveals its wonderful scenery; the mountain is very generous to us.
 峰峰現霽色，良遇不爲薄
 The spirit of the mountain is divine; what people heard about it is only trivial.
 山靈有至性，聞者徒糟粕
 We travel freely, so we can really enjoy the pleasure of it.
 大都隨意游，翻令真趣獲
 We are leaving the Hot Springs tomorrow, and searching for Zhibo Peak.
 明日出湯口，分源尋擲鉢
 It is pity that we can't visit Yanghu Peak; when can we moor a boat on the lake there?
 惜未識洋湖，海筏何年泊

APPENDIX III · MEI QING'S SEALS¹

Mei Qing 某清
1649



Mei Qing zhiyin 梅清之印
1657



Mei Qing zhiyin 梅清之印
1657, 1687, 1689



Quxing zi 瞿硎子
1657, 1680



Bojian shanzhongren 柏硎山中人
1657



Yuangong shi 淵公氏
1657



Yuangong 淵公
1657



Jiandong Qushi 江東瞿史
1657



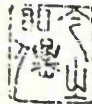
Bojian shanzhongren 柏硎山中人
1657



Chen Qing 臣清
1657



Jinshi Quxian 今之瞿仙
1657



Quxingyuan 瞿硎淵
1657



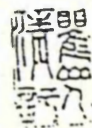
Yushi nantian 玉史南天
1657



Yuangong 淵公
1661



Qushanren Qing ji 瞿山人清記
1661, 1680



Qushanren 瞿山人
1661



Qing 清
1661, 1680, 1693



Chen Qing 臣清
1661



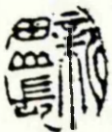
Quxing 瞿硎
1661, 1680



Yayuan 阿淵
1661



Xintian shanzhang 新田山長
1661, 1693, 1695



Shishou 詩瘦
1661, 1692



Yunwuxin erchuxiu 雲無心而出岫
1661, 1680, 1693



Yuangong 淵公
1663, 1667, 1673, 1675
1683, 1685, 1689, 1690,
1693



¹The seals which appear in this appendix are from those works that have been examined in this study. They are arranged in chronological order. The date (or dates) under each seal means (mean) that the seal is used on the work (or works) of the year (or years). Three seals which appear on Mei Qing's undated works are listed at the end of this appendix.

Wushi wuyi 吾適吾意
1667



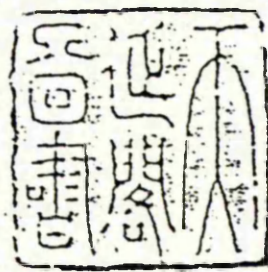
Tianyangge 天延閣
1667



Quxing Qing 瞿硎清
1667, 1673, 1675, 1680,
1683, 1685, 1689, 1690,
1693



Tianyangge tushu
天延閣圖書
1675, 1680



Ouyuzhai 甌語齋
1680



Yuangong 淵公
1680



Mei Yuan, Yuangongfu
某淵, 淵公父
1680



Qushan 瞿山
1680, 1683



Chen Qing 臣清
1680



Tianyangge 天延閣
1680



Tianyangge 天延閣
1680



Qushan 瞿山
1680, 1691, 1693, 1695



Yuan 淵
1680



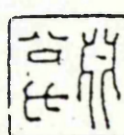
Lao Quxing 老瞿清
1680



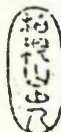
Meizi 梅子
1680



Yuangong shi 淵公氏
1680



Bojian shanzhongren
柏楓山中人
1680



Bojian shanzhongren
柏楓山中人
1680, 1692, 1693, 1694,
1695



Bojian shankou renjia
柏楓山口人家
1680, 1691, 1692, 1693



Chuncaotang 春草堂
1680



Xiongzong wu suwu
胸中無俗物
1680



Meihua huo shangcun
梅華豁上村
1680



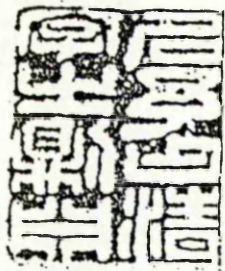
Bojian guyun 柏楓孤雲
1680



Qushan Qing 瞿山清
1680, 1690



Mingyu yueqing zizhi
zeyuuan
名予曰清字之則淵
1680



Mengzai buya
夢在不涯
1680



Qujiang
瞿江觀濤
1680



guantao Huangjuan youfu
waisun zhajiu
黃絹幼婦外孫齋白
1680



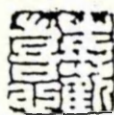
Jupu 菊圃
1680



Mei Qing, Qushan
梅清瞿山
1680



Sheng huanxixin
生歡喜心
1680



Zizhen zhiyi 子真之裔
1680, 1690, 1693, 1695



Jiukuang 酒狂
1680



Fangqing qiuhuo
放情丘壑
1680



Youyun 游雲
1680, 1690, 1692



Qingshan wu gujin
青山無古今
1680



Meizi 某子
1680, 1693, 1694, 1695



Shangao shuichang
山高水長
1680, 1693, 1695



Ouyi weizhi 偶一爲之
1680



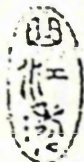
Mei 梅
1680



Duijiu dangge
對酒當歌
1680, 1690



Qujiangtao 瞿江濤
1680



Quyong 去盈
1680



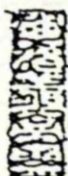
Wanshan chang
萬山長
1680



Guajian xuan 掛劍軒
1680



Chuanghuo Jingtingyun
窗落敬亭雲
1680



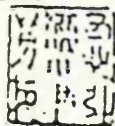
Biezi wangsun
別字王孫
1680



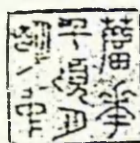
Mei Qing siyin
梅清私印
1680, 1683, 1693



Cunxin yinjiu zheng
fangye
寸心引酒爭芳夜
1680



Luhua qianqing
yuemingzhong
蘆花千頃月明中
1680



Jiaju baiyun shenchu
家居白雲深處
1687



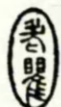
Guhuan 古歡
1689, 1693, 1694



Mei Qushan 某 瞿山
1690, 1692, 1693, 1695



Lao Qu 老瞿
1690, 1691, 1692, 1693,
1695



Bukan chizeng
不堪持贈
1680



Mei Qing yin
梅清印
1680



Dongshan caotang
東山草堂
1687



Meichi 梅癡
1689, 1690, 1691, 1692,
1693, 1694, 1695



San meiyou 三昧遊
1690, 1693, 1695



Kewei zhizhe dao
可爲知者道
1690, 1693, 1695



Wu jinshi er zuofei
悟今是而昨非
1680



Zuiyin baixuelou
醉飲白雪樓
1683



Mei Qing Qushanshi
梅清瞿山氏
1689, 1690, 1692, 1693,
1694, 1695



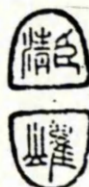
Chaxia caotang
茶峽草堂
1689, 1690, 1693, 1695



Hua song 畫松
1690, 1692, 1693, 1695



Chenqing Qushan
臣清 瞿山
1690, 1691, 1692, 1693,
1694, 1695



Zi Yuangong
字淵公
1680



Haoshangwong
濠上翁
1683



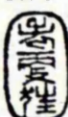
Jingtingshan xia
shuangxi zhishang
敬亭山下雙谿之上
1689



Quxing 瞿硎
1689



Lao gengkuang 老更狂
1690



Lianhua fengding
shanshengmeng
蓮華峰頂三生夢
1690, 1693, 1694, 1695



Mei Qing yin 梅清印
1690, 1692, 1694, 1695



Mei Qing 梅清
1690



Chenqing 臣清
1690, 1693, 1695



Yuangong 淵公
1690, 1691, 1692, 1693,
1694, 1695



Mei Qing siyin
梅清私印
1690



Chengqing 臣清
1690, 1691, 1693



Quxing xianyi
瞿仙逸
1690



Jingting huayi
敬亭畫逸
1690



Bojian shankou renjia
柏硯山口人家
1690



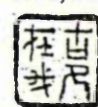
Qu laoren 瞿老人
1691, 1694, 1695



Wofa 我法
1691, 1693, 1694, 1695



Guren zaiwo 古人在我
1691, 1695



Meizi 某子
1691, 1692, 1693, 1694,
1695



Chaxia 茶峽
1691, 1692, 1693, 1695



Qushanren 瞿山人
1691



Lao Mei 老梅
1691, 1695



Chenqing 臣清
1692



Quxing shanren
瞿山人
1692, 1693



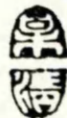
Shijiu shengya
詩酒生涯
1692, 1693



Jiangdong laoqu
江東老瞿
1692



Mei Qing 某清
1693, 1694, 1695



Huayue 花月
1693



Yiren jiutu 宜認酒徒
1693



Yizhi zhai 以指齋
1693



Meihua shuwu
某華書屋
1693



Nangang caotang
南岡草堂
1693



Laoqu kanshan
yanbeiqing
老去看山眼倍清
1693



San wosheng
三我生
1693



Hanmo yushi liaoyi
ziyu
翰墨餘事聊以自娛
1693



Zhishang yunmen
yifangge
直上雲門一放歌
1693, 1694, 1695



Deju zi changyin
得句自長吟
1693, 1695



Chaxia 茶峽
1693, 1694



Yuangong 淵公
1693, 1694, 1695



Jingting 敬亭
1693



Qushan 瞿山
1693, 1694



Yanyun guoyan lou
煙雲過眼樓
1693



Bubo jinren ai guren
不薄今人愛古人
1693, 1695



Lao Quqing 老瞿清
1693, 1695



Ranxi yeshi
然犀野史
1693



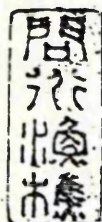
Houzhishijin jinzhishixi
後之視今今之視昔
1693



Yisheng yudi zai
canglang
一聲漁笛在滄浪
1693



Wendao yuqiao
問道漁樵
1693



Kuanghuai shijiu
曠懷詩酒
1693, 1695



Youxi sanmei
遊戲三昧
1693, 1694



Jingting shanyan
敬亭山巖
1693, 1695



Baifa laowanpi
白髮老頑皮
1693, 1695



Gukuang 古狂
1694, 1695



Huangshan yipianyun
黃山一片雲
1694



Quyí 瞿疑
1695



Jieda huanxi
皆大歡喜 1695



Huasong 畫松



Chaxia 茶峽



Laoqu shipian
hunmanxing
老去詩篇渾漫興



There are six seals which appear on the earliest work of Mei Qing (1649) are unable to be examined and reproduced here. They are Tongxio 桐岫, Mei Qing yin, Yuangong, Quxing qing, Jiazai Jingting 家在敬亭 and Yibai jushi 夷白居士.

APPENDIX IV THE LIST OF MEI QING'S PAINTINGS AND CALLIGRAHY¹

1. EXTANT WORKS²

(A) Dated Works

1649: Gentlemen in Pine Valley

Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 156.8 x 52.1 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seal:

Mist and clouds often appear in the valley;

The pines and the rocks in front of my door present a happy mood of stability.

After chanting, I cross the stream with my staff,

I paint green mountains which I can look at freely.

谷裏雲煙常隱約，門前松石喜平安

歌完曳杖過溪去，圖得春山自在看

In the autumn of the *sichou* (1649) year I present this painting to my teacher Old Yu 愚 for asking instruction. Qushan Daoren Mei Qing.

(6 seals) Tongxiu, Mei Qing yin, Yuangong, Quxing Qing, Jiazai Jingting, Yibaijushi.

Collectors' seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: Christie's sale catalogue (New York: June 1, 1994), lot 163A.

Illustrated Pl. 348

1649: Landscape in the Style of Li Cheng

Fan

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seal:

The winter of the *sichou* (1649) year was very cold. I painted this in the manner of Li Cheng. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Literature: Lian Quan, *Ming Qing mingjia shanmian daguan*, vol. 3.

Illustrated Pl. 26

1657: Ten Views of Wanling

Album of ten paintings with one leaf of calligraphy, ink and colour on satin, 25.7 x 21.5 cm.

The Art Museum, Princeton University, lent by the Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection.

Artist's inscriptions and seals:

Leaf 1. [Mt.] Xiashi

(1 seal) Jin zhi Quxian

Leaf 2. Old [Mt.] Jingting

(1 seal) Mei Qing zhi yin

Leaf 3. Wan Stream

(1 seal) Quxing Yuan

Leaf 4. Mt. Huayang

¹ Owing to the lack of clear reproductions, the details of some works are not recorded here in full, especially those paintings whose whereabouts are still unknown. The author would be grateful for any new information about these works. Three pieces of Mei Qing's calligraphy are also included in this list.

² Those paintings classified in this section are suggested to be Mei Qing's genuine works that have still survived. Most of these works have been published, and some of them are available for examining in museum collections, but some are still unavailable for examining. Many of these unavailable works are undated and listed in *ZGGDSHML*: vol 2 (Beijing Palace Museum), *ZGGDSHTM*: vol. 4 (Shanghai Museum) or *Comprehensive*. It is impossible to discern these paintings only by their titles, basic information or unclear reproductions, but for the convenience of classification, these paintings are temporarily listed in this section, however imperfect it may be. These paintings need further study to determine whether they are genuine works or not. The mark ** is used to classify these paintings.

(1 seal) Jiangdong Qu shi
 Leaf 5. Echo Hill Pond
 (1 seal) Yuanggong shi
 Leaf 6. Descending Geese on South Lake
 (1 seal) Quxing zi
 Leaf 7. Flying Bridge on Old Mt. Bojian
 (1 seal) Bojian shanzhong ren
 Leaf 8. Paired Bridges
 (1 seal) Cheng Qing
 Leaf 9. Diezhang Tower
 (2 seals) Quxing zi, Chen Qing
 Leaf 10. Kaiyuan Waterside Pavilion
 (2 seals) Yuangong, Mei Qing zhi yin
 Artist's colophon, signature and seals:
 (translated in text, p. 88)
 (4 seals) Yushi nantian, Bojian shanzhong ren, Yuangong shi, Mei Qing zhi yin
 Collectors' seals: 3 unidentified
 Literature: *Comprehensive* (1982-83), vol. 1, A18-073.
 Exhibitions: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, 1992: Wai-kam Ho, *The Century of Tang Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636*, Pl. 144, vol. 2, pp. 155-158.
 Illustrated Pls. 6-16

1661: Watching Flood at Pinglu Pavilion

Album leaf, ink on paper
 Collection of Mr. & Mrs. T. Ebcey, Illinois
 Artist's inscription, signature and seals:
 It is filled with rain. I sat in the Pinglu Pavilion to write this painting for Mr. Fuji 孚吉 on the ninth day of the seventh month in the *xinchou* (1661) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.
 (1 seal) A Yuan
 Illustrated Pl. 161

1661: Returning to the Southern Forest House³

Album of six paintings with one leaf of calligraphy, ink on paper, 23.7 x 29.2 cm.
 Shanghai Museum
 Artist's inscriptions, signature, and seals:
 Leaf 1: Cave-residence
 (1 seal) Qu shanren qing ji
 Collector's seal: 1 unidentified
 Leaf 2: Walking along the Stream
 (1 seal) Qu shanren
 Leaf 3: Fishing-cliff
 (1 seal) Qing
 Leaf 4: The Villa beside the Pond under the Dawn.
 (1 seal) Yuangong
 Leaf 5: Qushan Qing
 (3 seals) Chen Qing, Quxing, Shi shou
 Leaf 6: Forest House
 (2 seals) A Yuan, Yun wuxin erchuxiu (Clouds float freely among mountains)
 Collector's seal: Lizhai canghua 理齋藏畫
 Artist's colophon, signature, and seals:
 Returning to the southern house where there are some streams and mountains,
 I am missing my friend and singing songs while leaning on pillars and stones.
 Thus, I paint this painting to mail to you who are learned and virtuous;
 I do not dare to ask you to look at it, just to show my sincerity.
 There are some blank spaces for writing down the new poems.

³ The colophon of this album has not been published. It is added here as transcribed by the author.

南歸林屋，亦有溪山，念我懷人，興歌柱石
因作圖寄之，非敢塵有道之觀
聊見意也，謹存餘素以待新詩：

In the eighth month of the *xinchou* (1661) year. Qushan your junior Mei Qing inscribed.
(2 seals) Xintian shanzhang, Quxing Qing
Collectors' seals: Juelu (覺廬), Ting taoxuan (聽濤軒), 2 unidentified
Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2668
Illustrated Pls. 350-356.

1663: The Clear View of a Mountain Village

Fan
Shanghai Museum
Artist's inscription, signature, and seal:
In the sixth month of the *guimo* (1663) year, I mopped sweat in painting it for Mr. Lù 律. Qushan
Qing.
(1 seal) Yuangong
Collectors' seals: 4 unidentified
Literature: Shanghai Museum ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Ming Qing zheshan shuhua ji*, pl.
112.
Illustrated Pl. 162

1667: Two Verdant Pines

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 162 x 48 cm.
Palace Museum in Shenyang
Artist's inscription, signature, and seals:
Two verdant pines, in the twelfth month of the *dingwei* (1667) year. Qushan, Mei Qing
(4 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Wu shi wu yi, Tianyan ge
Literature: Li Zhongyuan, *Selected Paintings of Ming and Ching Dynasties: Collection of Palace
Museum in Shenyang*, fig. 43
Illustrated Pl. 22

1673: Boating on the Blue Stream

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 134.6 x 59 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Artist's inscription, signature and seals:
In an autumn day when wheat is still on fields, after raining our wine-boat is boating at Blue Stream.
It is wide field and at the north side of the town,
Where the green mountains link the ripples of river.
The poets are saddened by the sounds of flute,
And the old monks are mused in the cloudy house.
No man is fishing dragons now,
But the pool is still tranquil.
雨霽麥秋田，青溪放酒船
城陰兼野闊，山翠與波連
風笛悲詞客，雲房定老禪
釣龍人不見，潭水但悠然
These gentlemen and I boated together at the blue stream in the sixth day of the summer.
Everyone composed a poem and I wrote (or painted) a painting to cheer everyone.
晉夏六日，同先生暨諸公泛舟青溪 既分韻賦詩予 寫片壑博大方一粲。
(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong
There are four other inscriptions, separately by Shi Renzhang, Shen Bi, Mei Juan, and Mei Geng.
Also with an attached colophon by Qin Danru.
Collectors' seals: Qianren wanren nei yiren liangren zhi, Zheng Muqing tushu yin.
Literature: Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 3, 1985), lot. 40.
Illustrated Pl. 23

1675: The Garden of Tranquility

Handscroll, ink on paper, 27.5 x 96 cm.

Tianjin Historical Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Mr. Jian'an asks me to draw *The Garden of Tranquility* at Gaoyong Hall 高詠樓 on the day after the full-moon in the third month of the *yimao* (1675) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(1 seal) unidentified

Collectors' seals: 6 unidentified

Artist's colophon, signature and seals:

Mei Qing wrote four poems in five-character verse to describe the scene and at the end he wrote: "In the spring of the *yimao* (1675) year, Mei Geng and I visit Mr. Jian'an who asks us to stay. We have a wonderful time. We both write four poems in five-character verse to ask for instruction. Also we recall Mr. Guoting 果亭 and Mr. Lizhai 立齋. Wanling, Mei Qing."

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 8, Tianjin Historical Museum, no. 82.

Illustrated Pl. 163

1675: The Cliff and Pine

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 110 x 46 cm.

The Capital Museum, Beijing

Artist's inscription, signature and seals

Written for Mr. Dan 澹 at the residence of Nanyuan (南園) in the fifth month of the *yimou* (1675) year. Your junior Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Tianyang tushu

1 additional inscription by Gao Jian (高簡).

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Literature: *ZGMUQJ*, Huihuabian 9, pl. 95; *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 1, The Capital Museum, no. 383.

Illustrated Pl. 166

1680: Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng

Album of twenty-four paintings with two leaves of calligraphy, ink and colour on paper 27.1 x 54.6 cm.

Museum Rietberg, Zurich

Artist's inscriptions, signatures, seals and colophons:

(recorded and translated in detail in Wai-kam Ho, *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636*, vol. 2, pp. 158-163, also in Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines*, pp. 186-199.)

Literature: Li Yufen, *Oubokuoshi shuhua guomu kao*, vol. 2, p. 97; J. D. Chen, *Jinkuei canghua pingshi*, pp. 219-222; Zhu Xingzhai, *Yiyuan tanwang*, pp. 291-294; Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines*, pp. 186-199.

Exhibitions: Andrew Dickson White Museum, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1965: *The Eccentric Painters of China*; The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, 1992: *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636*, Pl. 145.

Illustrated Pls. 27-40

1680: Tawny Daylily, Bamboo and Rock

Fan, ink on gold-flecked paper, 17.5 x 52.9 cm.

Zhejiang Provincial Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I painted this to please Mr. Song 松 in the winter of the *gengshen* (1680) year. Qushan, your junior Mei Qing

(2 seals) Qushan, Chen Qing

Literature: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 18, p. 13; *ZGMSQJ*, Huihuabian 9, pl. 96

Illustrated Pl. 167

1683: Mt. Jingting after Rain

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 171.7 x 63.6 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The mountain of Jingting is full of rain this spring;

The fog and light which fills with my eyes is moving among rocks and forest.

The sky clears in order for me to paint the lonely mountain;
Some pavilions, which seem to be flying among clouds, are a wonderful place to climb.
敬亭積雨與春深，潑眼煙光轉石林
爲寫孤峰開霽色，雲中飛閣好登臨

On the day after the full-moon in third month of the *kuihai* (1683) year, seeking instruction from
Old Lang (閔). Quxing, your junior Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Mei Qing si yin, Qushan, Tianyan ge

Collectors' seals: Haicheng Qian Jingtang cang (海昌錢鏡塘藏), Cengzai Li Jinghan chu
(曾在李景韓處)

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2671

Illustrated Pl. 168

1683: Pine and Rock

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 305 x 123 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The ideal frosty trunk is standing vigorously;

Its colour is majestic and its sound goes through the different levels of clouds

After seeing it in person on Mt. Tai,

I understand it is so outstanding and why it was honored with degree of nobility.

意中鐵幹勢氤氳，漢色秦聲入五雲

一自岱宗親見得，始知封爵實難群

In the ninth month of the *kuihai* (1683) year. Wanling, Mei Qing.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2670

Illustrated Pl. 171

1683: Looking at the Mountain while Leaves are Falling

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin, 91 x 49.8 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

It is suitable to watch the mountain while the sky is clear and the leaves are falling;

With a book in my hands, I walk to and fro alone and chant for a long time.

Whenever I recall the peaceful mood of Zhao Mengjian (趙孟堅 1199-?);

I feel very happy after completing a painting.

天清木落好看山，抱卷長吟自往還

每憶閒情趙子固，寫將圖畫一開顏

On the day after the full-moon in the ninth month of the *kuihai* (1683) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Collectors' seals: Haoshang weng (濠上翁), Zuiyin baixue lou (醉吟白雪樓)

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2669

Illustrated Pl. 169

**1684: Refining Cinnabar Platform⁴

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper

Yurinkan Collection, Kyoto

Donald E. Brix, "The Life and Art of Mei Qing (1623-1697)", Fig. 19.

1685: Pine and Rock

Hanging scroll

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

⁴ This painting is illustrated as one of Mei Qing's genuine works in Donald E. Brix's "The Life and Art of Mei Qing (1623-1697)." As the reproduction of this painting is unclear, it is difficult to discern its quality, brushwork, inscription and seals; it is temporarily listed here for future study.

Once I painted a painting of pine and rock for my nephew, Dingjiu 定九, but I was not satisfied with it. I painted it again to make up for the shortcomings of that painting. It will be just the same when I shall see this painting later on, I will not be satisfied with it.

禱曾爲定九老姪寫松石小幅,殊不稱意。因再圖片紙,冀可補舊日之不足。但然後之視今猶今之視昔。

In the fifth month of the *yichou* (1685) year. Qushan composed this.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Illustrated Pl. 170

1687: Studying in the Mountain Studio

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 349.9 x 124.3 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

(The reproduction of the inscription is unclear)

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2672

Illustrated Pl. 172

1689: Pine and Rock

Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 184.4 x 51.8 cm

Private Collection (Japan)

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Celebrating the birthday of Mrs. Wang 汪, the mother of Fu 胡, to ask for the instruction from venerable Shu 樞 in the *jisi* (1689) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Qushan Qing, Yuangong

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaqi* (1690), Pl. 3; *Song Yuan Ming Qing minghua daguan*, p. 254.

1689: Joint Handscroll of Orchids, Pines, and Landscape

Handscroll of six sections, ink and colour on paper, 20.5 x 56 cm.

Shanghai Museum

The frontispieces and the first two sections were done by Mei Qing.

The frontispieces: Lan Yan (蘭言)

(3 seals) Guhuan, Mei Qing yin, Quxing

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Section 1: As a gift to send to Venerable Wen 文 and ask for the instruction from Venerable Dan 澹. Nine lines of running-standard script.

On the day before the full moon in the ninth month of the *jisi* (1689) year. Lingyang, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Chaxia caotang, Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Section 2: Mei Qing painted orchids, rocks and pines.

Written awaiting instruction from Venerable Wen. Qushan, Mei Qing

(4 seals) Meichi, Mei Qing siyi, Mei Qing Qushan, Jingting shanshang shuangxi zhixia

Collectors' seals: 11 unidentified in Mei Qing's section

The other sections of this handscroll were painted by Mei Geng, Mei Chong, Mei Wei, and Taoyu. Each section of the painting follows a colophon.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2673

1690: Yan Stream

Handscroll, ink on satin, 24 x 222 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Stayed at Yan Stream and lodged at Hengchuan Pavilion for twelve days. Feeling sorry to leave, I depicted the scene in a handscroll. I feel it [the painting] is quiet and lonely. Asking for instruction from the elder brother Dongjian 東澗. On the day before sending spring in the third month of the *gengwu* (1690) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Hou zhi shi jin jin zhi shi xi

Collector's seal: Huaiyin tang Wang shi zhencang 槐蔭堂王氏珍藏

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2674.

1690: Three Poems Written at Chuntao Pavilion

Hanging scroll

Zhejiang Provincial Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Three poems of Chuntao Pavilion written for Mr. Yuding (Wang Yuding) and Mr. Wenzhi (Wang Wenzhi): In the third month of the *gengwu* (1690) year I visited Xin and planned to travel Mt. Huang. On the way to Mt. Huang, I passed Mt. Songming to visit Yuding and Wenzhi two brothers....Quxing, your junior classmate Mei Qing.

(6 seals) Zhishang yunmen yi fang ge, Lianhua fengding sanshengmeng, Quxing, Hanmo yushi liaoyi ziyu, Houzhishijin jinzhishixi, Laoqu, Hunmanxing

Literature: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe ed., *Ming Qing mingjia shufa daquan*, pl. 25.

1690: Eight Views of Mt. Huang⁵

Album of eight paintings, ink and colour on paper, 26 x 33 cm

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.
Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;
Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.
Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;
Through tunnelled paths to the crest.
When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?
By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直引半天露，齊擎五色霧

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Lotus Blossom Peak. Qushanren

(4 seals) Guhuan, Quying, Jingting, Lianhuafeng ding sanshengmeng

Collector's seal: Xicai 曦材

Leaf 2: Grass Hut on Dragon Mountain. Qushan Qing.

(2 seals) Mei Qushan, Yiren jiutu

Literature: Victoria Contag, *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century* (1969), pls. 29-30; *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 1192.

1690: Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang

Album of sixteen paintings with one leaf of calligraphy, ink and colour on paper, 22.5 x 38.2 cm.

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: One Hundred Cloudy Steps is the only way that you can pass from Back Sea to Front Sea. It goes straight up in a single line, so with a sheer drop on three sides. Even though it is long ago, I am still terrified [to think of it].

百步雲梯，從後海至前海必由之路，一線直上，三面皆空，經過許久，至今心怖

(2 seals) Lao Qu, Youyun

Leaf 2: Wild and boundless it is on the summit of Brightness;

The sky is open in the four directions.

Who knows where the lonely shout comes from?

I am among the innumerable mountains.

Wind and thunder pass away while we are breathing;

The sharp peaks can communicate with the sun and the moon.

If we can find the track to the land of immortality,

⁵ Only two of the eight leaves have been published. This album is recorded only in *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 1192.

What need to dream of Mt. Kongdong?

曠絕光明頂，天南四望空
誰知孤嘯處，身在萬山中
呼吸風雷遇，崢嶸日月通
仙蹤如可接，何必夢崆峒
(1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 3: This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

The ancient platform has long been deserted.

Who cares that the melting stove is cold;

It does not spread the fragrance of purple funguses.

The thick vapour produces the misty clouds;

The precipitous cliff ejects sharp cutting blades.

Who seeks to collect the elixir of immortality,

And for the fire in the refining-furnace to be lit again?

黃帝棲真處，遺臺舊跡荒

誰憐丹灶冷，不散紫芝香

霧生雲氣，崢嶸吐劍鋌

何人採仙藥，大冶火重光

Refining Cinnabar Platform and Round Mat Pine face to each other, so I painted them together.

(2 seals) Qushan Qing, Duijiu dangge

Leaf 4: Sounding Strings Spring is the most wonderful scene produced by the Creator. It is painted with pines standing nearby in order to spread the sound of its music.

鳴琴泉爲造物最巧之景，以撫松圖寫之，庶可傳其音耳。

(2 seals) Jingting huayi, Yuangong

Leaf 5: Floating Peak looks like the three immortal peaks in the sea that you can see but cannot touch. It was playfully painted with the brush of indistinctness. It is not necessary that such a scene should actually exist.

浮丘峰如海上三神山，可望不可即，戲以縹渺筆圖之，非必實有是景也。

(2 seals) Laogengkuang, Mei Qing yin

Leaf 6: Passing the Tangkou, if one turns to the right and crosses the bridge, there is Hot Springs; if one turns to the left, there are Xiangfu Temple, White Dragon Pool and Peach Blossom Spring which are blocked by huge rocks. Passing by the crevice of rock, it is a wonderland.

由湯口而進，右轉渡橋則爲湯池，左轉爲祥符古院，爲白龍潭，爲桃花源。巨石阻塞，從石中側身而入，皆非人世。

(1 seal) Chen Qing

Leaf 7: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;

Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.

Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;

Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直飲半天露，齊擎五色霧

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Inscribed the old painting entitled Lotus Blossom Peak. Qushan.

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Leaf 8: Painted Lion Forest with the brush idea of Meihua daoren (Wu Zhen)

獅子林，用梅華道人筆寫其大意。

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Leaf 9: Beginning to Believe Peak and Twisted Dragon Pine are close to each other. Receiving Pine and Twisted Pine are the two most bizarre pines among the four most bizarre pines at Mt. Huang, so I painted them together.

始信峰與繞龍松只尺可見，黃山四奇松惟接引繞龍最奇，故並設之。

(2 seals) Bojian shankou renjia, Quxing Qing

Leaf 10: There are two ways to travel Mt. Huang: from Xin'an one would enter Tangkou, from Xianyuan one would enter Pine Valley. It is splendid from Pine Valley to Cloud Gate, the deeper one goes the stranger it becomes.

黃山之遊，從新安則入湯口，從仙源則入松谷，松谷上雲門，幽深萬狀，愈進愈奇矣。

The ninth month of the *gengwu* (1690) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(1 seal) Chen Qing

Collectors' seals: Wang Wenxin, Wenxin Shending

Leaf 11: Wenshu Temple is located at the centre of Mt. Huang. Heavenly Capital Peak is on its right and Lotus Flower Peak is on its left. Thirty-six peaks surround it and kneel down before it. The sea of clouds under it is rather splendid.

文殊院乃黃山中央土也，左天都，右蓮華，三十六峰四面羅拜其下，須臾鋪海，大是奇觀。

(1 seal) Lao Qu

Leaf 12: Cuiwei Temple is an outer peak of Mt. Huang where I have been almost twenty years ago. Grasping my brush to paint it, I cannot overcome a feeling of sadness. Qushan.

翠微寺為黃山別峰，予遊之已二十年矣。握筆寫山，不勝悵惘。

(1 seal) Yuangong

Leaf 13: This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

This capital alone is where Heaven opens.

The green mountains are surrounded by colourful flags;

And the court looks shapeless and elusive.

When the fire goes out, the cinnabar starts to turn;

The sea is formed when clouds surge over.

Who can take the crane to fly over the immortal area freely?

古帝棲真地，天開此一都

霓旌圍碧落，闔闔入虛無

火息丹應轉，雲來海自鋪

何當凌鶴羽，隨意遍靈區

Heavenly Capital Peak. Qushan

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 14: If we compare Merciful-Brightness Temple with Cinnabar Temple, we can say that the former looks like a temple in the immortal island. Painters used to depict it in a splendid manner, but I like to use the brush idea of Ni Yunlin to show its quietness. What I hope is to keep some of its originality. I can only tell it to my close friends.

黃山慈光寺較前此硃砂庵可謂蓬萊之紺宇矣。圖者每以絢爛出之，予獨以雲林筆意見其寂，庶幾本來面目不致盡失，噫！此可為知者道耳。

In the ninth month of the *gengwu* (1690) year. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(3 seals) Gewei zhizhedao, Zizhen zhiyi, Mei Qing siyin

Collectors' seals: Wang Wenxin, Wenxin shending

Leaf 15: The way to the Cloudy Gate seems to cover half of the sky;

The vapour of the mountains is bright.

I hold my staff, and my feet are as light as before.

There are numerous wonders;

I come again and I do not ask their names.

I do not recognize the Immortal Crows (which might refer to those crows in Baling 巴陵, Yueyang county 岳陽, Hu'nan province); but I see the white gibbon close up to me.

天半雲門路，嵐光分外明

一筇今日倚，兩屐舊時輕

幻境原無數，重來不問名

神鴉吾未識，親見白猿迎

Qushan

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Leaf 16: The Gate to the West Sea is a very dangerous and strange scene in the Back Sea. When the sun is setting, the scene is spectacular and marvelous beyond description.

西海門，乃後海之極險極奇之境，每當夕陽西下之時，紫綠萬狀，驚魄未易名。

Qushan.

(1 seal) Meichi

Artist's colophon, signature and seals:

(translated in text, see p. 116)

Colophon: by Yuan Qixu 袁啓旭 dated 1691.

Collectors' seals: 6 seals of Wang Wenxin (王文心), 1 unidentified.

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tu* (1980)

Illustrated Pls. 104-121

1690: Mt. Bojian

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 345 x 127.3 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Painted in the style of Huanghe shanqiao and sent to Mr. Ruanting (Wang Shizhen) seeking his instruction. On the ninth day of the ninth month in the *gengwu* (1690) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Quxing, 2 unidentified

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2675.

Illustrated Pl. 102

1690: Landscapes after Various Styles of Old Masters

Album of ten paintings, ink or ink and light colour on paper, 28.6 x 44 cm.

The Cleveland Museum of Art

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

These are recorded and translated in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and The Cleveland Museum of Art*, Pl. 228, pp. 307-309.

Illustrated Pls. 41-44

1691: Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters

Album of twelve folding leaves of paintings and calligraphy (one colophon by Mei Qing, the other eleven colophons by others), ink on paper, 17.2 x 12 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: Imitating Ke Jiusi

(1 seal) Qushan.

Artist's colophon:

I am occasionally at leisure this autumn;

My interest still exists.

With what can I encourage myself? With wine to fill my cup.

With what shall I be content? To have no business and to shut my door.

The ancients are before me, and Qushan is behind;

Front and back can call each other loudly, and meet each other forever.

秋窗偶暇，老興猶存

何以勸我，有酒盈尊

何以容我，無事閉門

古人在前，瞿山在後

前後高呼，相期不朽

Leaf 2: Dachi

(1 seal) Qushan ren

Leaf 3: Imitating Mei Xiangyang (Mi Fu)

(1 seal) Lao Mei

Leaf 4: Yunlin (Ni Zan)

(1 seal) Chen Qing

Leaf 5: Imitating Li Xuanxi (Li Cheng)

(1 seal) Yuangong

Leaf 6: Imitating Li Yingqiu

(2 seals) Chen Qing, Qushan

Leaf 7: Imitating Huanghe shanqiao's (Wang Meng) *Yunmen fangting*

(1 seal) Wofa

Leaf 8: Imitating Juran

(1 seal) Qu Laoren

Leaf 9: Imitating Meihua daoren (Wu Zhen)

(1 seal) Guren zai wo
 Leaf 10: Beiyuan's manner
 (1 seal) Lao Qu
 Leaf 11: Ma Yuan manner
 (1 seal) Mei Zi
 Leaf 12: Imitating Shitian (Shen Zhou)
 (1 seal) Qushan
 Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qing fanggu shanshui huace* (Shanghai Museum, n. d.); *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2676
 Illustrated Pls 174-176

1691: Thirty-Three Poems to Recall Old Friends

Handscroll, ink on paper, 27.5 x 133 cm.
 Nanjing Museum
 (These thirty-three poems are not translated in this study.)
 Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 7, Nanjing Museum, no. 561.
 Illustrated Pl. 4

1692: Plum Blossoms in the Style of Su Shi

Handscroll, ink on paper, 189 x 28.6 cm.
 Honolulu Academy of Arts
 Artist's inscription, signature and seals;
 Imitating the style of Poxian (Su Shi) to please Old Wen in the second month of the *renshen* (1692)
 year. Qushan, your junior Mei Qing.
 (3 seals) Jiangdong laoqu, Quxing Qing, Yuangong
 Literature: Yu-ho Tseng Ecke, *Chinese Painting in Hawaii*, Pl. LVIII; *Comprehensive*, vol. 1, A38-011.
 Exhibitions: Musee Cernuschi, Paris, 1960.
 Illustrated Pl. 177

1692: Ten Views of Mt. Huang

Album of ten paintings, ink and colour on paper, 20.8 x 38.2 cm.
 Beijing Palace Museum
 Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:
 Leaf 1: Passing the Tangkou, if one turns to the right and cross the bridge, there is Hot Spring; if one turns to the left, there are Xiangfu Temple, White Dragon Pool and Peach Blossom Spring which are blocked by huge rocks. Passing by the crevice of rock, it is a wonderland.
 由湯口進，右轉渡橋則為湯池，左轉為祥符古院，為白龍潭，為桃花源。巨石阻塞，從石隙中側身而入，皆非人世。
 (2 seals) Shishou, Yuangong
 Collector's seals: Xicun, Rentang shending zhenji
 Leaf 2: Heavenly Capital Peak stands upright for a thousand *ren* and visitors rarely come. When we look at the Cinnabar Temple, located under the peak, it looks like a temple in the immortal mountain in the sea. It is painted in a manner similar to that of Yang Wanli (1127-1206). Qushan Qing at the age of seventy.
 天都峰，壁立千仞，遊屐罕至。硃砂庵，位置峰下，望之真如蓬萊之紺宇，用楊萬里法彷彿寫之。
 (1 seal) Mei Qing Qushan
 Collector's seal: Wencangshanfang zhencang
 Leaf 3: Wenshu Temple is located at the centre of Mt. Huang. Heavenly Capital Peak is on its right and Lotus Flower Peak is on its left. Thirty-six peaks surround it. The sea of clouds under it is wonderful to behold.
 文殊院乃黃山中央土也，左天都，右蓮華，三十六峰四面羅拜其下，須臾鋪海，大是奇觀。
 (2 seals) Chen Qing, Bojianshankou renjia
 Collector's seal: Xicun
 Leaf 4: Receiving Pine and Twisted Dragon Pine are close to each other. It is recorded that these two pines are among the four strangest pines of Mt. Huang. Painted with Shitianlaoren's (Shen Zhou) brush idea.
 接引松與繞龍松，只尺可見。黃山有四奇松，見誌中此其二也。

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Collector's seal: Wencang shanfang zhencang

Leaf 5: Cuiwei Temple is the separate peak of Mt. Huang. Painted in the manner of Huangheshanqiao (Wang Meng). Qushan.

翠微古寺爲黃山別一峰。

(2 seals) Quxing shanren, Meichi

Collector's seal: Xicun

Leaf 6: The Gate to the Western Sea is a very dangerous and strange scene in the Back Sea. When the sun is setting, its thousand peaks look like spears; that scene is startling and words fail to describe it. Qushan Qing.

西海門，乃後海之極奇極險之境，每當夕照下，春之時，紫綠萬狀，千峰如戟，驚心奪魄，未易名之。

(2 seals) Mei Qing yin, Bojian shanzhongren

Collector's seal: Xicun

Leaf 7: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;

Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.

Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;

Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直飲半天露，齊擎五色霞

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Qushan.

(2 seals) Lao Qu, Youyun

Collector's seal: Wencang shanfang zhencang

Leaf 8: One Hundred Cloudy Steps is the only way that you can pass from Back Sea to Front Sea. It goes straight up in a single line, so with a sheer drop on three sides. Even though it is long ago, I am still terrified [to think of it].

百步雲梯，從後海至前海必由之路，一線直上，三面皆空，經過許久，至今憶之，猶心怖也。

(1 seal) Meizi

Collector's seal: Xicun

Leaf 9: The Refining Cinnabar Platform of Emperor Huangdi faces to the Round Mat Pine. As they are not far from each other, I painted them together in the brush idea of Ma Yaofu (Ma Yuan). Qushan.

黃帝煉丹臺，蒲團松，相望不遠，故合寫之。

(2 seals) Chaxia, Huasong

Collector's seal: Wencang shanfang zhencang

Leaf 10: If you travel to Mt. Huang from Xianyu, the first night you must lodge at Pine Valley. From Pine Valley when you enter Cloud Gate, the peaks can all be seen. The deeper you go, the stranger it becomes. Mr. Jiatang travelled to Mt. Huang in the third month of the *renshen* (1692) year. It is pity that I am getting weak so I can not visit Hot Spring (Mt. Huang) for the third time. I painted this album to show my willingness to follow him. Qushan, Mei Qing.

由仙源作黃海遊，首夜必宿松谷。由松谷入雲門，筍峰畢見，愈進愈奇矣。壬申三月，稼堂先生著展黃山，予愧衰朽，不能三浴湯池，因作是冊，聊志追隨之意。

(1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Collector's seals: Wang Rentang fu miji zhiyin, Wangkun shibao, Wencang shanfang zhencang

Frontispiece: "The Spectacles of Mt. Huang". If Yuangong (Mei Qing) did not have an unusual inner spirit, he would not be able to satisfy Jiatang's eyes, as Jiatang had travelled ten thousand *li* and read ten thousand books.

"雲海奇觀"。稼堂行萬里路，讀萬卷書，非淵公胸有奇氣，不足以副其眼界。

After being drunk, I wrote this on the twentieth day of the tenth month in the third year of reign *daoguang* (1823). Zhang Tingji (張廷濟).

Colophons: There are four colophons which were separately written by Kuai Jiazhen 蒯嘉珍 in 1822, Guo Fuwong 郭復翁 in 1828, Zhu Chengyi 朱昌頤, and Zhang Kaifu 張開福 in 1827. These colophons all were written for Mr. Xulou 旭樓.

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961)

Illustrated Pls. 122-136

1692: The Journey of Zhi River

Album of twelve paintings, ink and colour on paper, 29.9 x 40.5cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: Occasionally, I had a trip to Zhi River in the fourth month of the *renshen* (1692) year. This is painted for instruction from my respected Mr. Gesi 格思. Qushan, your junior Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Mei Qing, 1 unclear

Leaf 2: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 3: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 4: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 5: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 6: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 7: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 8: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 9: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 10: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 11 and leaf 12 have not been published

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2677

Illustrated Pls. 325-327

1692: Landscape in the Style of Guo Xi

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 180 x 65.5 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Imitating Guo Heyang's brush idea, in the fifth month of the *renshen* (1692) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Jingting shanxia shangxi zhishang

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2678

Illustrated Pl. 333

1692: Landscape in the Style of Shen Zhou⁶

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on

The Central Academy of Arts & Design

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Copying the brush idea of Shitian laoren (Shen Zhou) seeking the instruction from the Old Quxia 去瑕. In the sixth month of the *renshen* (1692) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1, the Central Academy of Arts & Design, no. 54

Illustrated Pl. 178

**1692: Landscape in the Style of Shen Zhou

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

Beijing Antique Store

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1, Beijing Antique Store, no. 184.

1692: Landscapes

Album of twelve paintings

Whereabouts unknown (formerly collection of Liu Gonglu 劉公魯)

⁶ This painting has not been published, but it is recorded briefly in *ZGGDSHTM* vol. 1. Further details have been added by the author, after study of this painting in the museum.

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: (1 seal) Mei Qushan

Leaf 2: (2 seals) Meichi, Qushan

Leaf 3: (2 seals) Chaxia, Qushan

Leaf 4: (2 seals) unidentified

Leaf 5: (2 seals) Bojian shankou renjia

Leaf 6: (2 seals) Bojian shanzhongren, Jiumeng yi qinhuai

Leaf 7: (2 seals) Meizi, Shijiu shangai

Leaf 8: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 9: (2 seals) Lao Qu Qing, Youxi sanmei

Leaf 10: (2 seals) Huayue, Mei Qing siyin

Leaf 11: (2 seals) Qushan, Chen Qing

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Leaf 12: Written to ask for instruction from the Venerable Mu 牧翁 in the eighth month of the *renshen* (1692) year. Lingyang, your junior Mei Qing.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Literature: Liu Gonglu col., *Mei Qushan huace* (1925, 1929 2nd ed., 1934 3th ed.)

Illustrated Pl. 99

1693: Landscapes in the Style of Twelve Ancient Masters

Album of twelve paintings, ink and light colour on paper

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: Imitating Shitianlaoren (Shen Zhou)

(3 seals) Qushan, Mei Qing yin, Zhishang yunmen yi fang ge

Collectors' seals: Shanzi xinshang (Zhang Shanzi 張善子), 1 unidentified

Leaf 2: Imitating Ma Yaofu's (Ma Yuan) brush idea. Qushan.

(3 seals) Chaxia, Shijiu shengya, Xintian shanzhang

Collector's seal: Daqian gongyang (Zhang Daqian 張大千)

Leaf 3: Wu Zhonggui's brush idea. Qushan imitated.

(3 seals) Chen Qing, Jingting, Baifa laowanpi

Collector's seal: Cangzhi Daqian (Zhang Daqian)

Leaf 4: Loudly chanting at the window beside firmiana in the method of Qingten daoshi (Xu Wei)

(2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Lianfafengding sanshengmeng

Collectors' seals: Daqian zhibao (Zhang Daqian), 1 unidentified

Leaf 5: Imitating Liu Songnian's *Loudly Chanting beside the Pines*, the early spring in the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Qushan Qing.

(2 seals) Mei Qing Qushanshi, Hanmo yushi liaoyi ziyu

Collectors' seals: Dafengtang zhangwu (Zhang Daqian), Wang Nanping yin (王南屏), Bojiao guoyan (伯郊過眼), Zhoushi pinshan caotang suocang (周氏頻山草堂所藏), Siwuyang (四毋恙)

Leaf 6: This is also Meihuadaoren's (Wu Zhen) manner; in the splattered ink and wet dots one can roughly see his idea. Qushan.

(3 seals) Meichi, Qushan, Yanyunguoyan lo

Collectors' seals: Cangzhi Daqian (Zhang Daqian), Pingshan caotang zhencang

Leaf 7: Imitating Yunlin (Ni Zan)

(3 seals) Chen Qing, Youxisanmei, Jingting shanyan

Collector's seal: Daqian zhangwu (Zhang Daqian)

Leaf 8: The sea of clouds at Mt. Huang, painted roughly in the brush idea of Dachishanren (Huang Gongwang). Qushan.

(2 seals) Mei Qushan, Shangao shuichang

Collector's seal: Daqian haomeng (Zhang Daqian)

Leaf 9: Imitating Songxue's brush idea. Qushan.

(3 seals) Lao Qu, Guhuan, Huasong

Leaf 10: Plums beside the quiet cave are going to blossom, where I sit lonely to play the *qin*

Imitating Li Yingqiu's brush idea. Qushan.

(3 seals) Quxing shanren, Zizhen zhiyi, Jiumeng yi yinhuai

Leaf 11: Geese are flying over autumn-forest. Copied with the brush idea of Fan Kuan. Qushan.

(3 seals) Lao Qu, Yuangong, Bubo jinren ai guren
Collector's seals: Shanzi shending (Zhang Shanzi), Yiwu xinshang, siwuyang zhai
Leaf 12: Imitating Gaofangshan's brush idea.

(3 seals) Meizi, Qushan, Kuanghuai shijiu
Collector's seal: Daqian youmu (Zhang Daqian)

Frontispiece: Mei Yuangong's imitations of the landscapes of the twelve ancient masters
It was formerly collected by Changbai Li Zu'an (李左庵) and now belongs to Linchuan Li Yun'an (李筠庵). In the winter of the year *jiayin* (1914) Zhang Zuyi 張祖翼 (1849-1917) inscribed.

Colophon: I bought it from Yayun (Li Yunan) in the eleventh month of the year *xinyou* (1921).
Mei's imitations are the most plain, natural and remote that I have ever seen. (unidentified) inscribed.

Collectors' seals: Yiwu xinshang, Zhoushi pingshan caotang suocang, siwuyang, 3 unidentified.

Literature: *Nanga Taisei*, Add. I. Pls. 250-261

Illustrated Pl. 45-56

1693: Visiting Mt. Xi

Handscroll, ink on paper, 29 x 355 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Visiting Mt. Xi freely and imitating Shitian laoren's brush idea to ask for instruction from Mr. Jinan
in the third month of the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Qushan, your junior Mei Qing.

(3 seals) unidentified

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2681.

Illustrated Pl. 97

1693: Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters

Album of twelve paintings, ink and colour on paper, 30.3 x 45.5 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: Imitating the brush idea of twelve ancient masters to ask for instruction from
Venerable Yu 育翁. This leaf imitates Liu Songnian, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month
of the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Your junior, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Caxia caotang, Hanmo yushi liaoyi ziyu

Leaf 2: Walking with a staff to search for autumn in the style of Dong Beiyuan (Dong Yuan).

(4 seals) Chen Qing, Qushan, Bubo jinren ai guren, Caxia

Leaf 3: Boating at Small Red-Cliff in Fan Kuan's brush idea.

(3 seals) Quxing shanren, Jingting, Yisheng yudi zai canglang

Leaf 4: Climbing up to see remote painted in Ma Yaofu's (Ma Yuan) brush idea.

(3 seals) Mei, Qushan, Zhishang yunmen yi fangge

Leaf 5: Imitating Li Yingqiu's (Li Cheng) *Singing lonely at Plum Stream*.

(3 seals) Meichi, Chen Qing, Meihua shuwu

Leaf 6: Spring mountains after raining in Gao Fangshan's (Gao Kegong) splattered ink
technique, in the eighth month of the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Qushan Qing.

(3 seals) Mei Qing Qushan shi, Jingting shanyan

Leaf 7: White dragon hanging on waterfall painted in the style of Jing (Jing Hao) and Guan (Guan
Tong).

(2 seals) Bojian shanzhong ren, Shangao shuichang

Leaf 8: Imitating Shitian laoren's (Shen Zhou) *Fishing Boat Returning at Night*.

(3 seals) Youxi sanwei, Lao Qu Qing, Houzhi shijin jinzhi shixi

Leaf 9: Boating among cliffs in the style of Meihua daoren (Wu Zhen).

(2 seals) Mei Qing yin, Nanggang caotang

Leaf 10: Boating under the shadow of willow in Guo Heyang's (Guo Xi) brush idea.

(3 seals) Mei Qing Qushan shi, Ranxi yeshi

Leaf 11: Bamboo pavilion under autumn sunlight imitating Ni Yunling (Ni Zan).

(2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Yanyun guoyan lou

Leaf 12: Imitating Huanghe shanqiao's *Yunmen donghuo*.

(2 seals) Zizhen zhiyi, Lianhua fangding sanshengmeng

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2680

Illustrated Pls. 57-68

1693: Landscape Panorama

Set of ten hanging scrolls, ink and colour on silk, 181.5 x 493.6 cm.

Guangzhou Art Gallery

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

For hundreds of years, only Huang Dachi (Huang Gongwang) has been transmitted down through the ages.

His cloudy mountains and scattered rocks offer the inspiration of composing poetry.

When frenzied inspiration came, he splashed ink as if pouring out wine;

Who says this wandering immortal wasn't a painting master?

百歲惟傳黃大癡，雲山亂石供題詩

狂來潑墨同傾酒，誰道遊仙不畫師

On the third day before the full moon in the ninth month of the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Qushan, Mei Qing painted and inscribed at Caxia Villa.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Exhibition: The Art Gallery, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

1986: *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from Guangzhou Art*, cat. no. 31, pp. 130-131

Illustrated Pl. 93

1693: Landscapes in the Style of Twelve Ancient Masters

Album of twelve paintings with one leaf of calligraphy, ink and light colour on paper

Mrs. Marie H. & Mr. Guy Weill Collection, New York

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: Imitating Mi Fu and Mi Youren

(2 seals) Bojian shankou renjia, Mei Qing siyin

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Leaf 2: Imitating Shitanlaoren (Shen Zhou)

(1 seal) Youxi sanmei

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Leaf 3: Imitating Liu Songnian

(1 seal) Huasong

Leaf 4: Imitating Fang Kuan

(1 seal) Meici

Leaf 5: Imitating Wu Zhonggui (Wu Zhen)

(1 seal) Lao Quqing

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Leaf 6: Imitating the style of Ma Yaofu (Ma Yuan), Jing Hao and Guan Tong

(1 seal) Kewei zhizhe dao

Leaf 7: Imitating Li Yingqiu (Li Cheng)

(1 seal) Sanmeiyou

Leaf 8: Imitating the brush idea of Guo Heyang (Guo Xi)

(1 seal) Zizhen zhiyi

Leaf 9: Imitating Huaguanglaoren

(1 seal) Qushan

(1 seal) Meici

Leaf 10: Imitating the brush idea of Li Xuanxi (Li Cheng)

(1 seal) Jingting

Leaf 11: Imitating Meihuadaoren (Wu Zhen)

(1 seal) Bojian shankou renjia

Leaf 12: Imitating Huangheshanqiao (Wang Meng)

In the tenth month of the *Kuiyou* year, I imitate the style of twelve ancient masters to mail to Venerable Ze for his instruction. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Quxing shanren, Chenqing Qushan.

Illustrated Pl. 71-83

1693: Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang

Album of twelve folding leaves of paintings: five single horizontal compositions and seven double vertical compositions, ink and colour on paper, 33.9 x 44.1 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: It looks like a prehistoric dormant dragon waking up;

The small curved path is widened by a sudden peal of thunder.

The clouds stay all the time;

It looks like snowflakes of Sanxia flying over.

太古蜃龍醒，蠶叢霹靂開

五浮雲不去，三峽雪飛來

Nine Dragon Pool. Qushan.

(2 seals) Chaxia, Zizhen zhiyi, Laoqu kanshan yanbeiqing

Leaf 2: *Heshi Dwelling* was also a sketch by Old Shitao. I have not been there either; it is a villa of Mt. Huang. I have not used my small brush for a long time, but can not claim to be too old to handle it. When Old Shi sees this painting some day, please do not say that Old Qu was imitating him. Qushan inscribed.

喝石居，此亦石公粉本也。予亦未到，乃黃山別業。久不耐用細筆，又不甘以老態自居，他中揭舊見之，得毋謂老瞿效顰耶。

(2 seals) Lao Qu Qing, Nangang catang

Leaf 3: (A) Pine Valley

(2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Huasong

(B) This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

The ancient platform has long been deserted.

When will it be possible to collect the elixir of immortality,

And the fire in the refining-furnace be lit again?

黃帝棲真處，遺臺舊蹟荒

何年采仙藥，大冶火重光

Refining Cinnabar Platform

(2 seals) Meichi, Yiren Jiutu

Leaf 4: (A) The water of Sounding Strings Spring flows smoothly over the rocks;

There is a stone pillar crossing the spring.

I once held my *qin* to face it;

And without touching the strings, the sound of music was heard.

鳴絃泉，石面平流，中有石梁貫之。予曾抱琴相對，不必鼓絃動操，而淙淙有聲。

Qushan.

(2 seals) Meizi, Shangao suichang

(B) Flapping Parrot 鸞武展翅

(2 seals) Bojian shanzhongren, Deju zichangyin

Leaf 5: (A) Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

Lotus Blossom Peak

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

(2 seals) Qing, Lianhua fengding sanshengmeng

(B) Monk Shitao came from Mt. Huang, showing me several albums of his renditions of Mt. Huang. The *Wulao Peak* was the strangest among the paintings. I have been to Mt. Huang, but I did not have the chance to see Wulao Peak. I have not forgotten [Shitao's depiction of it], and with a brush in my hand I feel that I am grasping the general aspects of this peak. Old Qu.

石濤和尚從黃山來，曾寫數冊見示，中間唯五老峰最奇。予遊黃山，竟未與五老一面，意中每不能忘，握筆時彷彿得之。

(2 seals) Qushan, Xintian shanzhang

Leaf 6: (A) Tiger Head Grotto 虎頭壩

(2 seals) Meizi, Yizhizhai

(B) On the rocks of the Lion Peak,

The immortal built his dwelling.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?

I shall ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子巖頭石，高人此結廬

何時憩黃海，天半問鄰居

I once lodged at Lion Forest. This is my old work.

(3 seals) Mei Qushan, Meihua shuwu

Leaf 7: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am too frightened to stand;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天閭，仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央

側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂

何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

There are thirty-six peaks at Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak are the two highest peaks. The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of Mt. Huang. When I depict the sea of clouds, these three peaks are always side by side. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Mei Qing, Chaxia caotang

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Leaf 8: Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

凝砂噴玉不知寒，聞道仙人此濯丹

浴罷莫疑霄漢遠，臨流忽已長飛翰

Hot Springs, Qushan.

(3 seals) Youxi sanwei, Bojian shankou renjia, Baifa laowanpi

Leaf 9: (A) Hegai Pine 鶴蓋松

(2 seals) Sanweiyu, Chaxia

(B) One Hundred Cloudy Steps

(2 seals) Yuangong, Yunwuxin er chuxiu

Leaf 10: (A) Two Peaks of Cloudy Gate 雲門雙峰

(2 seals) Yuangong, Zhishang yunmen yifangge

Collector's seal: Yuexuelou yin (Kong Guangtao 孔廣陶)

(B) Wugong Peak 五供峰

(2 seals) Mei Qing Qushan, Hanmo yushi liaoyi ziyu

Collector's seals: 2 unidentified

Leaf 11: (A) Round Mat Pine 蒲團松

(2 seals) Lao Qu, Sanwosheng

(B) Three Peaks of Fuqiu 浮丘三峰

(2 seals) Wofa, Youxi sanwei

Leaf 12: The West Sea is truly precipitous;

The setting sun can be seen in the vast expanse of clouds.

A thousand peaks stand as though cleft by the sword;

While a river curves round them like a flying dragon.

The sound of temple bells issues from the clouds;

Monks are returning through the cracks of the rocks.

The night-wind is blowing;

We hear faintly the music of heaven.

西海真天險，蒼茫落暉暉

千峰分劍立，一水繞龍飛

鐘自雲堆出，僧從石罅歸

晚風吹動處，仙樂聽依稀

Looking at the sunset at the gate of the West Sea. Qushan Qing, at the age of seventy-one

(3 seals) Guhuan, Huayue, Wendao yuqiao

Collector's seals: Yuzhuang suocang, Panzhai zhenmi

Literature: Feitunlu col., *Mei Qushan Huangshan shijiu jing* (1934)

Exhibitions: Leaf 3 exhibited in: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australia, 1981:
Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties XIV-XXth Centuries, cat. no. 50. Tokyo National Museum, 1993: *Shanghai Bowuguan Zhan*, cat. no. 78.

Illustrated Pls. 179-190

1693: Joint Album of Figure, Landscapes and Calligraphy For Qu Dajun 屈大均

Album of four paintings and nine leaves of calligraphy, ink and colour on paper, 20.3 x 24.7 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Mei Qing's inscription, signature and seals on two leaves:

Leaf 2: Three immortal mountains in the sea. Quxing Qing.

(1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Collector's seal: Tingyong shending 廷雍審定

Leaf 3: The song of Shaolaizi 少萊子 to celebrate the nintieth birthday of Mr. Wengshan's 翁山 (Qu Dajun's) mother. Seven lines of calligraphy.

In the sixth month of the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Shangao shuichang

The other leaves were done by Mei Geng, Wang Hongdu, Shen Bi, Wu Sugong, Cheng Yuanyu, Wang Shihong, Wu Zhantai and Xue Zhuang.

Literature: *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2679

1693: Self-Portrait

Single leaf

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I laugh at myself, now an old man;

I do not care that I am so haggard, and I still portray my beard and eyebrows.

I do not know what I have done in my life except drinking;

I am still singing though I put the plum blossom upside down.

自笑瞿山老面皮, 可堪憔悴寫鬚眉

生涯一醉曾何事, 倒插梅花唱竹枝

In the three days before the summer solstice (which falls on June 21 or 22 on the Northern Hemisphere), I Qushan portrays for myself, at the age of seventy-one.

(5 seals) Qushan, Chaxia, Meizi, Meici, Zizhen zhiyi

Literature: Mei Qing, *QSSL*.

Illustrated Pl. 3

1693: Landscape of Mt. Bojian

Hanging scroll, Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

A dangerous bridge suspended between the middle part of mountains;

It looks like a rainbow crossing the sky.

I am afraid of the attack of tigers or leopards while walking along the path;

Therefore I feel happy while walking into the clouds and mist.

By the rainbow waterfall I lean on my staff;

As though a cinnabar vase were hanging from the great sky.

I shouted loudly at the cavern, and it echoes among numerous mountains.

危棧山腰斷飛虹渡半天

路驚侵虎豹人喜入雲煙

彩瀑孤筇倚丹壺大界懸

一聲巖下嘯分與萬峰傳

Painted the scene of Mt. Bojian with the brush idea of Wang Shuming (Wang Meng) to please venerable Yao. On the third day of last month of the *kuiyou* (1693) year. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), Pl. 1.

Illustrated Pl. 103

1694: Landscapes

Album of ten paintings, ink and colour on paper, 26.4 x 33.6 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: (translated in text, see p. 75)

(4 seals) Baifa laowanpi, Lianhua fangding sanshengmeng, 2 unidentified

Leaf 2: (1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Leaf 3: (1 seal) Mei Qing

Leaf 4: (2 seals) Meizi, Qushanren

Leaf 5: (2 seals) Mei Qing yin, 1 unclear

Leaf 6: (1 seal) Lao Mei

Leaf 7: (1 seal) unclear

Leaf 8: (2 seals) unclear

Leaf 9: (1 seal) Chaxia caotang

Leaf 10: (2 seals) Meizi, Yuangong

Literature: *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2683

Illustrated Pls. 149-152

1694: Lofty Mountains and Flowing Stream

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 248.5 x 119.6 cm.

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Lofty mountains and flowing stream done after the brush idea of Old Man Shitian (Shen Zhou).
On the day before the mid-autumn festival of the *jiaxu* (1694) year, painted by Mei Qing called Qushan at the age of seventy-two.

(4 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Laoqu kanshan yanbeiqing, Tianyange tushu

Literature: *ZGMSQJ*, Huihuabian 9, Pl. 101

Exhibitions: Honolulu Academy of Arts, etc., 1988: *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*, ca. no. 43

Illustrated Pl. 191.

1694: Ten Views of Mt. Huang

Album of ten paintings, ink on paper, 26.2 x 33.9 cm.

Cheng Te-k'un collection, Hong Kong

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: The shadows of peaks are disarranged at dusk;

The sound of waterfall echoes regularly through the empty mountains.

The intermittent clouds are still wandering;

The returned birds can not keep their silence.

I am reaching the place near the Immortal Spring;

I am confused when I look back at the secular world.

I wake up at midnight;

The moon is hanging lonely at the west side of the cave.

日落松陰亂，山空瀑響齊

斷雲閒不去，幽鳥寂還啼

投足仙源近，回看世路迷

中宵眠更起，孤月在巖西

Spending the night at the Pine Valley

Qushan Qing

(3 seals) Mei Qing, Chaxia, Huangshan yipianyun

Collectors' seals: Mufei jianshang (木扉鑑賞), Fuchun Hu Yishan (富春胡異山), Li

Wentong yin (李文通印), Nanhai Liang Zhiwen yin (南海梁志文)

Leaf 2: This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

The ancient platform has long been deserted.

Who cares that the melting stove is cold;

It does not spread the fragrance of purple funguses.

The thick vapour produces the misty clouds;

The precipitous cliff ejects sharp cutting blades.

Who seeks to collect the elixir of immortality,

And for the fire in the refining-furnace to be lit again?

黃帝棲真處，遺臺舊跡荒
誰憐丹灶冷，不散紫芝香
靈芝生雲氣，嶙峋吐劍鋌
何人採仙藥，大冶火重光

Refining Cinnabar Platform, Qushan

(2 seals) Mei Qing, Qushanshi

Collectors' seals: Dekun zhenwan (德坤珍玩), Li Wentong yin

Leaf 3: Wild and boundless it is on the Radiant Brightness Summit;

The sky is open in the four directions.

If we can find the track to the land of immortality,

What need to dream of Mt. Kongdong?

曠絕光明頂，天南四望空

仙蹤如可接，何必夢崆峒

Walk to Radiant Brightness Summit in the night. Qushan

(2 seal) Gukuang, Meizi

Collectors' seals: Mufei jianshang, Fuchun Hu Yishan, Li Wentong yin

Leaf 4: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;

Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.

Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;

Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直飲半天露，齊擎五色霧

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Lotus Blossom Peak. Qushan.

(2 seal) Qu laoren, Youxi sanmei

Collectors' seals: Dekun zhenwan, Fuchun Hu Yishan, Li Wentong yin, Nanhai Liang

Zhiwen yin

Leaf 5: On the rocks of the Lion Peak, the immortal built his dwelling..

There is no place for my staff;

And my feet are nearly floating in the sky.

I doubt whether the autumn is near as I feel cold;

Also I feel the music of *qing* is light as the mountains are so empty.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?

I will ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子巖頭石，高人此結廬

孤筇無著處，雙屐盡凌空

衣冷疑秋逼，山空覺磬疏

何時憩黃海，天半問鄰居

Qushan

(1 seal) Qushan

Collectors' seals: Dekun zhanwan, Nanhai Liang Zhiwen yin, Li Wentong yin, Fuchun Hu

Yishan

Leaf 6: I rest my old head on my staff;

We have just arrived at the foot of Heavenly Capital Peak.

It soars against the sky thousands of feet in height;

Travellers are all frightened.

There is no path to place our woven ropes and stairs,

Because the cliff is straight like a wall.

With the drifting of the light breeze,

Faintly we listen to the music of heaven.

杖拂老人頭，始抵天都腳

凌空千仞高，游者步齊卻
無徑置纓梯，壁立如直削
微風下縹緲，隱隱聞天樂
Heavenly Capital, Qushan

(2 seals) Mei zi, Guhuan

Collectors' seals: Li Wentong yin, Fuchun Hu Yishan, Mufei jianshang

Leaf 7: Without intent, it would not be easy to recognize the receiving [pine];

~~Who would know that the stretching pine had this idea?~~

Explaining the object of his visit to the west,

The man-of-letter leaves an inscription on the First Peak of Mt. Huang.

接引無心不易逢，誰知此意在長松

詞人解識西來意，題向黃山第一峰

The Receiving Pine, Qushan

(2 seals) Mei Qing yin, Yuangong

Leaf 8: The West Sea is truly precipitous;

The setting sun can be seen in the vast expanse of clouds.

A thousand peaks stand as though cleft by the sword;

While a river curves round them like a flying dragon.

The sound of temple bells issues from the clouds;

Monks are returning through the cracks of the rocks.

The night-wind is blowing;

We hear faintly the music of heaven.

Looking at the sunset at the gate of the West Sea.

西海真天險，蒼茫間落暉

千峰分劍立，一水繞龍飛

鐘自雲堆出，僧從石隙歸

晚風吹動處，天樂聽依稀

Viewing sunset at The Gate of West Sea, Qushan

(2 seals) Wofa, Mei Chi

Collectors' seals: Dekun zhenwan,, Nanhai Liang Zhiwen yin, Fuchun Hu Yishan, Li

Wentong yin

Leaf 9: This morning when I dressed after waking,

[I find] The hibiscus in nine tiers and everywhere is green.

The peaks are calling to one another,

And gradually they sink into distant obscurity.

九疊芙蓉到處青，披襟此日眼初醒

浮丘呼罷如相應，冉冉凌空下杳冥

The Floating Peak, Qushan

(2 seals) Bojianshanzhongren, Qushan

Collectors' seals: Mufei jianshang, Li Wentong yin, Fuchun Hu Yishan, Nanhai Liang

Zhiwen yin

Leaf 10: An ancient monastery surrounded by a thousand peaks;

Between its two pennants flows a running brook.

With a long shouting,

I find myself in Cuiwei.

古刹千峰繞，雙幢一澗通

一聲長嘯處，人在翠微中

The Cuiwei Spring

In the eighth month of the *jiaxu* (1694) year, written by Qushan Mei Qing in the thatched cottage of Chaxia, when I was seventy-two years old.

(3 seals) Mei Qing Qushan, Zhishang yunmin yi fang ge, Lianhua fengding sanshengmeng

Collectors' seals: Dekun zhenwan, Fuchun Hu Yishan, Li Wentong yin

Exhibition: *Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Mu-Fei Collection*, 1954, Fitzwilliam Museum.

Literature: *The Journal of The Institute of Chinese Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2 (December 1976), pp. 446-447 and Pl. 25. Cheng Te-K'un, *Painting as a Recreation in China: Some Hsi-pi Paintings in the Mu-fei Collection*, no. 15, pp. 24-27; see also Ch'eng Hsi, *A Study of Some Ming and Ch'ing Paintings in the Mu-Fei Collection* (1966), pp. 36-40.

1695: Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters

Album of eight paintings

Whereabouts unknown

Leaf 1: The autumn mountains are here and the autumn rivers are endless.

The flat boat carries wine as I search for my immortal of wine?

秋山在望, 秋水無邊

扁舟載酒, 尋我酒仙

Imitating Huanghe shanqiao's (Wang Meng) brush idea. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(1 seal) Meichi

Leaf 2: It is near the fourth month of the year when the weather is nice.

I hold my brush and try to call Bi Hong (8th century) and Wei Yan (8th century),

The steps are covered with green and bright leaves.

已近清和節, 何當風日佳

拈毫呼畢韋, 空翠落蒼階

In the third month of the *yihai* (1695) year. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Mei Qing Qushanshi, Lianhua fengding sanshengmeng

Leaf 3: Imitating Shen Shitian's *Relieving Summer Heat at Stream Villa*. Qushanren.

(2 seals) Mei Qing, Jingting shanxia shuangxi zhishang

Leaf 4: Copying the brush of Gao Fangshan (Gao Kegong). Old Qu.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Leaf 5: Imitating the brush idea of Jing (Jing Hao) and Guan (Guan Tong). Qushan.

(2 seals) Mei, Qushan

Leaf 6: I love the Taoist of Blossoming Plum Trees (Wu Zhen);

He waved the brush and touched the paper like a god.

He emptied the cup of ancient wine from the isle of Immortals,

And there was spring to him at every season in Jiangnan.

我愛梅華老道人, 揮毫落紙盡如神

持將海上千年酒, 醉向江南四季春

Qushan inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Leaf 7: Imitating Liu Songnian's brush idea. Old Man Qushan.

(2 seals) Mei, Qushan

Collector's seal: Chunhuitang shuhuaji

Leaf 8: Imitating Songxuelaoren's (Zhao Mengfu) brush idea. Qushan.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Collector's seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), Pls. 19-26.

Illustrated Pls. 84-86

1695: Landscapes

Album of four paintings

Anhui Provincial Museum, ink on paper, 21 x 31.7 cm.

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: I have not seen Old Jizang 季藏 for two years...I pick up these paintings that I painted to cheer myself and ask for instruction. Qushan, your junior Mei Qing, at the age of seventy-three.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 2: After raining, it is humid. The summer vapour is very hot. I joyfully paint the bamboo tower to protect me from the heat. I do not recognize Su Shi (1036-1101); (the last sentence in unclear).

積雨初霽炎氣乍蒸, 戲寫黃州竹樓以禦之; 不識蘇子瞻公

Qushan.

(2 seals) Meizi, Guren zaiwo

Collector's seals: Zisun baozhi, 1 unclear

Leaf 3: Qushan.

(1 seal) Qushan

Leaf 4: I am not awake completely; my old eyes are vague.

I hold my brush and paint, but nothing is good.
 It looks like the scene that I met at the empty mountains after snowing.
 宿醒未醒,老眼朦朧
 握筆臨池,都無是處
 庶幾於空,山雪霽晴
 彷彿遇之

Qushan, Mei Qing.

(1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1690), Pls. 15-18; *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20.

1695: Landscapes

Album of twelve paintings, ink on paper, 27 x 20.5 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Leaf 1: In summer, playfully painted the scene of conversing quietly at water pavilion, copied Yunlin's brush idea, in the sixth month of the *yihai* (1695) year. Qushan.

(2 seals) Yuangong, Caxia

Leaf 2: Qushan.

(2 seals) Mei Qing, Qushan shi

Leaf 3: Old man Qushan.

(1 seal) Meichi

Leaf 4: The boat already rows far away;

The chilly falling leaves are limitless.

望到發帆天外去,蕭蕭落木竟無邊

(2 seals) Meizi, Chen Qing

Leaf 5: I recall the noble character of Ni Zan;

Its brushwork is without any secular idea.

It is hard to see the distant sail;

My poems ever cherish the solitary hut.

高風千載憶倪迂,筆底塵氛半點無

天末飛帆勞遠望,詩懷常抱一亭孤

Qushan.

(1 seal) Lao Mei

Leaf 6: The meaning between Yunlin (Ni Zan) and Shitian (Shen Zhou).

(2 seals) Qushan, Guren zai wo

Leaf 7: Waiting until the wind of autumn is getting cool,

I will search the old strategic point (in Sichuan 四||) and ask the origin of truth.

稍待秋風涼冷後,高尋白帝問真源

Quchi.

(1 seal) Qu yi

Leaf 8: Qushan ren.

(1 seal) Bojian shanzhong ren

Leaf 9: Qushan.

(1 seal) Lao Qu Qing

Leaf 10: In my dream when the stoneroom is opened?

The bridge over the stream and the path covered by pines do not have any dust.

It looks like a painting of Yunlin (Ni Zan);

I hold my staff, but no one is waiting for me.

夢裏何年石室開,谿橋松徑斷塵埃

天然一幅雲林畫,倚杖無人待我來

This is my poem inscribed for the wall when I passed the gate of the mountain. I recall this poem, so I paint this painting. Qushan.

(2 seals) Lao Qu, Wofa

Leaf 11: The autumn wind blows the Wei River;

A lonely boat is rowing under the cliff.

秋風吹渭水,石壁下孤帆

Qushan.

(1 seal) Gu kuang

Leaf 12: Brushwork can not be used too much,

No need for the conception to be too remote.
Some places are obscurely covered by snow;
The wintry light brightens my eyes.

拈毫不得多，命意豈必遠

雪積有無間，寒光落吾眼

It is very hot in the sixth month of the *yihai* (1695) year. I paint this for my pleasure.

Qushan, Qing.

(3 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Kewei zhizhe dao, Baifa lao wanpi

Collectors' seal: 1 unidentified

Literature: *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2684

Illustrated Pls. 137-148

****1695: Almond Blossom Studio⁷**

Handscroll, ink and light colour on paper

Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Donald E. Brix, "The Life and Art of Mei Qing (1623-1697)", Fig. 45.

1695: Album of Mt. Huang Views⁸

Album, ink and colour on paper, 27.5 x 34 cm.

Frank Caro collection, N. Y.

Artist's inscriptions:

Leaf 2: ...after Shen Zhou

Leaf 3: Marvellous the dark pines and the sound of the waterfall at the green cliff.

I travelled here at the sixth month, but I did not feel hot.

Finding nowhere the tracks of a true immortal,

I stood at the White Dragon Pool for quite a long time.

蒼松翠壁瀑聲奇，六月來遊暑不知

仙子真蹤無處覓，白龍潭上立多時

Imitated Songxue (Zhao Mengfu). Qushan.

(2 seals) Mei Qushan, Huasong

Leaf 6: ...after Ma Yaofu

Leaf 7: ...in Liu Songnian's hamlet.

Leaf 8: ...after Kao Kegong

Leaf 9: ...Mt. Huang in the style of Wang Meng

Exhibitions: Sherman E. Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting* (1954), ca. 108

Illustrated Pl. 202

1695: Landscapes after Various Styles of Old Masters

Album of twelve paintings, ink and colour on paper, 26.7 x 33.3 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: Imitating the brush idea of Gao Shangshu (Gao Kegong).

After snowing, the weather is bright. I often paint some paintings after drinking and now I have completed an album. In the first month of the *yihai* (1695) year by Qushan, Mei Qing, at the age of seventy-three.

(4 seals) Mei Qing, Qushan shi, Jie da huanxi, Jingting shanyan

Leaf 2: Dachì shānrén (Huang Gongwang).

(3 seals) Mei Qing yin, Yuangong, Yiren jiutu

Leaf 3: Imitating Ma Yaofu's (Ma Yuan) *Watching Waterfall at the Peak*. Old Qu.

(2 seals) Qu Yi, Lan hua fengding sanshengmeng

⁷ This handscroll is illustrated as one of Mei Qing's works in Donald E. Brix's "The Life and Art of Mei Qing (1623-1697)." As the reproduction of this painting is unclear, it is impossible to discern its quality, brushwork, inscription and seals; it is temporarily listed here for future study.

⁸ Only one leaf of this album has been published and some brief information about this album is recorded in Sherman Lee's *Chinese Landscape Painting*. It is unclear how many leaves this album contains and the details of the album.

Leaf 4: When did I leave Hengchuan Pavilion?

I often recall the Cloudy Gate in my eyes.

I am wondering why the wavering plant could bear red bean;

The spirit of the poet is still linked with the floating boat.

橫川閣上別何年，空憶雲門在眼前

爲問婆蘿結紅豆，詩魂還繫泛浮船

I have stayed at Hengchuan Pavilion for a month when I visited Yan Stream. Whenever I recall the trip, I paint it. Qushan, Qing.

(2 seals) Meizi, Zhishang yunmen yi fangge

Leaf 5: Yunlin brush idea.

(2 seals) Qushanren, Kewei zhizhe dao

Leaf 6: The lonely boat can not be rowed too far;

It is shadowy under the tall willows.

I shout loudly;

The wintry mist spreads over the night river.

孤舟泊不去，高柳綠陰多

長嘯一聲發，寒煙散晚渡

Qushan.

(3 seals) Wofa, Zizhen zhiyi, Deju zi changyin

Leaf 7: The big ocean is limitless;

It is vast in four directions.

The small boat was launched in the early morning;

Where is the wine tavern at evening?

大江淼無際，四顧光天涯

扁舟曾曉發，何處酒窗斜

Imitating Guo Heyang's (Guo Xi's) *Early Rowing on Misty River*. Qushan.

(2 seals) Lao Mei, Baifa laowanpi

Leaf 8: Imitating Beiyuan's (Dong Yuan's) brush idea. Old Qu.

(2 seals) Lao Qu, Xintian shanzhang

Leaf 9: Imitating Li Yingqiu (Li Cheng).

(3 seals) Meizi, Qushan, Bubo jinren ai guren

Leaf 10: Haiyue shanren's (Mi Fu's) style always outside the narrow path. Old Qu.

(2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Chaxai caotang

Leaf 11: The willow flourishes along the river in the second month of the year;

Hanging the sail, the boat could go in any direction.

I heard the music played by *xiao* in my dream of Yangzhou;

It comes from some place of twenty-four bridges.

楊柳春江二月時，帆陰發挂即天涯

簫聲已入揚州夢，二十四橋何處吹

Imitating Qingteng daoshi (Xu Wei). Qushanren.

(2 seals) Mei, Qushan, Shangao shuichang

Leaf 12: Where can I send my graceful interest?

There are strange pines at Mt. Tiantai.

I hold the brush and depend on the strength of my wrist;

And I paint in the style of Jing Hao and Guan Tong.

幽興寄何處，天台有怪松

拈毫憑腕力，荆浩與關同

Wrote in the first month of the *yihai* (1695) year, beside the snowing window. Qushan, Mei Qing wrote.

(2 seals) Mei Qing, 1 unclear

Literature: *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2685

Illustrated Pls 207-208

1695: Four Views of Mt. Huang⁹

Album of four paintings

Tianjin Art Museum

⁹ The reproduction of the album is offered by Yang Chenbin.

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

The ancient platform has long been deserted.

Who cares that the melting stove is cold?

As long as the purple fungus remains fragrant.

黃帝棲真處，遺臺舊跡荒

莫疑丹灶冷，祇覺紫芝香

Mei Qing inscribed another nine poems, which he wrote on his second trip to Mt. Huang in 1690, on the other side of the leaf.

Leaf 2: Imitating Gao Fangshan (Gao Kegong's) brush idea.

(1 seal) Mei Qushan.

Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

The most bizarre scene at Mt. Huang is Hot Spring. The temperature is comfortable in any season. The fragrance of the cinnabar will last at least for ten days after bathing. I have been to Mt. Huang twice and have bathed at Hot Spring seven times. Qushan, Mei Qing.

凝砂噴玉不知寒，聞道仙人此濯丹

浴罷莫疑宵漢遠，臨流忽已長飛翰

黃山第一奇莫奇於湯泉，春夏秋冬寒冷涼熱能稱人意，硃砂香氣浴之十日不散，予兩遊黃海，七浴湯泉並記之

(3 seals) Sanweiyong, Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Leaf 3: Imitating Zhao Qianli's (Zhao Boju's) brush idea

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Lotus flowers are blossoming five clouds deep;

Their roots seem to sprout from the very heart of this sea.

Thirty-six peaks eager to show their beauty;

They can be traced by the fragrance which fills the sky.

Lotus Bud Peak is beside Lotus Blossom Peak where some travellers might have been, but Lotus Bud Peak has never been visited by anyone. Lotus Blossom Peak was painted together to see its danger. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

蓮華開處五雲深，仙蒂還疑出海心

三十六峰齊吐豔，滿空香氣好相尋

蓮華峰之旁爲蓮蕊峰。蓮華峰，遊人或有到者；蓮蕊，則從來未經足跡。並寫之，以見其險。

(1 seal) Sanweiyong

Leaf 4: Imitating Huangheshanqiao's (Wang Meng) brush idea

I hold my staff and stand on the top of the mountains to listen to the sound of waterfall;

The sound seems like music played by strings.

That is like the music of heaven played by a group of excellent musicians.

The tune in perfect harmony comes to me.

There is a stone ridge crossing the front of the Sounding Strings Spring that causes the sound of the spring to be like music. It is only known by those who have been there. The sixth month of the *yihai* (1695) year. Old Man Qushan inscribed.

山頭倚杖聽流泉，湘浦飛聲入五絃

髣髴音微奏仙樂，一齊分韻(到)尊前

鳴絃泉有石梁橫其前泉聲淙淙，依稀絲竹未徑者或不信，以俟到者方知耳

Illustrated Pls. 203-206

1695: Joint Album of Landscape

Album of four paintings by Mei Qing, Mei Geng, Mei Chong, and Cai Yao

Whereabouts unknown

Mei Qing's inscription, signature and seal:

The second month of the *yihai* (1695) year. Qushan, Mei Qing

(1 seal) Mei

Literature: *Yilin yuekan*, no. 76, pp. 5-8.

Illustrated Pls. 334-336

1695: Pine Valley

Album leaf

Tianjin Art Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Among the places where venerable Chen has visited, the Pine Valley is the most tranquil.

A few years have passed since we visited there;

I still remember we held *qin* and sang together at that time.

The coming of autumn reminds me of old memory;

I have received your message from the remote area.

I appreciate your wonderful friendship;

Accordingly, I dedicate this painting to you.

陳公遊宦地，松谷最幽深

幾載輕分劍，當時憶抱琴

秋來驚舊夢，天半得貽音

幾度風流遠，揮毫抱素心

The Pine Valley painting is painted to ask for instruction from Venerable Lang and for the pleasure of Venerable Chen. In the seventh month of the *yihai* (1695) year by Quxing, Mei Qing.

(4 seals) Mei Qing yin, Yuangong, Huasong, Quxing Qing

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Literature: *Yiyun daoying*, no. 23; *Tianjin yishu bowuguan cang huaji* I, p. 79.

Illustrated Pl. 209

1696: Pine at the Shore

Fan, ink on paper, 16.3 x 49 cm.

Chinese Historical Museum, Beijing

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

In the autumn of the *bingzi* (1696) year done for the instruction from Venerable Geng 廣. Qushan, Mei Qing

(2 seals) unidentified.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1, Chinese Historical Museum, no. 364

Illustrated: Pl. 210

(B) Undated Works¹⁰

Shuixi

Hanging scroll

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

When was the Shuixi Temple built?

(the remainder of the poem after the first verse is unclear)

The mountain is in the west of Youzhou. Old prince Feng secluded himself here and the old well of the immortal Ge has preserved. Qushan Qing composed.

(2 seals) Bojian shanzhongren, 1 unclear

Collectors' seals: 7 unidentified

Literature: *Shenzhou daguan*, add. vol. 6 (1929).

Illustrated Pl. 211

Quxing Stoneroom¹¹

Album leaf, ink and light colour on paper

Whereabouts unknown

(the reproduction of the inscription is unclear)

¹⁰ Those extant undated works of Mei Qing are roughly arranged in chronological order according to the stylistic characteristics.

¹¹ This painting is illustrated as one of Mei Qing's works in Donald E. Brix's "The Life and Art of Mei Qing (1623-1697)." The reproduction of this work is not very clear. From the brushwork of the painting and calligraphy, this painting is suggested to be painted in Mei Qing's early stage.

(3 seals) Yuangong, Quxing, 1 unclear.

Collector's seal: Zhu Xingzhai shuhuaqi 朱省齋書畫記

Literature: Donald E. Brix, "The Life and Art of Mei Qing (1623-1697)", Fig. 46.

A Waterfall from an Overhanging Rock

Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 198 x 55.5 cm.

Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

The artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The peak is so high that it looks like a green lotus blossoming in clouds;

Myriad of springs look like a screen of pearls hung upside-down.

To chant loudly after completing a wonderful make-up,

Numerous peaks are fascinated by the sound of it being like that of phoenix.

巖齊雲際吐青蓮，倒擦珠簾百道泉

拉罷容成發長嘯，鸞音傳與萬峰巔

It is done for celebrating and asking for instruction from reverend Xun 洵. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Tianyange tushu

Colophons: There are four colophons: one by Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 dated 1913; one by Zheng Xiaoxu

鄭孝胥 dated 1914; one by Pan Feisheng 潘飛聲 dated 1914; and an undated one by Wu Lufui

吳陸恢.

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 2, no. E20-052.

Landscape in the Style of Zhao Mengfu

Hanging scroll

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The colour of peaks after the wash of rains is so green;

I go boating along a deep stream for ten *li* which is covered by the shadow of pine trees.

The boat resembles a leaf whirling around in the water;

Amazingly, before this verse is complete, it has vanished in the mist.

雨洗千巖翠欲齊，松陰十里走深溪

灤河一葉隨流轉，誰信詩成望已迷

Imitating the brush idea of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu)

Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin, 157.2 x 46.6 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Imitating the style of Huanghe shanqiao (Wang Meng). Imitating the brush idea of ten ancient masters for asking for instruction from old Wenjiang 文江. Wanling, your junior Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Mei Qing siyin, Qushan, Jingting huayi.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2687

Quxing Stoneroom¹²

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I come to search for the stoneroom;

I recall the ancient Quxing.

When will the elixir be ready?

Tuckahoe grows beside the pine roots.

我來尋石室，千古憶瞿硎

丹液何年熟，松根長茯苓

Imitating the brush idea of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu) to paint Quxing stoneroom. Mei Qing

(4 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Hou zhi shi jin jin zhi shi xi, Laoqu shipian hunmanxing.

¹² This painting has not been published. The inscription, signature and seals are recorded here by the author, after studying it in the museum.

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4205.

Tasting Tea in the Mountain Forest

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 165 x 47 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The dense shadow of forest is full of wild fun;

Here is not the place for the oppresiveness of the south wind.

We sit beside the trees and tea utensils;

The heat of summer disappears among the sounds of waterfall.

萬木濃陰野興饒，南薰何處競炎歊

更橫綠綺茶鐺畔，流水聲中夏盡消

Imitating the brushwork of Meihua daoren (Wu Zhen). Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, PJ 34-031. Christie's *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: June 5, 1985 and June 2, 1988).

Joint Album of Landscapes

Album of five paintings, ink and colour on paper, 21 x 31.7 cm.

Apart from a leaf by Mei Qing, the others are painted by Mei Geng, Mei Chong, Mei Wei and Mei Zhoucheng 梅琢成.

Anhui Provincial Museum

Literature: Mu Xiaotian, *Mei Qing*, p. 20; *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20, p. 29.

Illustrated Pl. 337.

Twelve Views of Mt. Huang

Album of twelve paintings

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: When will the lotus be in bud?

A lotus blossom opens in the sky.

It looks like a Buddhist altar.

That's why I come by floating on a raft.

蓮蕊何年結，蓮華天上開

只疑成佛坐，故作泛槎來

There is Lotus Bud Peak under the Lotus Blossom Peak. I also paint it to show how wonderful of the Heaven.

(1 seal) Bojian shankou renjia

Leaf 2: Two buildings were made by stones;

The temple was standing lonely among clouds.

The atmosphere of the peaks was clear, green and wet.

It was moving toward my clothing.

石壘雙幢起，雲堆孤剎開

峰頭新翠濕，依舊上衣來

The Cuiwei Temple is painted in Wang Shuming's (Wang Meng) brush idea.

(1 seal) Chaxia

Leaf 3: It looks like a prehistorical dormant dragon waking up;

The small curved path is widened by a sudden peal of thunder.

The clouds stay all the time;

It looks like snowflakes of Sanxia flying over.

Watching White Dragon Pool at Xialang Pavilion

太古蟄龍醒，靈叢霹靂開

五浮雲不去，三峽雪飛來

Sitting at Xialang Pavilion to see White Dragon Pool

(1 seal) Qushan

Leaf 4: The centre ground of the pool has been cut off marvelously;

The crevice of rocks is suddenly opened by heaven.

The Plum Blossom Spring is getting near;
But it doesn't come from Wuling.

地怪波心斷，天驚石隙開
桃花源漸近，不自武陵來

You will be hindered from getting through the huge rocks if you go from Hot Springs or White Dragon Pool. If visitors pass through the crevice of the rocks, they will see the Plum Blossom Spring. Qushan described.

(2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Kewei zhizhedao

Leaf 5: To inquire which is the road to the Heavenly Capital Peak;

The gate of cloud is open here.

It has never been closed;

But how can the secular feet arrive here?

借問天都路，雲門在此開

古今曾不閉，塵屐那能來

The Cloudy Gate Peak stands like the gate of heaven. Visitors must pass this, then they will walk the other paths as easily as flying.

(1 seal) Mei Qushan.

Leaf 6: Rocks fall down from the sky;

Streams originate from the elixir of cinnabar.

The wind of immortality can not be caught;

The information of the sea has come today.

石自碧霄落，溪從丹液開

仙風不可接，海信至今來

Inscribed Rongcheng Stream 容成溪

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Leaf 7: The spirit is too secret to be understood;

Who can believe in the advent of illusion.

The suspension-bridge could be used to connect the peaks;

It looks like an arm stretching from the heaven that is named "The Receiving Pine".

亦知靈獨秘，誰信幻初開

峰頂飛梁渡，天伸一臂來

The sea is divided into front and back, and their scenes are too strange to be predicted, especially the back sea. It was named Beginning to Believe. Only those visiting here know the reason why they are named.

(1 seal) Meizi

Leaf 8: The shadows of the mountains are intermittent;

They seem to open after the touching of moon-light.

The sound of wind among pine trees stops suddenly;

The singing of birds comes from the moon.

山影連還斷，雲光閃復開

萬松聲乍息，啼鳥月中來

Pine Valley

(2 seals) Chen Qing, Shijiu shengya

Leaf 9: The spirit-fire has never been extinguished;

No one dares to open the stove.

One doubts the process has not been accomplished;

It needs to wait until its master comes.

靈火何曾息，丹爐不敢開

只疑成九轉，還待舊人來

Refining Cinnabar Platform

(1 seal) Meichi

Leaf 10: On the rocks of the Lion Peak,

A magnificent house is built nearby.

I enjoyed a lofty stay here ten years ago;

Now I carry my *qin* to visit here again.

獅子巖頭石，精廬只尺開

十年高臥處，我更抱琴來

Lion Forest, Qushanren

(1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan
 Leaf 11: Mt. Huang has thirty-two peaks;
 They are located all around the centre.
 Before my eyes is a sea of clouds;
 I am eager to come by boat.
 黃山三十二, 中央八面開
 眼前鋪大海, 我欲泛槎來
 Wenshu Plateau is located in the centre of Mt. Huang and all the thirty-six peaks bow to it. The residences of the immortals can be seen immediately. Qushan.
 (1 seal) Mei Qing Qushan
 Leaf 12: A cave-gate is opened suddenly in the deepest place of white clouds.
 The hermit does not know the chanting of Buddhist scriptures;
 He only knows to meet Buddha in meditation.
 白雲最深處, 忽有洞門開
 梵音都不解, 寂寂見如來
 Guanyin Grotto
 (2 seals) Lao Qu, Mei Qing yin
 Collector's seal: unidentified, 1
 Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1960), Pls. 7-12 & 45; Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan Huangshan tuce* (1919)
 Illustrated Pls. 213-224

Boating under a Cliff

Hanging scroll, 220.4 x 60.8 cm.
 Private Collection, Japan
 Copying the brush idea of Liu Songnian to ask for instruction from my old relative. Qushan, Mei Qing.
 (3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Jingting shanshang shuangxi zhishang
 Literature: Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (1958), Pl. 255.

Visiting the West of the Xin'an¹³

Hanging scroll, cursive script, ink on paper
 Beijing Palace Museum
 After fourteen years, I come back here again;
 I point out where the stream and the mountains are.
 Gazing beyond the long bridge;
 Chanting silently among the cliffs.
 The signs of a human settlement are far away;
 The singing of birds combines with the sound of water flowing.
 I gaze at the silent sky to kill my leisure time.
 重來十四載, 指點認溪山
 放眼長橋外, 沉吟絕壁間
 人煙生杳靄, 鳥語落潺湲
 安望諸天寂, 能消半日閒
 Those gentlemen of Xin'an invited me to visit the west of the city. I paint this for the instruction from Venerable You 宥.
 Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4207.

Heavenly Capital Peak

Hanging scroll, colour on satin, 187 x 56.7 cm.
 Liaoning Provincial Museum
 Artist's inscription, signature and seals:
 I see a marvelous heavenly palace standing before me when I raise my head;
 Only I can see the spiritual city.
 A cinnabar ladder could be climbed up to the dizzying peak
 Which alone buttresses up the blue sky.

¹³ This inscription has never been published. The author has transcribed it, studying it in the museum.

When did the lonely crane leave?
Today, gibbons are calling their warm welcome.
They are walking along hand in hand on the other side of the mountains;
I can even hear their singing at mid-night.

昂首驚天闕，孤懷見化城
丹梯千仞渡，碧漢一峰撐
獨鶴何年去，呼猿此日情
相攜橫綠綺，深夜數聲鳴

Walking to Ciguang Hall where I look up the Heavenly Capital Peak. Qushan Qing
(4 seals) Qushan Qing, Qushan, Houzhi shijin jinzhi shixi, Jingting shanshang shuangxi zhishang
Literature: *ZGMSQJ*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 99; *Liaoning bowuyuan canghua* (1986), Pl. 85.
Illustrated Pl. 159

Landscape of Mt. Huang in the Style of Wu Zhen

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 155.9 x 48.9 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I love the Taoist of Blossoming Plum Trees (Wu Zhen);
He waved the brush and touched the paper like a god.
He emptied the cup of ancient wine from the isle of Immortals,
And there was spring to him at every season in Jiangnan.

我愛梅華老道人，揮毫落紙盡如神
持將海上千年酒，醉向江南四季春

Qushan, Mei Qing painted and inscribed it.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Collectors' seals: Sunshi hongyizhai yin 孫氏弘一齋印, Yufeng Jianshang 煜峰鑑賞

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2693.

Illustrated Pl. 275

Imitating Li Yingqiu's Plum Blossom Studio

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 149.9 x 52.1 cm.

J. D. Chen collection, Hong Kong

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

A thousand plums are blossoming at an old villa;
Their fragrance fills the air even ten *li* away.
In the wintry mountains I sit alone without company;
Having composed a new poem, I think I'll taste some wine.

千樹梅花舊草堂，依稀十里畫生香
寒山獨坐無人到，吟就新詩索酒嘗

Imitating Li Yingqiu's *Plum-Blossom Studio*

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Collectors' seals: 3 unidentified

Literature: J. D. Chen, *Jingui canghua pingshi* (1956), pp. 222-224.

Landscapes after the Styles of Ancient Masters

Album of three paintings

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: Gao Kegong's splattered ink technique was derived from the two Mi,

Mi Fu and Mi Youren were both good at the technique.

In order to depict the several levels of peaks;

Drops of clouds are intended to be lightened.

房山潑墨法襄陽，大米小米齊稱強

爲寫敬亭峰數疊，煙雲點點欲生光

Qushan Mei Qing inscribed

(2 seals) Chen Qing, Jingting huayi

Leaf 2: Broken clouds and sparse rains herald autumn's arrival;

Do the fallen pine needles touch green moss?

The blue colour of the boundless sky looks like the blue sea;
 A boat is launched among the sound of rowing.
 斷雲疏雨送秋來，松葉曾否點綠苔
 極目長天如水碧，一聲欸乃布帆開
 Imitating the brush idea of Ma Yaofu (Ma Yuan). Old Qu inscribed.
 (2 seals) Meichi, Jingting huayi

Leaf 3: I highly admire Yunlinzi (Ni Zan);
 His noble character is unparalleled.
 His greatness is spontaneous;
 No one knows the character of sparse plum blossoms better than he did.
 想見雲林子，高風不可當
 何曾矜著意，誰更解疏林
 Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.
 (1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Literature: Mei Qing, *Mei Qushan huaji* (1690), Pls. 43, 44 & 46.

Plum Blossoms in the Style of Su Shi¹⁴

Handscroll, ink on paper, 31.2 x 360 cm.

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSFML*, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4196.

Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang¹⁵

Album of sixteen paintings, some of them with inscriptions by the artist, ink on paper, 39.5 x 17 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: White Dragon Pool
 (2 seals) Mei Qushan, Quying.

Leaf 2: Pine and Cliff
 Collector's seal: 1 unidentified.

Leaf 3: Scholars on the Mountain Path
 Collector's seals: Shuangsong lou 雙宋樓, 2 unidentified.

Leaf 4: Hermit in the Pine Valley

Leaf 5: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,
 So it can not be seen clearly.
 Numerous peaks kneel down before it;
 It stands in the middle of them.
 I am too frightened to stand;
 I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.
 I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,
 And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天闕，仙宮俯混茫
 萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央
 側足驚難定，凌空嚇欲狂
 何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

There are thirty-six peaks at Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak are the two highest peaks. The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of the Mt. Huang. When I depict the sea of clouds, these three peaks are always side by side.

Wenshu Plateau

(1 seal) Chaxia

Collectors' seals: Kean zhenmi 可庵珍祕, Shuangsong lou, 1 unidentified

Leaf 6: Pine Mountains in the Mist

Collector's seal: Kean zhenmi

Leaf 7: Pine and Bamboo

¹⁴ This handscroll has not been published. It was exhibited in the Beijing Palace Museum in October 1991.

¹⁵ According to the format, size and style of these sixteen leaves, it is suggested that they originally belonged to the same album, though now they are separated into two albums.

(1 seal) Huasong

Leaf 8: On the rocks of the Lion Peak, the immortal built his dwelling.

There is no place for my staff;

And my feet are nearly floating in the sky.

I doubt whether the autumn is near as I feel cold;

Also I feel the music of *qing* is light as the mountains are so empty.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?

I shall ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子峰頭石，仙人此結廬

孤節無著處，雙屐盡凌虛

衣冷疑秋逼，山空覺磬疏

何時憩黃海，天半問鄰居

Travelling through the Lion Peak from Back Sea to Front Sea, I have stayed at an inn with a friend. It was the sixth month of the year, we composed poems through the night facing each other, chilly, though wrapped in quilts. It seems beyond the realm of reality.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Collectors' seals: 2 unidentified

Leaf 9: The most bizarre scene at Mt. Huang is Hot Spring. The temperature is comfortable in any season. The fragrance of the cinnabar will last at least for ten days after bathing. I have been to Mt. Huang twice and have bathed at Hot Spring seven times.

黃山第一奇莫奇於湯泉，春夏秋冬寒冷涼熱能稱人意，硃砂香氣浴之十日不散予兩遊黃山七浴湯泉 並記之

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 10: Wild and boundless it is on the Radiant Brightness Summit;

The sky is open in the four directions.

Who knows where the lonely shout comes from?

I am among the numerous mountains.

Wind and thunder pass away while we are breathing;

The sharp peaks can communicate with the sun and the moon.

If we can find the track to the land of immortality,

What need to dream of Mt. Kongdong?

曠絕光明頂，天南四望空

誰知孤嘯處，身在萬山中

呼吸風雷過，崢嶸日月通

仙蹤如可接，何必夢崆峒

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 11: One Hundred Cloudy Steps looks like the back of a golden carp, one side of which is for feet, but three sides of which are all empty. It is named one hundred steps, but it is really over one thousand steps. It looks like flying over passing from the front sea to the back sea, that is rather dangerous.

百步雲梯狀如鯽魚背，一面容足三面皆空，名為百步其實不止千步也，由後海至前海勢如飛渡險哉。

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 12: Refining Cinnabar Platform (Liandan tai) was the place where Emperor Huang and Rongchengzi once lived.

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Leaf 13: The Peak of the Cloudy Gate is the front gate of Mt. Huang. The peak can be seen from two hundred *li* away, but we can arrive there after three days' climbing.

(1 seal) Chen Qing Qushan.

Leaf 14: Lotus Bud Peak is located besides the Lotus Blossom Peak. Visitors sometimes have travelled to Lotus Blossom, but no one has ever visited Lotus Bud Peak.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 15: For ten years, I have dreamed of contacting Xuanyuan (Yellow Emperor);

Only after experiencing tier upon tier of cliffs did I come to know the highest peak.

In the sky, cloudy peaks are emitting and inhaling mists;

Mountains south of the [Yangtze] river are all arranged like its children and grandchildren.

Rocky peaks soaring for a thousand *ren* are totally devoid of soil;

Where the roads disappear into thick clouds, only gibbons are found.

Who says the fire on the terrace where elixir was once made is now extinguished?

The cinnabar and spring water (ingredients of the elixir of life) are still warm.

十年幽夢繫軒轅，身歷層巖始識尊
天上雲都供吐納，江南山盡列兒孫
峰抽千仞全無土，路入重霄獨有猿
誰道丹臺靈火息，硃砂泉水至今溫

Heavenly Capital Peak

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Leaf 16: There is a stone ridge crossing the front of the Sounding Strings Spring that causes the sound of the spring to be like music. The scene is marvelous.

鳴絃泉有石梁橫其前泉聲淙淙依稀絲竹實奇觀也

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Collector's seal: Jingui sizhai 今歸四齋

Literature: Christie's *Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 1989, November 1990, and December 1993)

Illustrated Pls. 225-240

Lotus Blossom Peak

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;

Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.

Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;

Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直飲半天露，齊擎五色霞

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

The Lotus Blossom Peak. Qushan, Qing.

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4204; Yang Chenbin, *Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu*.

Landscape in the Style of Shen Zhou

Hanging scroll

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

A lonely boat stops at a gully at night;

Wintry fog covers old trees.

Spread ink on the thousand peaks;

Calling loudly to Shitian (Shen Zhou)

孤舟停晚壑，老樹起寒煙

灑罷千峰墨，高呼向石田

Qushan Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *The Kokka* 420.

Joint Album of Landscape

Album of eight paintings, four leaves by Mei Qing and the other four leaves by Mei Chong, ink and light colour on paper, 26.7 x 34.6 cm.

Hashimoto Collection, Kyoto

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 5: The free style of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu) is outstanding.

Green mountains and trees are covered with clouds.

The wind of spring never interrupts in the paths of Jiangnan area.

Blowing the light boat with the drunk air of wine.

(3 seals) Mei Qushan, Sanmeiyou, Quxing xianyi

Leaf 6: Imitating the brush idea of Jing Hao and Guan Tong. Qushan Mei Qing

(2 seals) Mei Qushan, Bojian shankou renjia

Leaf 7: Imitating the brush idea of Li Yingqiu (Li Cheng). Qushan laoren

(2 seals) Mei Qushan, Bojian shankou renjia

Leaf 8: Imitating the brush idea of Ma Yaofu (Ma Yuan). Qushanren Qing.

(3 seals) Yuangong, Huasong, Quxing xianyi

Literature: Fu Marilyn and Fu Shen, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 248

Exhibition: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981: *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, cat. no. 61.

Illustrated Pls. 245-248

Holding a Staff to Search for Plum Blossoms

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 169.5 x 42.2 cm.

Anhui Provincial Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The branches of the old trees incline under the force of the east wind;

The empty pavilion and the steep cliffs are tranquil.

Although I am not Lin Bu, who lived in seclusion in Mt. Gu [for twenty years during the Song dynasty],

I myself come here alone with my staff to seek plum blossoms.

東風老樹影橫斜，峭壁空亭寂不譁

未是孤山林處士，扶節誰獨探梅花

Imitating the brush idea of Li Yingqiu. Qushan Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *Anhui sheng bowuguan* (1988), Pl. 112.

Illustrated Pl. 249

Thousand Peaks Are Covered with Snow

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin, 178.5 x 48 cm.

The Museum of History of the City of Tianjin

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Like clouds, myriad peaks are white;

(the reproduction is unclear after the first verse)

Imitating the brush idea of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu). Qushan Mei Qing inscribed.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 8: The Museum of History of the City of Tianjin, no. 83.

Conversing about Autumn under the Shadows of Wutong Tree¹⁶

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, about 194.2 x 98.2 cm.

The Museum of Chinese History

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The dew around the upright *Wutong* tree is cool;

The wind of autumn gently touches my clothes.

Moving away in the free and elegant manner of noble men;

Lighting the light of vapor and the light of ink.

Qushan Mei Qing

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 1: The Museum of Chinese History, no. 365

Landscape in the Style of Ma Yuan

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin

Shanghai Museum

The artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Imitating the brush idea of Ma Yaofu (Ma Yuan). Qushan Mei Qing carelessly written.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

¹⁶ This painting has not been published, but it is recorded briefly in *Illustrated*, vol. 1. The details of the inscription on this painting have been translated by the author, as she has studied the painting in the museum.

Collector's seal: Yichuan xuan zhuren zhenwan (一串軒主人珍玩)

Literature: *ZGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2690.

Watching the Waterfall at White Dragon Pool of Mt. Huang

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 137.8 x 71.8 cm.

Lushun Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The appearance of peaks changes as we ascend the road,

So there must be other views ahead of us.

The bridge has been built but few people come by it;

I freely sat beside the window in the afternoon.

The dragon comes from the measureless abyss;

Ten thousand peaks echo back the sound of the pond.

I long for a peaceful place to live freely;

I think of it even in my dream.

路轉群峰變，飛移別有天

橋通人跡少，閣倚午陰偏

龍甲千潭隱，潭聲萬壑傳

欲求高枕臥，幽夢遙相牽

This is old poem about when I sat at Xialang Pavilion and watched the White Dragon Pool.

Qushanren Qing

(3 seals) unidentified.

Literature: *ZGMSQJ*, Huihuabian 9, Pl. 100.

Illustrated Pl. 310

Refining Cinnabar Platform

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 132.9 x 52 cm.

Anhui Provincial Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The ancient platform of immortal Huangdi had not been deserted.

The fragrance of the purple fungi from the vessel could be smelt on my way.

It is necessary to collect herbs and refine the spirit-fire;

In order to produce aged elixir which is tasty.

古帝丹臺跡未荒，行來鼎內紫芝香

便須採藥探靈火，仙液千年味更嘗

Refining cinnabar platform, imitating the brush idea of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu). Qushan Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) unidentified

Literature: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20

Illustrated Pl. 91

The Sea of Clouds in Mt. Huang

Fan painting, colour on gold paper, 17.4 x 50.8 cm.

The Art Museum, Princeton University, E. Elliott Family Col.

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The sea of clouds of Mt. Huang is painted in the brush idea of Dachi shanren (Huang Gongwang).

Qushan Qing

(2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan

Collector's seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 1, A 17-081

Exhibition: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981: *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, cat. no. 60.

Tall Pines and Cottages in the Style of Ni Zan

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 182.9 x 52 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I recall the noble character of Ni Zan;

There is no secular idea in his mind.

The spare trees are as remote as heaven;
There is only a lonely hut within my eyeshot.

高風千古憶倪迂,眼底塵氛半點無
漠漠疏林天共遠,望中只有一孤亭

(4 seals) Qushan, Lao Quqing, Laoqu shipian hunman xing, and 1 unidentified.

Collector's seal: 1 unidentified

Literature: Christie's *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: December 1993), lot 191.

Pine Valley

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 176.5 x 48 cm.

Whereabouts unknown, formerly Yuzhai (Jade Studio) Collection

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The shadows of peaks are disarranged at dusk;

The sound of waterfall echoes regularly through the empty mountains.

The intermittent clouds are still wandering;

The returned birds can not keep their silence.

I am reaching the place near the Immortal Spring;

I am confused when I look back at the secular world.

I wake up at midnight;

The moon is hanging lonely at the west side of the cave.

日落松陰亂,山空瀑響齊

斷雲閒不去,幽鳥寂還啼

投足仙源近,回看世路迷

中宵眠更起,孤月在巖西

You must first lodge at Pine Valley if you enter Mt. Huang from Xianyuan. The Pine Valley is the main door of the Back Sea of Mt. Huang. It is so quiet and remote that it is not the place for human beings.

Imitating the brush idea of Liu Songnian. Qushan, Mei Qing

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings from the Yuzhai Collection* (New York: December 5, 1985), lot 32.

Two Views of Mt. Huang

Album of two paintings, ink and slight colour on paper, 26.1 x 33.8 cm.

Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am too frightened to stand;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天闕,仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜,一座儼中央

側足驚難定,凌空嘯欲狂

何當憑鳥翼,從此寄行藏

Watching the sea of clouds at Wenshu Temple

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Collector's seals: Fuchun Hu Yishan (胡異山), Li Wentong yin (李文通)

Leaf 2: Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

凝砂噴玉不知寒,聞道仙人此濯丹

欲罷莫疑霄漢遠,臨流忽已長飛翰

Hot Springs, Qushan.

(2 seals) Yuangong, Guren zaiwo

Four Views of Mt. Huang

A set of four hanging scrolls

Whereabouts unknown

Scroll 1: When was this cloudy-ladder built?

It is situated on a steep mountain and overlooks a dangerous stream.

I pass through clouds with the help of my staff,

And ascend up by the cloudy-ladder to ask questions of heaven.

何年闢此徑，石巖俯危淵

一杖穿雲過，還將梯問天

One Hundred Cloudy Steps looks like the back of a gold carp. One side of it is for feet, and the other three sides are empty. It is named one hundred steps, but actually it is more than one thousand steps. From the Front Sea to the Back Sea is so dangerous that it looks like a flying-dragon.

Imitating the brush idea of Ke Jiusi. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Scroll 2: The ancient platform of immortal Huangdi had not been deserted.

The fragrance of the purple fungi from the vessel could be smelt on my way.

It is necessary to collect herbs and refine the spirit-fire;

In order to produce aged elixir which is tasty.

古帝丹臺跡未荒，行來鼎內紫芝香

便須採藥探靈火，仙液千年味更嘗

The Refining Cinnabar Platform is the site where immortals Huangdi and Rongchengzi built their cooking vessel. Imitating the brush idea of Meihua daoren (Wu Zhen). Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Scroll 3: The way to the Cloudy Gate seems to cover half of the sky;

The vapour of the mountains is bright.

I hold my staff, and my feet are as light as before.

There are numerous wonders;

I come again and I do not ask their names.

I do not know the immortal crow,

But I see the white gibbon close up to me.

天半雲門路，嵐光分外明

一節今日倚，兩屐舊時輕

幻境原無數，重來不問名

神鴉吾未識，親見白猿迎

Cloudy Gate is the door of Mt. Huang. It can be seen from two hundred *li*, but it takes three days to climb to it. Imitating the brush idea of Guo Heyang (Guo Xi). Qushan, Mei Qing.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Scroll 4: I stand on the top of the mountains to listen the sound of waterfall;

The sound seems like music played by strings.

That is like the music of heaven played by a group of excellent musicians.

The tune in perfect harmony comes to me.

山頭倚杖聽流泉，湘浦飛聲入五絃

髣髴音微奏仙樂，一齊分韻(到)尊前

There is a stone ridge crossing the front of the Sounding Strings Spring that causes the sound of the spring to be like music. It seems like the sound of the Chinese musical instruments. What a spectacular sight it is.

Imitating the brush idea of Shitian laoren (Shen Zhou). Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Illustrated Pls. 87-90

Album of Landscapes

Album of twelve paintings, ink on paper, 22.8 x 31.7 cm.

Whereabouts unknown (formerly Yoshio Yamaguchi collection, Ashiya City, Japan)

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: Qushan.

- (2 seals) Meizi, Yizhi zhai
 Leaf 2: Qushan.
 (2 seals) Wofa, Xintian shanzhang
 Leaf 3: It looks like a leaf floating down the wide river;
 Where is the lonely boat going to?
 It is windy at dusk;
 The ringing of bells fades away in the distance.
 一葉下空江, 孤帆去何處
 日落晚風多, 鐘聲聽不住
 (2 seals) Qu Yi, Laoqu kanshan yanbeiqing
 Leaf 4: The building is erected from the chilly sky;
 To rise up to the skies.
 I doubt it is the cloud of Mt. Huang;
 I can see the sea of clouds unclearly.
 危閣起寒空, 凌虛接霄霧
 疑是黃山雲, 依稀見鋪海
 Qushan.
 (2 seals) Chaxia, Lianhua fengding sanshengmeng
 Leaf 5: No trace of geese could be seen;
 The *Wutong* leaves are shaking.
 No person could be seen in the mountains;
 Only a squawk of a lonely crane could be heard.
 鴻雁不來, 梧桐欲落
 空山無人, 一聲孤鶴
 Qushan.
 (2 seals) Mei Qushan, 1 unidentified
 Leaf 6: The desolate pavilion beside the wild path is standing between two mountains;
 The fallen leaves are whirling in the bright and clear water.
 The scene is just like a painting of Yunlin (Ni Zan);
 It is only waiting for me to come by a staff.
 Old Qushanren.
 野徑荒亭石壁開, 蕭蕭木落水漈洄
 分明一幅雲林畫, 曳杖無人待我來
 (2 seals) Lao Mei, Kewei zhizhe dao
 Leaf 7: Occasionally, I come and sit under the pine trees;
 I chant loudly and play the *qin*.
 It is a pity that no one understands me;
 No way to reveal my life deeply.
 偶來松樹下, 長嘯弄瑤琴
 可歎無知己, 平生一片心
 Qushan Qing composed.
 (2 seals) Chen Qing Qushan, Chaxia caotang
 Leaf 8: Qushan.
 (2 seals) Qushan, Deju zi changyin
 Leaf 9: Qushan.
 (2 seals) Qu laoren, Yiren jiutu
 Leaf 10: Qushan.
 (2 seals) Guren zaiwo, Baifa laowanpi
 Leaf 11: The wind of autumn is blowing above the Wei river;
 When fishing, I recall those noble ones.
 I am shouting loudly to ask the response of the tranquil mountains;
 Then I compose new poems freely.
 秋風吹渭水, 把釣憶高懷
 山靜問孤嘯, 新詩任意裁
 Qushan.
 (2 seals) Gukuang, Shangao shuichang
 Leaf 12: I am confused by the fragrance of plum blossoms and wonder if it is near Mt. Yu;
 The branches of plum trees incline above the bank of Han river.

I freely paint the plum trees when I am drunk;
I am absolutely in low spirits when standing at the hill.

香近疑癡嶺，枝斜在漢濱

醉中橫灑墨，愁絕壘頭人

Qushan, Mei Qing.

(3 seals) Mei Qing Qushanshi, Quxing, Jingting Shanyan

Colophons: There are two colophons. One by Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844-1927), written at Chanbi Studio 禪壁軒 in the twelfth month of the *yimao* (1915) year with four big seal scripts: "Yiding tongguang 彝鼎同光". The other by Pan Feisheng (潘飛聲), written in 1916 at Jianshan Hall 見山樓 for Mr. Guanjin 觀津.

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, JP 34-075.

Exhibition: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981: *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, cat. no. 59.

Illustrated Pls. 252-264

****Studying by the Window at Mountains**

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

Shanghai Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2686.

****Landscapes in the Style of Ancient Masters**

A set of four hanging scrolls, ink and colour on paper

Shanghai Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2688.

****Boating in Autumn**

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

Shanghai Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2689.

****Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen**

Hanging scroll, ink on satin

Shanghai Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2691.

****Boating on the Distant River**

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

Shanghai Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2695.

****Plum Blossoms Studio and Landscape of Mt. Huang**

Handscroll with two sections of paintings, ink on paper, 30.4 x 130 cm. & 31.4 x 108 cm.

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: Yang Chenbin, *Mei Qing shengping ji qi huihua yishu* (xu), Pl. 8; *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2:

Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4195.

****White Dragon Pool**

Hanging scroll, ink on satin

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2: Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4200.

****The West Sea of Mt. Huang**

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2: Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4201.

****Hot Springs**

Hanging scroll, ink on satin

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2: Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4202

****Refining Cinnabar Platform**

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2: Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4203.

****Two Pines**

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

Beijing Palace Museum

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2: Beijing Palace Museum, no. 4206.

****Landscape in the Style of Zhao Mengfu**

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on satin, 176 x 52.9 cm.

Whereabouts unknown (formerly Yoshio Yamaguchi collection, Japan)

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

(the reproduction is unclear)

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, JP 34-046

****Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan**

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 178.1 x 51.4 cm.

Whereabouts unknown (formerly Yoshio Yamaguchi collection, Japan)

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

(the reproduction is unclear)

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, JP 34-064.

****Mt. Qizhen**

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 119 x 54.6

Yuji Eda Collection, Tokyo

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

(the reproduction is unclear)

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, JP 14-175.

****Landscape in the Style of Dong Yuan**

Hanging scroll, colour on paper, 184 x 52 cm.

Guangdong Provincial Museum

Literature: *Selected Paintings from the Provincial Museum of Guangdong* (1986).

****Landscape**

Hanging scroll, ink on paper

The Import and Export Company of Arts and Crafts of Beijing

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 1: The Import and Export Company of Arts and Crafts of Beijing, no. 37.

2. RECORDED WORKS¹⁷

(A) Dated Works

1642-1648:

During this period he painted and inscribed a *Fushulou tu* for Yu Shou, a landscape for his cousin Mei Zhi, a tree painting for Ni Zheng, and a landscape painting for his nephew Mei Jishen.

1659:

Inscribed two poems for a painting entitled *Lianfeng diaoji tu* 蓮峰釣磯圖.

1662:

In autumn, Mei Qing painted ten paintings for Chen Zhuo, when they met each other in Nanjing. Inscribed a painting to Cai Yao.

1663-1664:

Painted a painting entitled *Secluded at Shuquan* 書泉隱居 for Zhong Yunxie 鍾允諧. Inscribed a plum blossom fan painting for Wang Lu.

1667:

Painted a painting for Wang Shizhen in spring (Wang Shizhen, *Yuyang shanren sanshiliu zhong*, "Yuyang shanren shiji", vol. 20, pp. 1-2).

Inscribed a painting to Zhang Youliang, in which Mei Qing wrote: "Mountains and rivers have harmonious principle, it is not enough to see them days and nights."

1669:

Mei Qing painted and inscribed a painting of pine and rock for his friend Wei Weidu 魏惟度, when he came to visit Mei Qing (Wei Weidu, *Huang Qing baimingjia shi* 皇清百名家詩 *The Poems of One Hundred Famous Poets in the Qing Dynasty*, p. 1).

1671- the ninth month of 1672:

Mei Qing planned to travel to Mt. Huang and inscribed a landscape painting to Cheng Zhongshan 程中山.

Sent a painting to Cheng Ruibo 程瑞伯.

Sent a painting to Wang Shizhen.

Sent a painting to Ni Zheng.

Inscribed *Xiangshan tu* 響山圖 (the view of Echo Hill Pond) to Yao Maozi 姚茂華.

Inscribed a fish handscroll.

1672:

As Lu Naan 呂納庵 was going to Mt. Huang, Mei Qing inscribed a painting for him.

Inscribed a painting to Xu Shanchang 徐善長.

1674-1675:

Inscribed a painting entitled *Dongzhu Villa* 東渚草堂圖 and mailed it to his cousin Mei Zixiang 梅子翔.

1676:

Mei Qing painted two leaves of landscape at a temple in Changan (Shao Songnian 邵松年, *Gu yuan cui lu* 古緣萃錄).

1677:

Mei Qing painted and inscribed a painting entitled *Ten Thousand Pines* to celebrate Shi Renzhang's sixtieth birthday. This painting was inscribed by many famous contemporaries (Colophon by Xiyuan

¹⁷ Those paintings included in this section were mainly recorded by Mei Qing himself in his poems. Some of them were recorded by others before the middle of this century. As the whereabouts of these paintings are unknown and reproductions of these paintings have not been found, it is difficult to be sure whether these paintings have survived; therefore, these paintings are temporarily classified in this section.

zhuren 西園主人 (may be Yi Zhi, a Manchu calligrapher) in the album of *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*).

1678:

Painted several views of Mt. Huang for Deng Xing 鄧性.
Inscribed a painting of Mt. Huang for Wei Zuozhan 韋左瞻.

1679:

Tian Lunxia 田綸霞 asked Mei Qing to paint a painting entitled *Moving to Changan* (*Changan yiju tu* 長安移居圖) for him.

In summer, Mei Qing painted a plum painting at Shi Renzhang's study place in Changan (*Xuancheng xianzhi*, vol. 33, p. 7; *Shiyunshan xiansheng quanji*, "Yushan xiansheng shiji", vol. 23, p. 7)

1685:

Painted a pine painting for viceroy Mr. Yu 于.

1686:

Mei Qing painted a handscroll entitled *Phum Village* for Wu Zhantai (Dongyan) and Wu Song (Qiyuan). It was painted in ink on satin, 73 x 21.9 cm. (*Shibai zhai shuhua lu* 十百齋書畫錄, wei ji 未集).

1687:

Mei Qing painted a dragon painting and a tiger painting.

1688:

Inscribed a painting to Renan 軫庵 who was travelling to Mt. Huang.

Painted a landscape for Song Yiping 宋伊平.

Inscribed a snow painting to Shen Bi.

1690:

Sent a painting to Ni Yishan 倪嶧山.

Sent a painting to Chen Shuaizhai 陳率齋.

1691:

Sent a painting to Wang Ziguang 汪子廣.

Inscribed a painting depicting a man who sat lonely at Mt. Jingting.

Inscribed two paintings: one depicts plum blossoms and the other depicts pine trees.

1692:

Mei Qing painted twelve views of Mt. Huang for Wang Shizhen in the first month of the year (Wang Shizhen, *Juyi lu*, vol. 17, p. 12).

Mei Qing painted an album of landscape for Wang Yuding (汪于鼎). It is eight leaves, ink on paper, 22.5 x 27.7 cm. (*Shibai zhai shuhua lu*, vol. 乙).

1693:

Mei Qing painted a self-portrait and inscribed it.

1696:

Mei Qing painted an album of pines for Wang Shizhen (Colophon by Kuai Jiazhen in the album of *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*; Guo Wei-qu 郭葦渠, *Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing huajia nianbiao*).

(B) Undated Works

Ten Views of Mt. Huang

Album of ten paintings, ink and colours on paper. Leaf 1: One Hundred Cloudy Steps; Leaf 2: Cranial Pine; Leaf 3: Two Peaks of Cloudy Gate; Leaf 4: Wulao Peak; Leaf 5: Singing Strings Spring; Leaf 6:

Flapping Parrot; Leaf 7: Wugong Peak; Leaf 8: Floating Three Peaks; Leaf 9: Lotus Flower Peak; Leaf 10: Wenshu Terrace (Chen Kuilin 陳夔麟, *Boyuge shuhua lu* 寶迂閣 書畫錄, vol. 2, pp. 63-64)

Eight Views of Mt. Huang

Album of eight leaves, painted on paper, 20.1 x 27 cm. It depicts eight views of Mt. Huang imitating the style of eight ancient masters. Leaf 1: The Peak of Cloudy Gate is painted in the style of Wang Jinqing (Wang Shen); Leaf 2: White Dragon Pool, imitating the style of Shen Zhou; Leaf 3: Hot Spring; Leaf 4: Lotus Flower Peak, imitating the style of Ma Yuan; Leaf 5: Lion Peak, imitating the style of Wu Zhen; Leaf 6: Pine Valley, imitating the style of Liu Songnian; Leaf 7: Brightness Top, imitating the style of Fan Kuan; Leaf 8: Sounding Strings Spring, imitating the style of Zhao Mengfu (Liang Tingnan 梁廷樞, *Tenghuating shuhua ba* 藤花亭書畫跋, album, pp.37-39).

Plum Blossom

Handscroll. Mei Qing painted it for Wang Shizhen (Wang Shizhen, *Juyi lu*, vol. 17, p. 12)

3. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE OTHER PAINTERS' WORKS¹⁸

1662:

Wrote sixteen poems to inscribe paintings.

Inscribed Zhuang Danan's 莊澹庵 *Xishan qiushuang tu* 西山秋爽圖.

Inscribed the *Portrait of Xu Mengqi* 許孟起寫真 by Dai Jiamei 戴葭湄.

Inscribed the *Portrait of Shi Dingchen* 施鼎臣.

Inscribed a fan painting by Wan Fan 宛璠.

Inscribed a fan painting by Zhang Xunzhong 張荀仲.

Inscribed two paintings entitled *Dongshan* 東山 and *Gukou* 谷口, that were painted by Cai Yao for Shen Beiming 沈北溟.

1663-1664:

Inscribed Xu Dun's *Waterfall at Mt. Lu* 廬山.

Around 1667:

Inscribed Shitao's *Sixteen Lohans* (dated 1667, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

1670:

Inscribed Xu Erxian's 徐爾先 *Huaiyuan tu* 懷爰圖.

1671- the ninth month of 1672:

Inscribed a painting by Wang Lu 王露 to Zhuang Danan 莊澹庵.

1672:

In winter, Mei Qing, Yun Shouping and Dan Chongguang together inscribed a painting of Wang Hui (*Qinghei zengyan*, vol. 9, pp. 5-6)

1674:

Inscribed Zhong Yukui's 鍾予夔 *Yindu du* 飲犢圖.

Inscribed Shitao's *Pine and Chrysanthemum* to Wu Mingyou 吳銘貞 (*Shitao nianpu*, p. 52).

1674-1675:

Inscribed a painting of Meidaoren (Wu Zhen).

1676:

Inscribed Shitao's *Releasing the Crane* (*Fang he tu* 放鶴圖).

Inscribed the *Portrait of Wang Zhoutan* 汪周潭.

Inscribed the *Portrait of Zan Zhaoxiu* 岑肇修.

1681:

Inscribed Shitao's lotus painting and sent it to old Mr. Yi 翼.

1681-1682:

Inscribed Liu Gonghan's 劉公韓 painting.

Wang Yigong 王異公 asked Mei Qing to inscribed Wang Hui's *Imitating Dong Yuan's Ten Thousand Mountains in Mist and Clouds* (*Fang Beiyuan wanshan yanai tu* 仿北苑萬山煙靄圖) (*Qinghui zengyan*, vol. 9, pp. 11-12).

1683:

Song Sheling 宋射陵 asked Mei Qing to inscribe *Shuping hechu tu* 蔬枰荷鋤圖 and paint the pine leaves for it.

Inscribed the *Portrait of Xu Yanggu* 許陽谷.

1685:

¹⁸ Those paintings included in this section were mainly recorded by Mei Qing in his poems.

Inscribed the *Portrait of Dong Qiaogu* 董樵谷.

1690:

Inscribed Li Jiyi's 李吉爻 *Xiaoshan tu* 嘯山圖.

Inscribed Huang Huangshi's 黃黃石 *Ink peony*.

4. FORGERIES AND DOUBTFUL WORKS¹⁹

(A) Forgeries

Landscape of Mt. Huang

Handscroll, dated 1663, ink and light colour on silk, 26 x 280.6 cm.

Marie-Helene & Guy Weill collection, New York

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The wonderful twilight reflects in the cliffs and valleys;

I visited the mountain at dusk with a staff.

The light twilight seemed to cover the topknot of Buddha;

And mist reflects the dark twilight that looks like the coiled hair-knot of immortal.

Owing to the blowing of wind, the dark shadow becomes green;

The twilight is bright after raining.

The sky happily fades away its heavy rain;

Clouds almost lock the circle of trees.

The warmth of green colour wafts on the mossy steps;

The blue colour of sky spurts out from the surface of valleys.

There are pieces of clouds flowing behind the returned birds;

The sunset reflects in the flowing stream.

Who could write a poem to describe the scenery;

It is not refined during the daytime, because of the falling of rain.

I am chanting at the West Garden;

Where I climb to the top and look the grandeur scenery after raining.

巖壑含勝色 瘳節在晚山

淺縹籠佛髻 深欲暈仙鬟

黛影風前綠 嵐光雨後殷

天開喜淡沱 煙鎖樹彎環

暖碧浮苔磴 空青瀉升關

片雲歸鳥好 流水夕陽間

遠近詩誰寫 霏微畫未闌

西園吟賞處 登眺霽宸顏

In the third month of the *kuimao* year (1663) I came back from Mt. Huang to write (or paint) this for rising one after the other. Qushan Mei Qing painted and inscribed

癸卯春三月遊黃山歸來寫此迭興

(2 seals) Mei Qing yin, Yuangong

Collectors' seals: Zhou Menggong mijiyin 周夢公秘笈印, Jiayuan jianshang 賈園鑑賞, 3 unidentified

Literature: Christie's *Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 28, 1990), lot 165.

Illustrated Figs. 1-2

Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang

Album of sixteen leaves, dated 1672, fifteen in ink and colour on paper, one in ink on paper, 21 x 13.6 cm.

Whereabouts unknown, formerly Zhou Jinjue's collection

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

凝砂噴玉不知寒，聞道仙人此濯丹

欲罷莫疑宵漢遠，臨流忽已長飛翰

Qushan Qing

(2 seals) Zizhen zhiyi, Yanyun guoyanlou

¹⁹ The works include in this section are suggested by the author as either forged or doubtful works. Those classified as forgeries have already been discussed in the second section of the fourth chapter. Those classified as doubtful have not been discussed in this thesis. They are doubtful in some aspects that are listed here for further study. For the discussion of the forgeries, see the text in the second section of chapter four.

Leaf 2: Tiger Head Grotto is on the Peach Blossom Spring. Sounding Strings Spring. It is frightening whenever walked in the night. I am still terrified to recall it.

虎頭岩在桃花源上鳴絃泉。每當晚行驚心奪魄，至今憶之心猶慄慄。

Qushan Qing

(2 seals) Qushan, Xintian shanzhang

Leaf 3: Heavenly Capital Peak stands upright for a thousand *ren* and visitors rarely come. When we look at the Cinnabar Temple, located under the peak, it looks like a temple in the immortal mountain in the sea.

天都峰，壁立千仞，遊屐罕至。硃砂庵，位置峰下，望之如蓬萊之紺宇。

Qushan Qing

(1 seal) Meichi

Leaf 4: Flapping Parrot goes straight in a single line. It is a marvelous site in Mt. Huang. Monk Shitao once painted this. I also try to paint it. When Old Shi sees this painting some day, please do not say that Old Qu was imitating him.

鸚鵡展翅一線天上乃黃海中奇景，石濤和尚曾有此本予亦彷彿爲之，石公得毋謂老瞿效顰耳。

Qushan Mei Qing

(1 seal) Chaxia

Leaf 5: Wenshu Temple is located at the centre of Mt. Huang. Heavenly Capital Peak is on its right and Lotus Flower Peak is on its left. Thirty-six peaks surround it. The sea of clouds under it is wonderful to behold.

文殊院乃黃山中央，左天都，右蓮華，三十六峰四面羅拜其下，須臾鋪海真奇觀也。

Qushan

(2 seals) Quxing shanren, Lianhuafengding sanshengmeng

Leaf 6: Cuiwei Temple is the separate peak of Mt. Huang. Painted in the manner of Huangheshanqiao (Wang Meng). I have once lodged here, so I inscribed it.

翠微古寺爲黃山別一峰，予曾宿此故記之。

Qushan

(1 seal) Meizi

Leaf 7: The Refining Cinnabar Platform of Emperor Huangdi faces to the Round Mat Pine. As they are not far from each other, I painted them together in the brush idea of Ma Yaofu (Ma Yuan). Qushan.

黃帝煉丹臺，蒲團松，相望不遠，故合寫之。

Qushan

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Collector's seal: unidentified

Leaf 8: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;

Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.

Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;

Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直飲半天露，齊擎五色霞

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Qushan Qing

(1 seal) Chenqing

Leaf 9: One Hundred Cloudy Steps is the only way that you can pass from Back Sea to Front Sea. It goes straight up in a single line, so with a sheer drop on three sides. Even though it is long ago, I am still terrified [to think of it].

百步雲梯，從後海至前海必由之路，一線直上，三面皆空，至今憶之，猶心怖也。

Qing

(1 seal) Old Qing

Leaf 10: *Wulao Peak* was the strangest peak in Mt. Huang. I have only visited one side of it. I have not forgotten it, and with a brush in my hand I feel that I am grasping the general aspects of this peak.

黃山五老峰最奇予遊僅一面，意中每不能忘，握筆時彷彿得之。

Qushan Qing

(1 seal) Yuangong

Leaf 11: Wugong Peak and Lion Forest faces to each other. It is marvellous site when one looks from the pine.

五供峰師子林對面棋枰，松上見之宛然呈供大是奇觀。

Mei Qing

(2 seals) Chenqing, Huasong

Leaf 12: The West Sea is truly precipitous;

The setting sun can be seen in the vast expanse of clouds.

A thousand peaks stand as though cleft by the sword;

While a river curves round them like a flying dragon.

The sound of temple bells issues from the clouds;

Monks are returning through the cracks of the rocks.

The night-wind is blowing;

We hear faintly the music of heaven.

西海真天險，蒼茫開落暉

千峰分劍立，一水繞龍飛

鐘自雲堆出，僧從石罅歸

晚風吹動處，仙樂聽依稀

Old Qu

(1 seal) Jingting

Leaf 13: On the rocks of the Lion Peak,

The immortal built his dwelling.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?

I shall ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子巖頭石，高人此結廬

何時翹黃海，天半問鄰居

Qushan Qing

(1 seal) Qushan

Collector's seal: Xiaolinglongguan shuhuayin 小玲瓏館書畫印

Leaf 14: Receiving Pine and Twisted Dragon Pine are close to each other. It is recorded that these two pines are among the four strangest pines of Mt. Huang.

接引松與繞龍松，只尺可見。黃山奇松有四，此其二也。

Old Qu

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Leaf 15: It looks like a prehistoric dormant dragon waking up;

The small curved path is widened by a sudden peal of thunder.

The clouds stay all the time;

It looks like snowflakes of Sanxia flying over.

太古盤龍醒，蠶叢霹靂開

五浮雲不去，三峽雪飛來

Qushan

(2 seals) Qushan, Shangao shuichang

Leaf 16: If you travel to Mt. Huang from Xianyuan, the first night you must lodge at Pine Valley. From Pine Valley when you enter Cloud Gate, the peaks can all be seen. The deeper you go, the stranger it becomes.

由仙源作黃海遊，首夜必宿松谷，由松谷入雲門，筍峰畢見，愈進愈奇。

In the fifth month of the *renzi* 壬子 year (1672), Qushan Mei Qing

(2 seals) Qushan, Zhishang yunmen yifangge

Collectors' seals: Hanmoxuan, Daizhinong jianshangzhang 戴芝農鑑賞章

Literature: Zhou Jinjue col., *Mei Qushan huangshan quanjing jingpin* (Shanghai, 1939), and republished in Taiwan by Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974; Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: November 30, 1988), lot 50.

Illustrated Figs. 3-18

Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng

Hanging scroll, dated the third month of 1691, ink and light colour on paper, 197.2 x 49.6 cm.

The Detroit Institute of Arts

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I am occasionally at leisure this autumn;

My interest still exists.

With what can I encourage myself? With wine to fill my cup.

With what shall I be content? To have no business and to shut my door.

The ancients are before me, and Qushan is behind;

Front and back can call each other loudly, and meet each other forever.

秋窗偶暇，老興猶存

何以勸我，有酒盈尊

何以容我，無事閉門

古人在前，瞿山在後

前後高呼，相期不朽

On the third month of the *xinwei* 辛未 year (1691) Mei Qing painted in the style of Huangheshanqiao (Wang Meng).

(3 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong, Jingting shanxia shuangxi zhishang

Exhibition: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981: *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, cat. no. 62.

Illustrated Fig. 19

Nine Dragon Pool

Hanging scroll, undated, ink and light colour on paper, 92 x 43.5 cm.

The Cleveland Museum of Art

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

It looks like a prehistoric dormant dragon waking up;

The small curved path is widened by a sudden peal of thunder.

The clouds stay all the time;

It looks like snowflakes of Sanxia flying over.

太古蟄龍醒，巖叢霹靂開

五浮雲不去，三峽雪飛來

Qushan Qing

(3 seals) Mei Qing Yungong

Collectors' seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 4, JP 12-136.

Exhibition: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, 1980: *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 229.

Illustrated Fig. 24

Thousand Peaks of the West Sea

Hanging scroll, dated the seventh month of 1695, ink on paper, 73.6 x 49 cm.

Tianjin Art Museum

The West Sea is truly precipitous;

The setting sun can be seen in the vast expanse of clouds.

A thousand peaks stand as though cleft by the sword;

While a river curves round them like a flying dragon.

The sound of temple bells issues from the clouds;

Monks are returning through the cracks of the rocks.

The night-wind is blowing;

We hear faintly the music of heaven.

西海真天險，蒼茫闢落暉

千峰分劍立，一水繞龍飛

鐘自雲堆出，僧從石罅歸

晚風吹動處，仙樂聽依稀

In the seventh month of the *yihai* 乙亥 year (1695) inscribed. Qushan Qing.

(3 seals) Mei, Qing, Yuangong

Collectors' seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: Tianjin Art Museum, *Tianjinshi yishu bowuguan* (1984), fig. 54; *ZGMSQJ: Huihuabian* 9 (1988), fig. 98.

Illustrated Fig. 29

Thousand Peaks of the West Sea

Hanging scroll, dated the fifth month of 1695, ink on paper, 76 x 48.2 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The West Sea is truly precipitous;

The setting sun can be seen in the vast expanse of clouds.

A thousand peaks stand as though cleft by the sword;

While a river curves round them like a flying dragon.

The sound of temple bells issues from the clouds;

Monks are returning through the cracks of the rocks.

The night-wind is blowing;

We hear faintly the music of heaven.

西海真天險，蒼茫暎落暉

千峰分劍立，一水繞龍飛

鐘自雲堆出，僧從石罅歸

晚風吹動處，仙樂聽依稀

In the fifth month of the *yihai* year (1695) wrote for Old Shimen 石門.

Qushan Mei Qing

(3 seals) Qing, Yuangong, Xiesongxuan 寫松軒

Collectors' seals: Yiaogang jianchang 瑤岡鑑藏, Dengwei Xujian zhenshang 鄧尉徐堅眞賞, Zixi Liushi jiancang jinshi shuhua yin 梓溪劉氏家藏金石書畫印

Literature: Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: May 30, 1990), lot. 67.

Exhibitions: National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1970: *Special Exhibition of Paintings From the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, no. 29, Pl. 22.

Illustrated Fig. 31

Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang²⁰

Album of nineteen paintings, dated 1693, ink and colour on paper, 32.6 x 44.8 cm.

Lanqian shanguan collection, Taipei

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: (A) Hegai Pine 鶴蓋松

(B) One Hundred Cloudy Steps

Leaf 2: The West Sea is truly precipitous;

The setting sun can be seen in the vast expanse of clouds.

A thousand peaks stand as though cleft by the sword;

While a river curves round them like a flying dragon.

The sound of temple bells issues from the clouds;

Monks are returning through the cracks of the rocks.

The night-wind is blowing;

We hear faintly the music of heaven.

西海真天險，蒼茫暎落暉

千峰分劍立，一水繞龍飛

鐘自雲堆出，僧從石罅歸

晚風吹動處，仙樂聽依稀

Looking at the sunset at the gate of the West Sea. Qushan Qing, at the age of seventy-one

Leaf 3: (A) Two Peaks of Cloudy Gate 雲門雙峰

(B) This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

The ancient platform has long been deserted.

When will it be possible to collect the elixir of immortality,

And the fire in the refining-furnace be lit again?

黃帝棲真處，遺臺舊蹟荒

何年采仙藥，大冶火重光

Refining Cinnabar Platform

Leaf 4: Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

²⁰ Owing to the unclear reproduction of the album, the seals of this album are unable to be recorded here.

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

凝砂噴玉不知寒，聞道仙人此濯丹

欲罷莫疑宵漢遠，臨流忽已長飛翰

Hot Springs, Qushan.

Leaf 5: (A) Monk Shitao came from Mt. Huang, showing me several albums of his renditions of Mt. Huang. The *Wulao Peak* was the strangest among the paintings. I have been to Mt. Huang, but I did not have the chance to see Wulao Peak. I have not forgotten [Shitao's depiction of it], and with a brush in my hand I feel that I am grasping the general aspects of this peak. Old Qu.

石濤和尚從黃山來，曾寫數冊見示，中間唯五老峰最奇。予遊黃山，竟未與五老一面，意中每不能忘，握筆時彷彿得之。

(B) On the rocks of the Lion Peak,

The immortal built his dwelling.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?

I shall ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子巖頭石，高人此結廬

何時憩黃海，天半問鄰居

I once lodged at Lion Forest. This is my old work.

Leaf 6: (A) The surface of the rocks on Sounding Strings Spring is flat;

There is a stone pillar crossing the spring.

I once held my *qin* to face it;

And without touching the strings, the sound of music was heard.

鳴絃泉，石面平流，中有石梁貫之。予曾抱琴相對，不必鼓絃動操，而淙淙有聲。

Qushan.

(B) Flapping Parrot 鸚鵡武展翅

Leaf 7: It looks like a prehistoric dormant dragon waking up;

The small curved path is widened by a sudden peal of thunder.

The clouds stay all the time;

It looks like snowflakes of Sanxia flying over.

太古鸞龍醒，蠶叢霹靂開

五浮雲不去，三峽雪飛來

Nine Dragon Pool. Qushan

Leaf 8: *Heshi Dwelling* was also a sketch by Old Shitao. I have not been there either; it is a villa of Mt. Huang. I have not used my small brush for a long time, but can not claim to be too old to handle it. When Old Shi sees this painting some day, please do not say that Old Qu was imitating him. Qushan inscribed.

噲石居，此亦石公粉本也。予亦未到，乃黃山別業。久不耐用細筆，又不甘以老態自居，他日石公見之，得毋謂老瞿效顰耶。

Qushan inscribed

Leaf 9: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am too frightened to stand;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天閭，仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央

側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂

何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

There are thirty-six peaks at Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak are the two highest peaks. The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of Mt. Huang. When I depict the sea of clouds, these three peaks are always side by side. Qushan, Mei Qing.

Leaf 10: (A) Wugong Peak 五供峰

Leaf 11: (A) Round Mat Pine 蒲團松

(1 seal) Mei Qing

(B) Three Peaks of Fugu 浮丘三峰

Leaf 12: (A) Tiger Head Grotto 虎頭壩

(B) Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

Lotus Blossom Peak

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 2, S4-054.

Illustrated Figs. 33-44

Wenshu Temple

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 34.3 x 44.5 cm.

Sen-oku Hakko Kan, Japan

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am too frightened to stand;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天闕，仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央

側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂

何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

There are thirty-six peaks at Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak are the two highest peaks. The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of Mt. Huang. When I depict the sea of clouds, these three peaks are always side by side. Qushan, Mei Qing.

(1 seal) Lao Qu

Literature: *Comprehensive*, vol. 3, JM13-080.

Illustrated Fig. 45

Wenshu Temple

Hanging scroll, undated, ink and colour on paper, undated, 215 x 54.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The fairland is in my dream.

When will the immortal boat in the heave?

I am sitting on the top of Mt. Huang;

Facing the surge of clouds, I can not overcome a feeling of sadness.

夢想蓬瀛境是仙，仙槎何日泛天邊

今朝黃嶽峰頭坐，瀟蕩雲濤思惘然

Looking at sea of clouds in Wenshu Temple. In the style of Huangheshanqiao (Wang Meng).

Quxing qing

(4 seals) Quxing qing, Yuangong, 2 unidentified

Literature: *Christie's Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: December 4, 1989), lot. 38.

Illustrated Fig. 46

Wenshu Plateau

Hanging scroll, undated, ink and colour on paper, 105.5 x 40.5 cm.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Wenshu Plateau is located at the centre of Mt. Huang. Heavenly Capital Peak is on its right and Lotus

Flower Peak is on its left. Thirty-six peaks surround it. The sea of clouds under it is rather splendid.

文殊臺 乃黃山中央土也，左天都，右蓮華，三十六峰四面羅拜其下，須臾鋪海，大是奇觀。

Qushan

(3 Seals) Mei Chi, Yuangong, Lianhuafengding sanshengmeng

Collectors' seals: Neng Nai 能耐, Zhuxingzhai shuhuaji 朱省齋書畫記, 2 unidentified

Literature: Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien*, pp. 99-101 and cat. no. 6;
The Individualists: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of the 17th Century from the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr., pp. 41-43 and fig. 18.

Illustrated Fig. 47

Twelve Views of Mt. Huang

Album of twelve leaves, undated, ink and colour on paper, 43 x 32 cm.

Sun Daguang's collection, China

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Leaf 1: On the rocks of the Lion Peak, the immortal built his dwelling.

There is no place for my staff,

And my feet are nearly floating in the sky.

I doubt whether the autumn is near as I feel cold;

Also I feel the music of *qing* is light as the mountains are so empty.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?

I shall ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子峰頭石, 仙人此結廬

孤節無著處, 雙屐盡凌虛

衣冷疑秋逼, 山空覺磬疏

何時憩黃海, 天半問鄰居

Lion Forest, Qushan

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Collector's seals: Siwei shuwu 四味書屋, Zhuchi zhenwan 竹癡珍玩

Leaf 2: When was this cloudy-ladder built?

It is situated on a steep mountain and overlooks a dangerous stream.

I pass through clouds with the help of my staff,

And ascend up by the cloudy-ladder to ask questions of heaven.

何年闢此徑, 石巘俯危淵

一杖穿雲過, 還將梯問天

One Hundred Cloudy Steps in the style of Ke jiusi. Qushan

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushan

Collector's seals: Siwei shuwu, Zhuchi jianshang 竹癡鑑賞

Leaf 3: Wild and boundless it is on the summit of Brightness;

The sky is open in the four directions.

Who knows where the lonely shout comes from?

I am among the innumerable mountains.

Wind and thunder pass away while we are breathing;

The sharp peaks can communicate with the sun and the moon.

If we can find the track to the land of immortality,

What need to dream of Mt. Kongdong?

曠絕光明頂, 天南四望空

誰知孤嘯處, 身在萬山中

呼吸風雷過, 崦嵫日月通

仙蹤如可接, 何必夢崦嵫

Qushan

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushan

Collector's seals: Zhuchi zhenwan, Daguang 大光

Leaf 4: Floating Peak looks like the three immortal peaks in the sea that you can see but cannot touch. It was playfully painted with the brush of indistinctness. It is not necessary that such a scene should actually exist.

浮丘峰如海上三神山, 可望不可即, 戲以縹渺筆圖之, 非必實有此景也。

(1 seal) Qushanren

Collector's seals: Zhuchi zhenwan, Siwei shuwu

Leaf 5: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.
I am too frightened to stand;
I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.
I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,
And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闌天閣，仙宮俯混茫
萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央
側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂
何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

The Wenshu Plateau is painted in the style of Huangheshanqiao (Wang Meng).

Qushan Mei Qing painted and inscribed

(1 seal) Qushan

Collector's seal: Siwei shuwu, Zhuchi zhenwan

Leaf 6: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.
Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;
Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.
Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;
Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花
直飲半天露，齊擎五色霞
人從香國轉，路借玉房遮
蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Inscribed the old painting entitled Lotus Blossom Peak. Qushan.

(1 seal) Zizhen zhiyi

Collector's seals: Daguang, Zhuchi jianshang

Leaf 7: The way to the Cloudy Gate seems to cover half of the sky;

The vapour of the mountains is bright.

I hold my staff, and my feet are as light as before.

There are numerous wonders;

I come again and I do not ask their names.

I do not know the immortal crow,

But I see the white monkey close up to me.

天半雲門路，嵐光分外明

一筇今日倚，兩屐舊時輕

幻境原無數，重來不問名

神鴉吾未識，親見白猿迎

Cloudy Gate Peak. Imitate the style of Guo Heyang (Guo Xi).

Qushan Mei Qing

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Collector's seals: Daguang, Zhuchi jianshang

Leaf 8: Cuiwei Temple is an outer peak of Mt. Huang where I have been almost twenty years ago.

Grasping my brush to paint it, I cannot overcome a feeling of sadness. Qushan.

翠微寺乃黃山別峰已二十年矣。握筆寫山，不勝悵惘。

Qushan

(1 seal) Chenqing

Collector's seals: Siwei shuwu, Zhuchi jianshang

Leaf 9: The ancient platform of immortal Huangdi had not been deserted.

The fragrance of the purple fungi from the vessel could be smelt on my way.

It is necessary to collect herbs and refine the spirit-fire;

In order to produce aged elixir which is tasty.

古帝丹臺跡未荒，行來鼎內紫芝香

便須採藥探靈火，仙液千年味更嘗

Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(1 seal) Lao Qu

Collector's seals: Daguang, Zhuchi jianshang, 1 unidentified

Leaf 10: There is a stone ridge crossing the front of the Sounding Strings Spring that causes the sound of the spring to be like music. The scene is marvelous.

鳴絃泉有石梁橫其前泉聲淙淙依稀絲竹實奇觀也

Qushan

(2 seals) Quxing qing, Yuangong

Collector's seals: Zhengdaguangming 正大光明, Zhuchi jianshang

Leaf 11: This is the site where the immortal Huangdi once lived;

This capital alone is where Heaven opens.

The green mountains are surrounded by colourful flags;

And the court looks shapeless and elusive.

When the fire goes out, the cinnabar starts to turn;

The sea is formed when clouds surge over.

Who can take the crane to fly over the immortal area freely?

古帝棲真地,天開此一部

霓旌圍碧落,闔闔入虛無

火息丹應轉,雲來海自鋪

何當凌鶴羽,隨意遍靈區

Heavenly Capital Peak. Qushan

(1 seal) Xintian shanzhang

Collector's seals: Zhengdaguangming, Zhuchi jianshang

Leaf 12: Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

凝砂噴玉不知寒,問道仙人此濯丹

欲罷莫疑霄漢遠,臨流忽已長飛翰

Hot Springs. In the style of Huang Gongwang. Qushan Mei Qing.

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Collector's seals: Daguan, Zhuchi zhenwan

Literature: Gao Yun & Huang Jun ed., *Zhongguo minjian micang huihua zhenpin*, vol. 1, pp. 37-48; Lu Heling ed., *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, pp. 108-119.

Illustrated Figs. 49-60

Lotus Blossom Peak

Hanging scroll, undated, ink and colour on paper, 130 x 35.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Lotus flowers are blossoming five clouds deep;

Their roots seem to sprout from the very heart of this sea.

Thirty-six peaks eager to show their beauty;

They can be traced by the fragrance which fills the sky.

蓮華開處五雲深,仙蒂還疑出海心

三十六峰齊吐豔,滿空香氣好相尋

Lotus Blossom Peak

Qushan Mei Qing painted and inscribed

(3 seals) Quxing qing, Yuangong, Lanhuafengding sanshengmeng

Literature: Christie's *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: June 1, 1989), lot. 113.

Illustrated Fig. 61

Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen

Hanging scroll, undated, ink on paper.

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I love the Taoist of Blossoming Plum Trees (Wu Zhen);

He waved the brush and touched the paper like a god.

He emptied the cup of ancient wine from the isle of Immortals,

And there was spring to him at every season in Jiangnan.

我愛梅華老道人,揮毫落紙盡如神

持將海上千年酒，醉向江南四季春

(3 seals) Meichi, Qushan, Jingtingshanyan

Collector's seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: Osvald Siren, *A History of Later Chinese Painting*, pl. 181a.

Illustrated Fig. 62

Sounding Strings Spring of Mt. Huang

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 109.6 x 46.2 cm.

National Palace Museum (Langian shanguan collection), Taipei

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

I stand on the top of the mountains to listen the sound of waterfall;

The sound seems like music played by strings.

That is like the music of heaven played by a group of excellent musicians.

The tune in perfect harmony comes to me.

山頭閒坐聽流泉，湘浦飛聲入五絃

琴佛音微奏仙樂，一齊分韻到尊前

Sounding Strings Spring in the style of Shen Zhou

Qushan Mei Qing painted and inscribed

(3 seals) Quxing qing, Yuangong, Jingtingshanxia huaxizhishang

Collectors' seals: Pinganguan Yeshicang 平安館葉氏藏, Xubojiao liushihousuode 徐伯郊六十後所得,

Huayang Wangshi zhencang shuhua 華陽王氏珍藏書畫, Baijingzhai zhencangyin 百鏡齋珍藏印

Literature: National Palace Museum, *Langqianshan guan minghua mulu*, pl. 59; Nigensha, *Langqian*

shanguan shuhua, vol. 2, pl. 64.

Illustrated Fig. 64

Four Views of Mt. Huang

A set of four hanging scrolls, ink and colour on paper, 153 x 42 cm.

Chih Lo Lou collection

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Scroll 1: For ten years, I have been dreaming of contacting Xuanyuan (the Yellow Emperor);

Only after experiencing tier upon tier of cliffs did I come to know the highest peak.

In the sky, cloudy peaks are emitting and inhaling mists;

Mountains south of the [Yangtze] river are all arranged like its children and grandchildren.

Rocky peaks soaring for a thousand *ren* are totally devoid of soil;

Where the roads disappear into thick clouds, only gibbons are found.

Who says the fire on the terrace where elixir was once made is now extinguished?

The cinnabar and spring water (ingredients of the elixir of life) are still warm.

十年幽夢繫軒轅，身歷層巖始識尊

天上雲都供吐納，江南山盡列兒孫

峰抽千仞全無土，路入重霄獨有猿

誰道丹臺靈火息，硃砂泉水至今溫

Qushan Mei Qing inscribed

(2 seals) Mei Qing, Qushan

Collector's seals: 2 unidentified

Scroll 2: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am too frightened to stand;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天閭，仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央

側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂

何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak stand on either side of it. If you want to see the whole view of the sea of clouds, you should come here. Imitating the style of Wang Meng.

Qushan Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Meichi, Chenqing

Collector's seals: 2 unidentified

Scroll 3: The pines are green, the cliffs are blue, and the sound of waterfall is so strange.

I did not feel hot when I visited here in the sixth month of the year.

The true traces of the immortals can not be found.

I stood on the White Dragon Pool for quite a long time.

蒼松翠壁瀑聲奇，六月來遊暑不知

仙子真蹤無處覓，白龍潭上立多時

White Dragon Pool, imitating the brush idea of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu).

Qushan Mei Qing

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Qushanshi

Collector's seals: 2 seals unidentified

Scroll 4: The ancient platform of immortal Huangdi had not been deserted.

The fragrance of the purple fungi from the vessel could be smelt on my way.

It is necessary to collect herbs and refine the spirit-fire;

In order to produce aged elixir which is tasty.

古帝丹臺跡未荒，行來鼎內紫芝香

便須採藥探靈火，仙液千年味更嘗

Refining Cinnabar Platform is the place where Emperor Huangdi and Rong Chengzi lived.

Wrote in the style of Meihuadaoren (Wu Zhen). Qushan Mei Qing

(1 seal) Chenqing Qushan

Collector's seals: Yaoguang Heshi jianshang 耀光何氏鑑賞, 1 unidentified

Exhibition: Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1992: *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, ca. 40.

Illustrated Figs. 67-70

Sounding Strings Spring

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 73 x 38 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Sounding Strings Spring is the most wonderful scene produced by the Creator. It is painted with pines standing nearby in order to spread the sound of its music.

鳴絃泉爲造物最巧之景，以撫松圍寫之，庶可傳其清音耳。

(3 seals) Quxing qing, Yuangong, Jingtingshanxia shuangxizhishang

Collectors' seals: 2 unidentified

Literature: Christie's sale catalogue (New York: June 1994), lot 158.

Illustrated Fig. 75.

(B) Doubtful Works

Four Views of Mt. Huang²¹

A set of four hanging scrolls, ink or ink and colour on paper, 184.2 x 48.5 cm.

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Scroll 1: For ten years, I have been dreaming of contacting Xuanyuan (the Yellow Emperor);

Only after experiencing tier upon tier of cliffs did I come to know the highest peak.

In the sky, cloudy peaks are emitting and inhaling mists;

Mountains south of the [Yangtze] river are all arranged like its children and grandchildren.

Rocky peaks soaring for a thousand *ren* are totally devoid of soil;

²¹ The fourth scroll of this set has never been published.

Where the roads disappear into thick clouds, only gibbons are found.
Who says the fire on the terrace where elixir was once made is now extinguished?
The cinnabar and spring water (ingredients of the elixir of life) are still warm.

十年幽夢繫軒轅，身歷層巖始識尊
天上雲都供吐納，江南山盡列兒孫
峰抽千仞全無土，路入重霄獨有猿
誰道丹臺靈火息，硃砂泉水至今溫

Heavenly Capital Peak, imitating the brush idea of Jing Hao and Guan Tong. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Scroll 2: The pines are green, the cliffs are blue, and the sound of waterfall is so strange.

I did not feel hot when I visited here in the sixth month of the year.

The true traces of the immortals can not be found.

I stood on the White Dragon Pool for quite a long time.

蒼松翠壁瀑聲奇，六月來遊暑不知

仙子真蹤無處覓，白龍潭上立多時

White Dragon Pool, imitating the brush idea of Songxue (Zhao Mengfu). Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Scroll 3: The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am too frightened to stand;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闌天闌，仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央

側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂

何嘗憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak stand on either side of it. If you want to see the whole view of the sea of clouds, you should come here. Imitating the style of Wang Meng. Qushan Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *ZGGDSHML*, vol. 2, no. 4197, no. 4198, no. 4199; Beijing Palace Museum, *Zhongguo lidai huihua*, vol. 7. Mu Xiaotian, *Mei Qing*, pls. 2-3.

Exhibition: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australia, 1981: *Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties XIV-XXth Centuries*, cat. no. 49.

Heavenly Capital Peak

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 131 x 49 cm

Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, New York

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

For ten years, I have been dreaming of contacting Xuanyuan (the Yellow Emperor);

Only after experiencing tier upon tier of cliffs did I come to know the highest peak.

In the sky, cloudy peaks are emitting and inhaling mists;

Mountains south of the [Yangtze] river are all arranged like its children and grandchildren.

Rocky peaks soaring for a thousand *ren* are totally devoid of soil;

Where the roads disappear into thick clouds, only gibbons are found.

Who says the fire on the terrace where elixir was once made is now extinguished?

The cinnabar and spring water (ingredients of the elixir of life) are still warm.

十年幽夢繫軒轅，身歷層巖始識尊

天上雲都供吐納，江南山盡列兒孫

峰抽千仞全無土，路入重霄獨有猿

誰道丹臺靈火息，硃砂泉水至今溫

Heavenly Capital Peak, imitating the brush idea of Jing Hao and Guan Tong. Qushan, Mei Qing inscribed.

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: Donald Brix, "The Life and Art of Mei Qing," pl. 54.

A Rocky Island with Pine-trees

Mounted as a panel, ink and colour on satin, 37.8 x 28.3 cm.

Formerly collected by Jean-Pierre Dubosc

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Imitating the style of Li Cheng.

(2 seals) Qushan, Mei Qing

Collectors' seals: 4 unidentified

Literature: *Great Chinese Painters of the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (1949)

Hot Springs

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 182.9 x 48.9 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Condensed cinnabar makes the spring warm enough;

The immortal uses it as an elixir for washing.

The way to immortality would not be far after bathing in it;

Overlooking the stream, suddenly my brush flies along.

The most bizarre scene at Mt. Huang is Hot Spring. The temperature is comfortable in any season. The fragrance of the cinnabar will last at least for ten days after bathing. I have been to Mt. Huang twice and have bathed at Hot Spring seven times. Qushan, Mei Qing.

凝砂噴玉不知寒，聞道仙人此濯丹

欲罷莫疑宵漢遠，臨流應已長飛翰

黃山第一奇莫奇於湯泉，春夏秋冬寒冷涼熱能稱人意，硃砂香氣，浴之十日不散，予兩遊黃山，七浴湯泉，並記之

Literature: *Christie's Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: 1992), lot 109.

Pine Valley

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 263.9 x 101.6 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The shadows of peaks are disarranged at dusk;

The sound of waterfall echoes regularly through the empty mountains.

The intermittent clouds are still wandering;

The returned birds can not keep their silence.

I am reaching the place near the Immortal Spring;

I am confused when I look back at the secular world.

I wake up at midnight;

The moon is hanging lonely at the west side of the cave.

日落松陰亂，山空瀑響齊

斷雲閒不去，幽鳥寂還啼

投足仙源近，回看世路迷

中宵眠更起，孤月在巖西

You must first lodge at Pine Valley if you enter Mt. Huang from Xianyuan. The Pine Valley is the main door of the Back Sea of Mt. Huang. It is so quiet and remote that it is not the place for human beings.

Imitating the brush idea of Liu Songnian. Qushan, Mei Qing

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2692

Lion Peak

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 150 x 41.8 cm.

Shanghai Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

On the rocks of the Lion Peak, the immortal built his dwelling.

There is no place for my staff;

And my feet are nearly floating in the sky.

I doubt whether the autumn is near as I feel cold;

Also I feel the music of *qing* is light as the mountains are so empty.

When shall I take a rest in the Yellow Sea?
I shall ask for my neighbour half-way to heaven.

獅子峰頭石，仙人此結廬
孤節無著處，雙屐盡凌虛
衣冷癭秋逼，山空覺磬疏
何時憩黃海，天半問鄰居

Travelling through the Lion Peak from Back Sea to Front Sea, I have stayed at an inn with a friend. It was the sixth month of the year, and we composed poems through the night facing each other, chilly, though wrapped in quilts. It seems beyond the realm of reality. I paint this to recall the trip.

Imitating the brush idea of Gao Shangshu (Gao Kegong). Old Qu.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2694.

Wenshu Plateau

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on satin, 73.7 x 46.9 cm.

Shanghai Museum

The heavenly temple is built among clouds,

So it can not be seen clearly.

Numerous peaks kneel down before it;

It stands in the middle of them.

I am horrified when stepping on it;

I am shouting crazily as I seem to fly in the sky.

I am wondering how to fly with the wings of birds,

And how to make my traces vanish.

雲裡闢天闔，仙宮俯混茫

萬峰齊下拜，一座儼中央

側足驚難定，凌空嘯欲狂

何當憑鳥翼，從此寄行藏

There are thirty-six peaks at Mt. Huang. The Heavenly Capital Peak and Lotus Blossom Peak are the two highest peaks. The Wenshu Plateau is located at the middle of Mt. Huang. When I depict the sea of clouds, these three peaks are always side by side.

Literature: *ZGGDSHTM*, vol. 4, no. 2696.

Lotus Blossom Peak²²

Album leaf, ink on silk

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

Lotus Blossom Peak

Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Qushan Mei Qing

(3 seals) Meizi, Yuangong and Qushan yixing

Collector's seals: Xiozhi zhencang 修直審定, Yuewong shending 越翁審定, 3 unidentified.

Imitating Wang Meng's *Boating at the Gate of Clouds*

Hanging scroll, colour on paper, 159.1 x 43.3 cm.

Cheng Te-k'un Collection, Hong Kong

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

A wild waterfall hangs on the high mountain;

My moon is so romantic that I compose a poem about the running stream.

The mountain is moving around with clouds-tree;

Foaming waves are floating in the sky.

Where can we find a place to live in;

²² The photograph of the painting is offered by the museum.

We do not worry about the safety of our boat and let it float at random.

It is said that spring silkworms are good at weaving;

And yellow cranes are the best companions of immortal.

野水慙高壘，閒情詠急流

山隨雲樹轉，天掛浪花浮

去住將何宅，安危不繫舟

春蠶傳好手，黃鶴是仙儔

Literature: Ch'eng Hsi, *A Study of Some Ming and Ch'ing Paintings in the Mu-Fei Collection* (1966), pp. 36-37; *The Journal of The Institute of Chinese Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong* (December 1976, vol. 8, no. 2), pl. 26.

The Round Mat Pine

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 86.8 x 38.7 cm.

Cheng Te-k'un Collection, Hong Kong

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

There are two men sitting on the top of round mat pine. They must be sacred. Old Shi, how do you think about them?

蒲團松上坐此二人，應是不食煙火。石翁老先生以爲何如？

Literature: *The Journal of The Institute of Chinese Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong* (December 1976, vol. 8, no. 2), pl. 27.

Soughing Pines and a Mountain Torrent

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 135 x 21.9 cm.

Whereabouts unknown

Artist's inscriptions, signature and seals:

It looks like a prehistorical dormant dragon waking up;

The small curved path is widened by a sudden peal of thunder.

The clouds stay all the time;

It looks like snowflakes of Sanxia flying over.

太古蜃龍醒，霹靂霹靂開

五浮雲不去，三峽雪飛來

Qushan ji

(4 seals) Chenqing, Qushan, Youxisanmei, Zhishang yunmen yifangge

Collectors' seals: Xueqin suobao 雪琴所寶, 1 unidentified

Exhibitions: National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1970: *Ming Qing zhiji minghua tezhan* (Special Exhibition of Paintings From the Ming and Qing Dynasties), cat. no. 23.

Imitating the Style of Li Cheng's Plum Blossom Studio

Handscroll, ink on paper, 30.8 x 130 cm.

Li Yiming collection, Jiangsu, China

Artists' inscription, signature and seals:

Imitating Li Yingqu's *Plum Blossom Studio*, Qushan

(2 seals) Quxing Qing, Yuangong

Literature: *Zhongguo minjian micang huishua zhenpin*, vol. 3, p. 24.

The Sea Clouds of Mt. Huang

Handscroll, ink on paper, 31.5 x 108 cm.

Beijing Palace Museum

Artist's inscription, signature and seals:

The vast blue sea has dried several times;

And the wild field has changed several times.

Who believes that there is a sea in the mountains.

滄海幾回乾，桑田幾番改

誰信天地間，竟有山頭海

Imitating the brush idea of Huanghe shanqiao (Wang Meng). Old Qu inscribed.

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Collector's seal: Yiming duhua 一岷讀畫

Literature: *Zhongguo minjian micang huishua zhenpin*, vol. 3, p. 25.

Scenic Spots on Mountain Huangshan

Album, eight leaves of painting, ink on paper, 26.3 x 34.2 cm

Hsu-po Studio collection, Hong Kong

Artist's inscriptions, signatures and seals:

Leaf 1: The shadows of peaks are disarranged at dusk;

The sound of waterfall echoes regularly through the empty mountains.

The intermittent clouds are still wandering;

The returned birds can not keep their silence.

I am reaching the place near the Immortal Spring;

I am confused when I look back at the secular world.

I wake up at midnight;

The moon is hanging lonely at the west side of the cave.

日落松陰亂，山空瀑響齊

斷雲閒不去，幽鳥寂還啼

投足仙源近，回看世路迷

中宵眠更起，孤月在巖西

Pine Valley

(1 seal) Mei Qing

Collectors' seals: Zuochou miwan (Liu Zuochou 劉作籌), Chungeng tang (存耕堂)

Leaf 2: Whose hands planted those immortal roots?

It is in this land that the lotuses are blossoming.

Tall and erect, they drink the manna of heaven;

Like mighty trees framed in five-coloured mist.

Pilgrims go up the winding lotus-scented way;

Through tunnelled paths to the crest.

When are the seeds of lotus going to be ripe?

By the blue sea, wait for the floating raft.

仙根誰手種，大地此開花

直飲半天露，齊擎五色霧

人從香國轉，路借玉房遮

蓮子何年結，滄溟待泛槎

Lotus Flower Peak

(1 seal) Mei Qushan

Collectors' seals: Xubai zhai Liushi cang (Liu Zuochou), Wang Xuan zhiyin (汪墳), Zhaolun

(趙倫)

Leaf 3: The spectacular scenery of Mt. Huang is unbelievable;

This peak is the most tranquil.

The endless sounds of the pines are chanting with my steps;

From where do the stream come?

And connect the stream of clouds.

黃山奇絕信難求，獨有茲峰境最幽

不盡松聲隨步起，何來溪水接雲流

The Cuiwei Peak

(4 seals) Qing, Meizi, Zhishang yunmen yi fang ge, Lianhua fengding sanshengmeng

Collector's seal: Shenli zhiyin (慎立之印).

Leaf 4: Thousands of special pines and trees differ from one another;

This pine-tree is even more rare.

The storm rises from the top of this pine-tree in the morning;

It looks like a piece of morning cloud that comes from a moving mountain.

千樹奇松盡不群，一奇如此更稀聞

朝來風雨凌空起，彷彿移山出曉雲

Twisted Dragon Pine

(1 seal) Mei Qing Qushanshi

Collector's seal: Zhaolun

Leaf 5: On the rocks of the Lion Peak, the immortal built his dwelling.

There is no place for my staff,

And my feet are nearly floating in the sky.

獅子峰頭石，仙人此結廬
孤節無著處，雙屐盡凌虛

(2 seals) Qu laoren, Youxi sanmei

Collectors' seals: Jimao zaisheng (己卯再生), Zhaolun, 1 unidentified

Leaf 6: There are five saints in this peak;

Sacrificial vessels are put to face them.

To which direction should I sit alone;

The root of pine tree is the best place for long chanting.

巉岩五供養，簠簋對金尊

獨坐向何處，長吟松樹根

Wugong Yang

(2 seals) Guren zaiwo, Mei Qing siyin

Collectors' seals: Zuochou zhiyin, Wang Xuan yin

Leaf 7: (2 seals) Meiwu (梅屋), Wushi san shenxian (無事散神仙)

Collectors' seals: Zhoulun, Yongchi tang (用恥堂)

Leaf 8: I greet the floating peaks with a long chant;

I wonder whether I am travelling at sea by boat.

Where are the thirty-six peaks?

I paint a scene which looks like a blue autumn sky.

一聲長嘯問浮丘，疑是乘龍海上遊

三十六峰在何處，揮毫盡彷彿碧天秋

It is the Three Floating Peaks that is painted while raining for the instruction from Feixiong 飛熊.

Qushan Mei Qing

(1 seal) Laomei

Collectors' seals: Erfenming lou (二分明樓), Zhuxi jianshang (竹溪鑑賞), Liu Zuochou, Fujiang

(祓江)

Literature: *Painting and Calligraphy in the Hsu-Po Studio*, pl. 42.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Century</i>	Ho, Wai-kam, ed. <i>The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636</i>
<i>Comprehensive</i>	Suzuki, Kei, comp. <i>Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting</i>
<i>HSZDB</i>	Min Linsi, comp. <i>Huangshan zhi dingben</i>
<i>LHSZHPWJ</i>	Anhuisheng wenxue yishu yanjiusuo, comp. <i>Lun Huangshan zhuhuapai wenji</i>
<i>QSSL</i>	Mei Qing. <i>Mei Qushan shihue</i>
<i>Shadows</i>	Cahill, James, ed. <i>Shadows of Mt. Huang</i>
<i>Thousand</i>	Li Chu-tsing. <i>Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines</i>
<i>TYGSHS</i>	Mei Qing. <i>Tianyang shanhou shi</i>
<i>ZGGDSHML</i>	Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu, comp. <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua mu</i>
<i>ZGGDSHTM</i>	Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu, comp. <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i>
<i>ZGHLLB</i>	Yu Jianhua, comp. <i>Zhongguo huailun luebian</i>
<i>ZGMSQJ</i>	Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui comp. <i>Zhongguo meishu quanji</i>

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- Pl. 185. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 7. *Wenshu Plateau*. Author's photograph. (in page 446 or page 515)
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- Pl. 191. Mei Qing: *Lofty Mountains and Flowing Stream*. Dated 1694. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 248.5 x 119.6 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Masterpieces of the Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*, cat. no. 43. (in page 449)
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- Pl. 194. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. *Radiant Brightness Summit*. From *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2, Pl. 25:c. (in page 450)
- Pl. 195. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 4. *Lotus Blossom Peak*. From *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2, Pl. 25:d. (in page 451)
- Pl. 196. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 5. *Lion Peak*. From *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2, Pl. 25:e. (in page 451)
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- Pl. 202. Mei Qing: *White Dragon Pool* from the *Album of Mt. Huang Views*. Dated 1695. Ink and colour on paper, 27.5 x 34 cm. Frank Caro Collection, New York. From Sherman E. Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, Pl. 108. (in page 454)

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- Pl. 270. Mei Chong: *Sea of Clouds at Wenshu Temple of Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 218 x 49 cm. Guangzhou Art Gallery. From *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, Fig. 50. (in page 516)
- Pl. 271. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 114: *Wenshu Temple*. From *Meiqing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 11. (in page 518)
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- Pl. 273. Chang Dai-chien: *Landscape in the Style of Mei Qing and Shitao*. Dated 1928. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 127.5 x 65 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From *Challenging the Past*, Fig. 46. (in page 526)
- Pl. 274. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 42: *Style of Wu Zhen*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art. (in page 526)
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- Pl. 295. Attributed to Xu Ben: Section from *Scenes of Mt. Huang* handscroll. Undated. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum: Yuan to Ch'ing Periods*, Pl. 27. (in page 543)
- Pl. 296. Sun Yi: *The Cinnabar Peak*. Dated 1657. Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on paper, 114 x 46.4 cm. Chien-lu collection, Ann Arbor. From *Studies in Connoisseurship*, cat. no. XII, 9. (in page 543)
- Pl. 297. Xiao Yuncong: *Mt. Huang*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Taiping Shanshui Tu*. Dated 1648. (in page 544)
- Pl. 298. Xiao Yuncong: *Strange Peak*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 130 x 94.5 cm, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. From *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 222. (in page 544)

Pl. 299. Xiao Yuncong: *Sections from Pines and Rocks of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1669. Handscroll, ink on paper, 47.5 x 490 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huìhua bian 9, Pl. 33. (in page 545)

Pl. 300. Yu Zhiding: *Thatched House at Mt. Huang*. Dated 1702. Handscroll, ink and colour on silk, 40.3 x 132.7 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Paintings from the Forbidden City*, cat. no. 53. (in page 545)

Pl. 301. Hongren: *The Beginning to Believe Peak of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1663. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 314 x 84 cm. Guangzhou Art Gallery. From *Paintings of the Ming & Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 29. (in page 546)

Pl. 302. Jiang Zhu: *Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 105.5 x 38.2 cm. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 147. (in page 546)

Pl. 303. Hongren: *Refining Cinnabar Platform* from the *Sixty Views of Mt. Huang* album. Undated. Ink and colours on paper, 21.2 x 18.3 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, Pl. 115. (in page 547)

Pl. 304. Jiang Zhu: *Refining Cinnabar Platform* from the *Yumu shangxin* album. Undated. Ink on paper, 25.9 x 15.5 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 149. (in page 547)

Pl. 305. Shitao: *Sounding Strings Spring* from the *Eight Views of Mt. Huang* album. Ink and colours on paper, 20.3 x 27.2 cm. Undated. Sumitomo Kichizaemon Collection. From *Bunjinga suihin, Chugokuhen* 8, Sekito, Pl. 45. (in page 548)

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Pl. 308. Dai Benxiao: *Lotus Blossom Peak* from the *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang* album. Dated 1675. Ink on paper, 21.5 x 17 cm. Guangdong Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huìhua bian 9, Pl. 93; Leaf 8. (in page 549)

Pl. 309. Dai Benxiao: *White Dragon Pool*. Undated. Ink on silk, 186.5 x 50.4 cm. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 134. (in page 550)

Pl. 310. Mei Qing: *White Dragon Pool*. Undated. Ink on paper, 137.8 x 71.8 cm. Lushun Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huìhua bian 9, Pl. 100. (in page 550)

Pl. 311. Dai Benxiao: *Back Sea* from *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 188.8 x 54.4 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2645. (in page 551)

Pl. 312. Cheng Sui: *Old Temple in the Remote Mountains* from *Album of Landscape*. Undated. Ink on paper, 27.5 x 22.4 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huìhua bian 9, Pl. 37. (in page 551)

Pl. 313. Kuncan: *Flowing Stream at the Heavenly Capital*. Dated 1660. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 101.5 x 38.5 cm. Hsu-po Studio Collection, Hong Kong. From *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy in The Hsu-po Studio*, Pl. 10. (in page 552)

Pl. 314. Kuncan: *Landscape*. Dated 1660. Hanging scroll, 118.5 x 40 cm. Hsu-po Studio Collection, Hong Kong. From *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, Fig. 239. (in page 552)

- Pl. 315. Zheng Min: *Nine Dragon Pool*. Dated 1673. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 75.3 x 28.1 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huifua bian 9, Pl. 40. (in page 553)
- Pl. 316. Hongren: *Nine Dragon Pool* from *Sixty Views of Mt. Huang* album. Undated. From *Nanga Taisei*, vol. XIII, p. 12. (in page 553)
- Pl. 317. Zheng Min: *Refining Cinnabar Platform* from *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.7 x 42.4 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3074. (in page 554)
- Pl. 318. Xue Zhuang: *Cloudy Boat in Mt. Huang*. Dated 1705. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 181 x 93.5 cm. Changzhou City Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 6, no. 15-23. (in page 554)
- Pl. 319. Xue Zhuang: *Cloudy Boat in Mt. Huang*. Dated 1718. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 100 x 57.7 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. From *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, Pl. 171. (in page 555)
- Pl. 320. Yi Zhi: *The Landscape of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1722. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 115 x 53.5 cm. Suzhou Lingyanshan Temple. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 6, no. 2-25. (in page 555)
- Pl. 321. Mei Geng: *Landscape* from *Joint Handscroll of Orchids, Pines and Landscape* handscroll. Dated 1689. Ink and colour on paper, 20.5 x 56 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2673. (in page 556)
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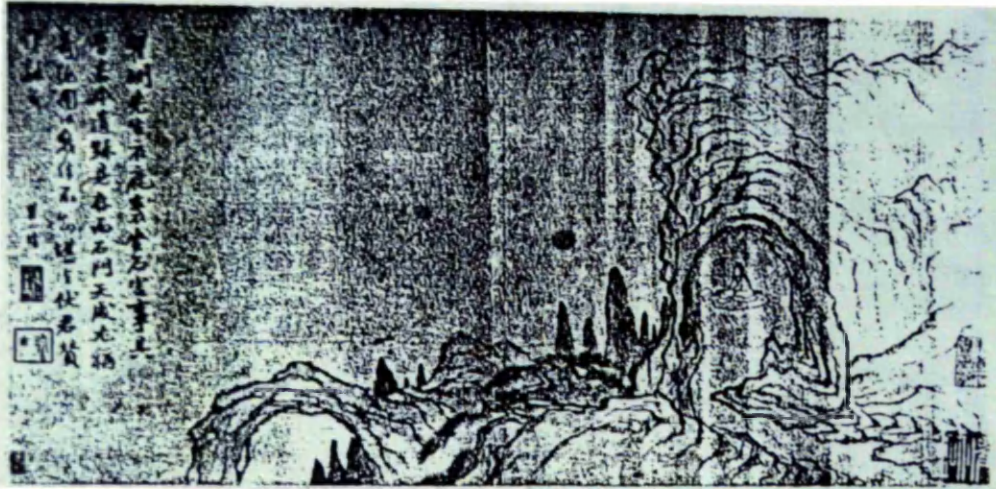
VOLUME II (A)

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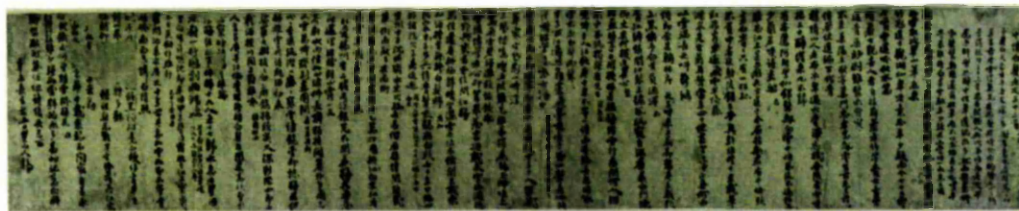
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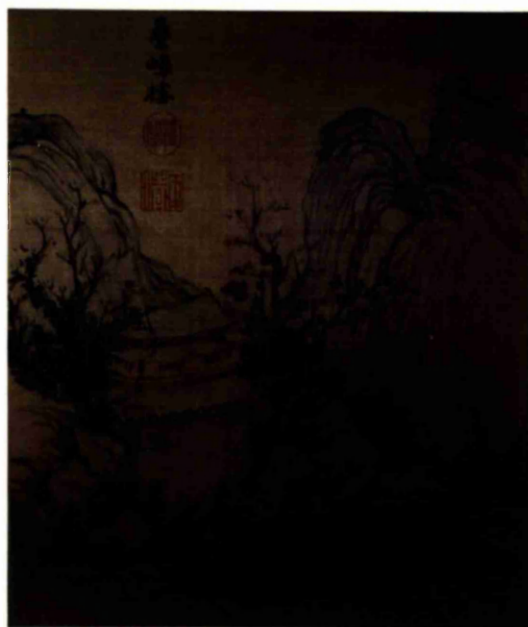
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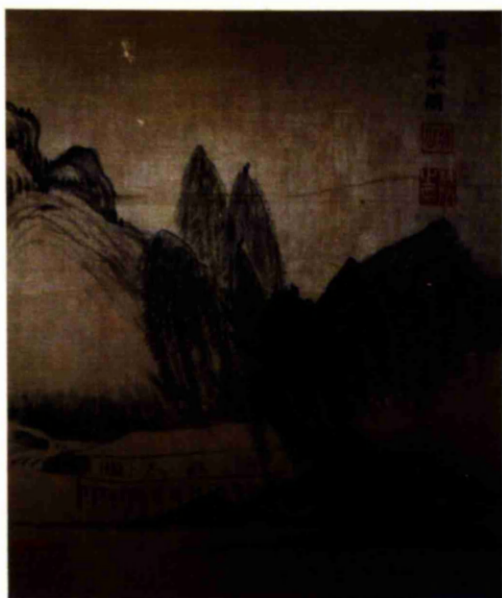
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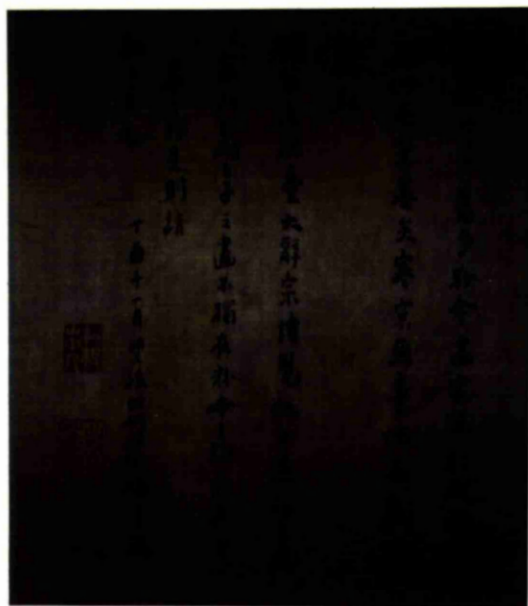
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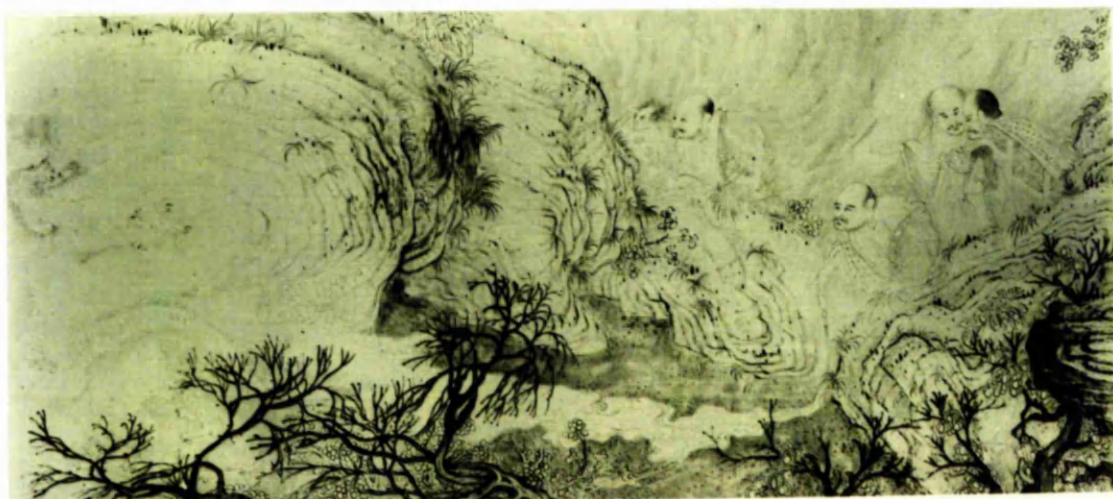
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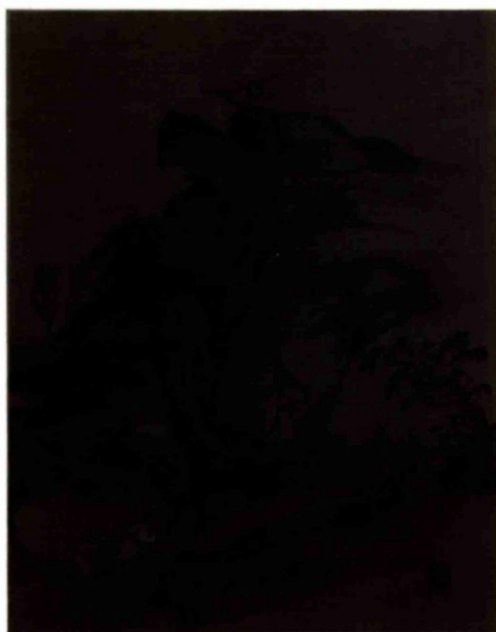
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Pl. 19. Shitao: *Landscapes of Mt. Huang*. Undated. Album, ink and ink and colour on paper, 30.8 x 24.1 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Leaf 21. *Close View of Nine Dragon Pool*. From *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, Pl. 158.



Pl. 20. Shitao: *Landscape of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 6. *Reclining Dragon Pine*. From *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, Pl. 158.

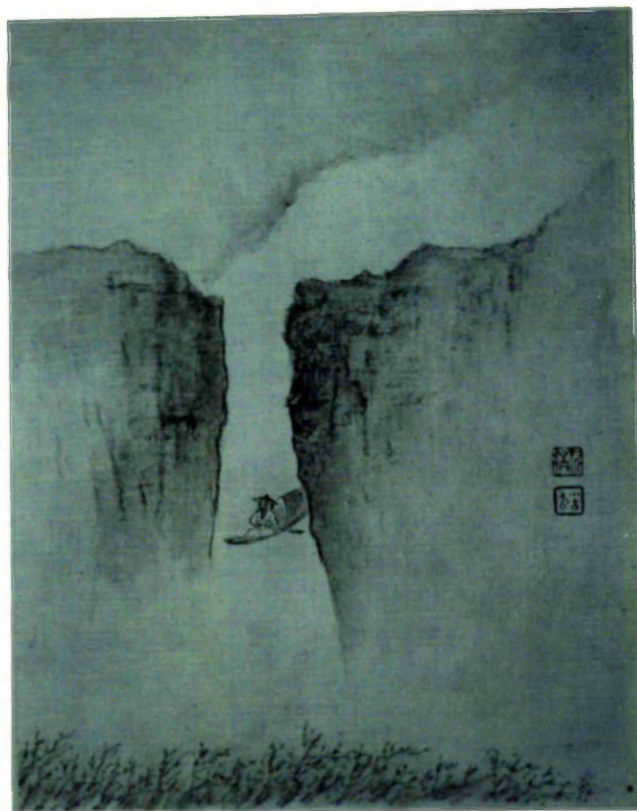
Pl. 21. Shitao: *Landscape of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 19. *Twisted Dragon Pine*. From *The Century of Tung Ch'ich'ang*, Pl. 158.



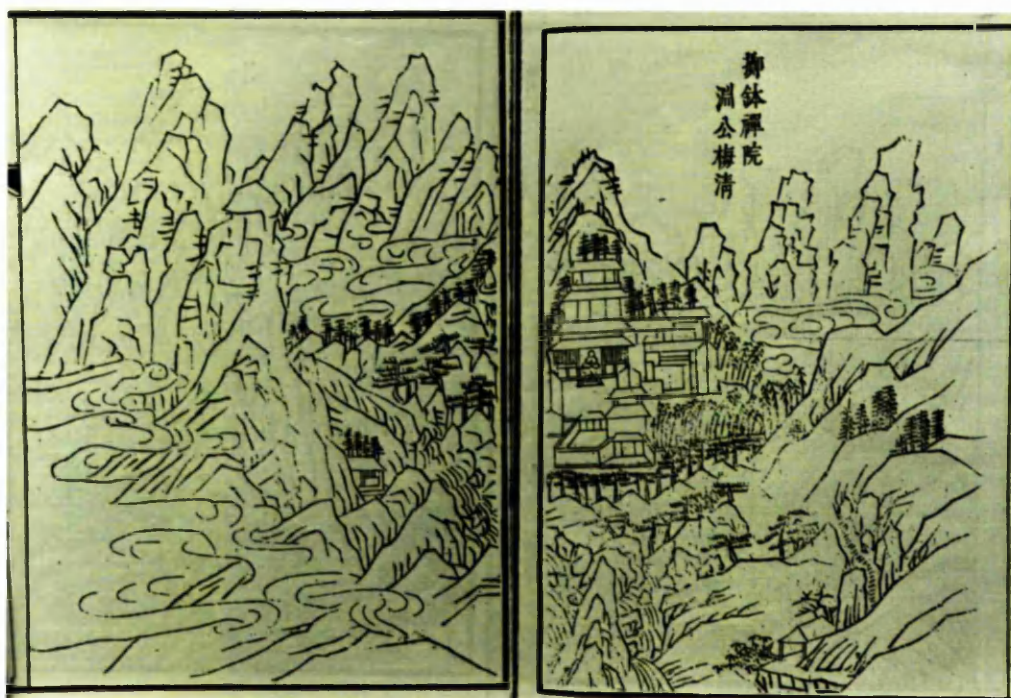
Pl. 22. Mei Qing: *Two Verdant Pines*. Dated 1667. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 162 x 48 cm. Palace Museum in Shenyang. From *Shenyang Gugong bowuyuan cang Ming Qing huihua xuanji*, Fig. 43.



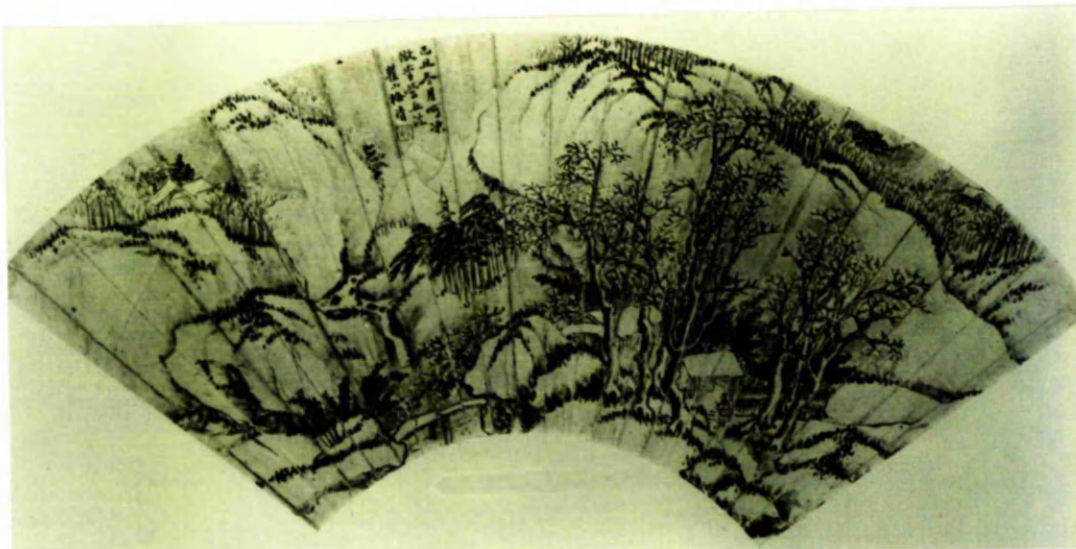
Pl. 23. Mei Qing: *Boating on the Blue Stream*. Dated 1673. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 134.6 x 59 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Author's photograph.



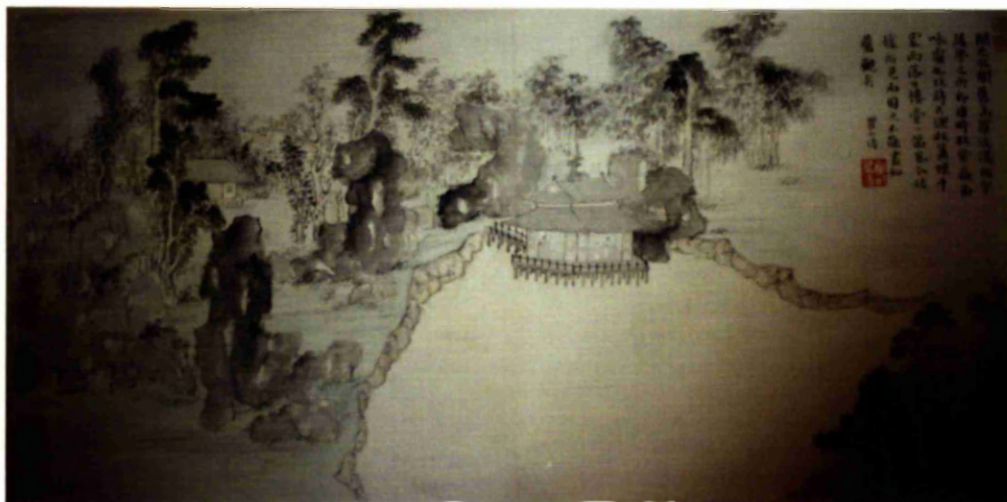
Pl. 24. Shitao: *Passing through the Gorge* from the *Landscapes* album. Dated 1701. Ink and light colour on paper, 24.2 x 18.7 cm. The Art Museum, Princeton University. *Studies in Connoisseurship*, cat. no. XXVI: Leaf F.



Pl. 25. Mei Qing: *Zhibo Temple*. Undated. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Huangshan zhi*.



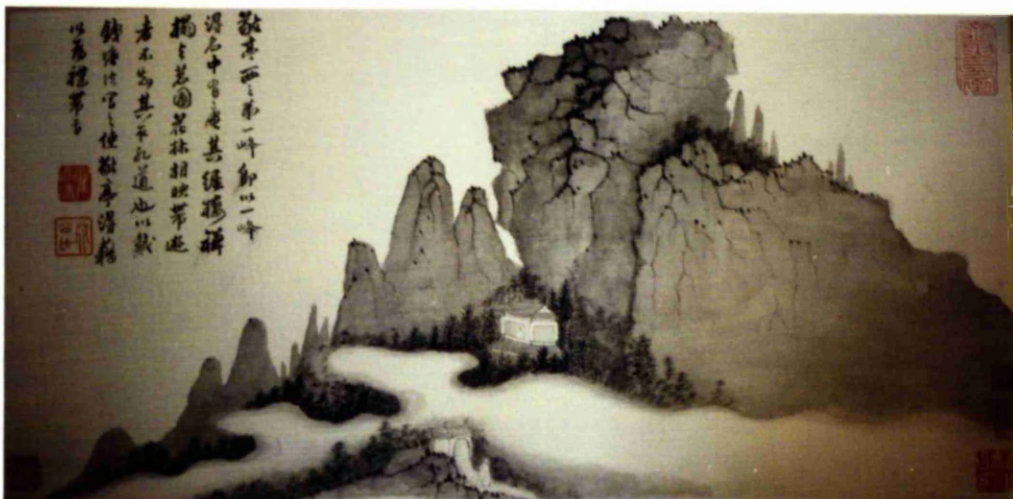
Pl. 26. Mei Qing: *Landscape in the Style of Li Cheng*. Dated 1649. Fan. Whereabouts unknown. From *Ming Qing mingjia shanmian daguan*, vol. 3.



Pl. 27. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Dated 1680. Album, ink and ink and colours on paper, 27.1 x 54.6 cm. Museum Rietberg, Zurich. Leaf 3. *Kaiyuan Waterside Pavilion*. Author's photograph.



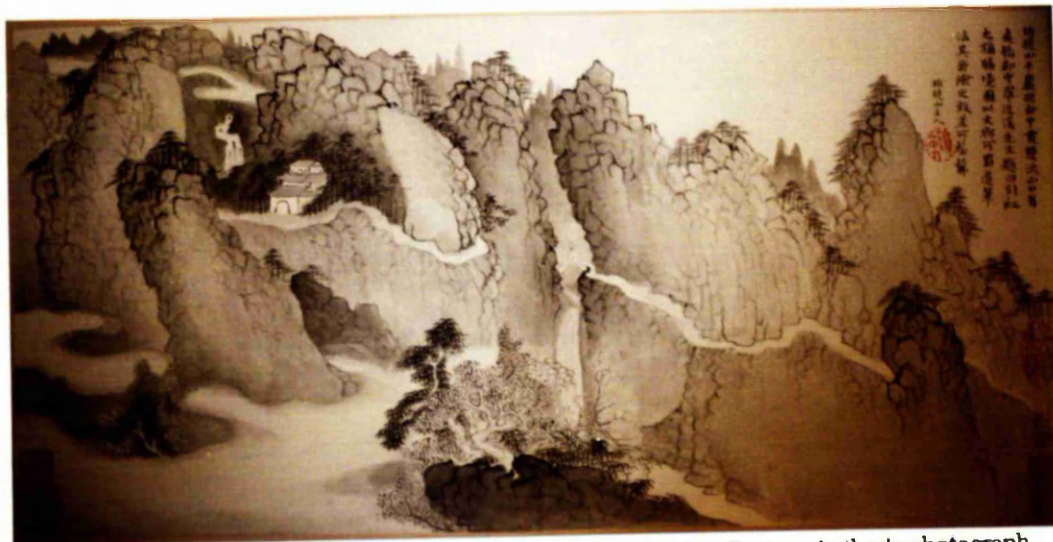
Pl. 28. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 4. *Yellow Pond*. Courtesy of the Museum Rietberg, Zurich.



Pl. 29. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 5. *Mt. Jingting*. Author's photograph.



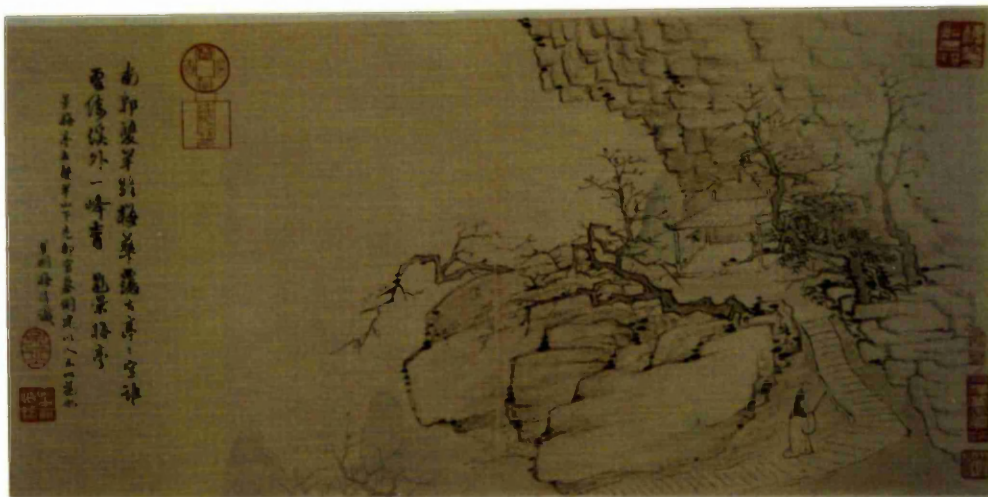
Pl. 30. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 6. *Echo Hill Pond*. Author's photograph.



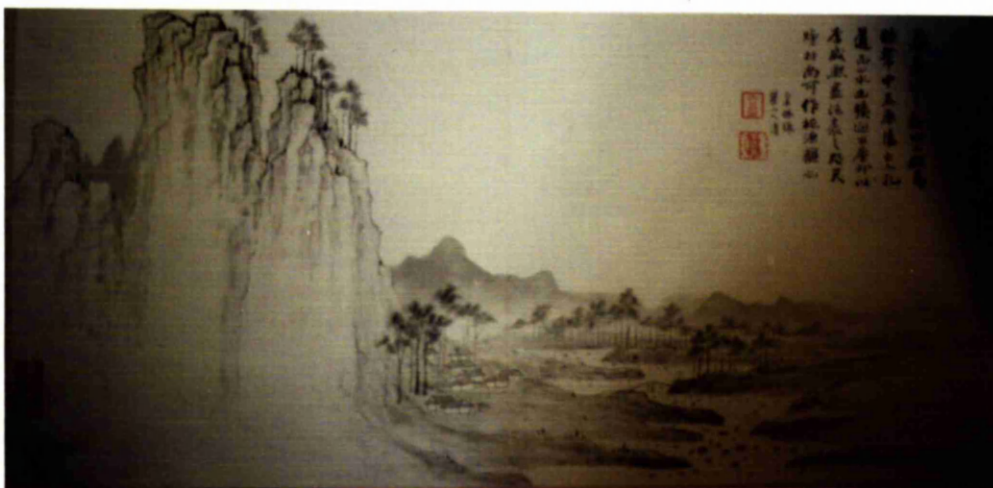
Pl. 31. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 7. *Mt. Bojian*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 32. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 8. *Yellow Valley*. Courtesy of the Museum Rietberg, Zurich.



Pl. 33. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 10. *Phum Viewing Pavilion*. Courtesy of the Museum Rietberg, Zurich.



Pl. 34. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 11. *Lumo River*. Author's photograph.



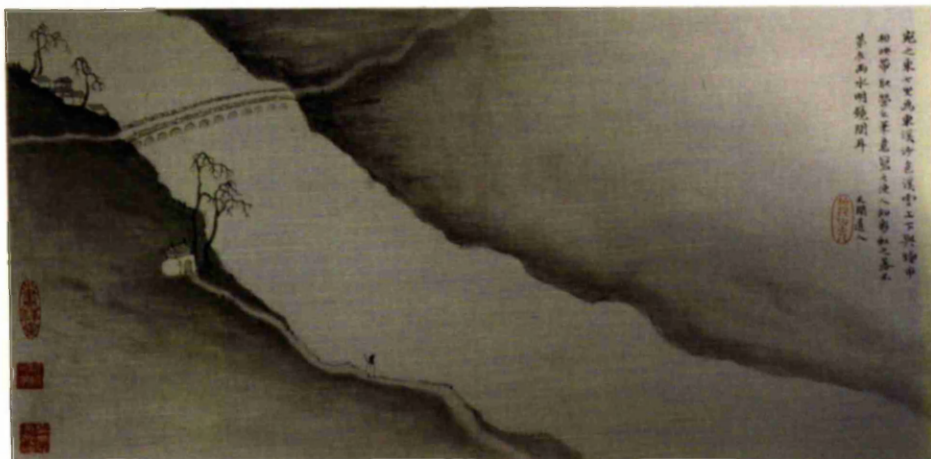
Pl. 35. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 19. *West Moat*. Author's photograph.



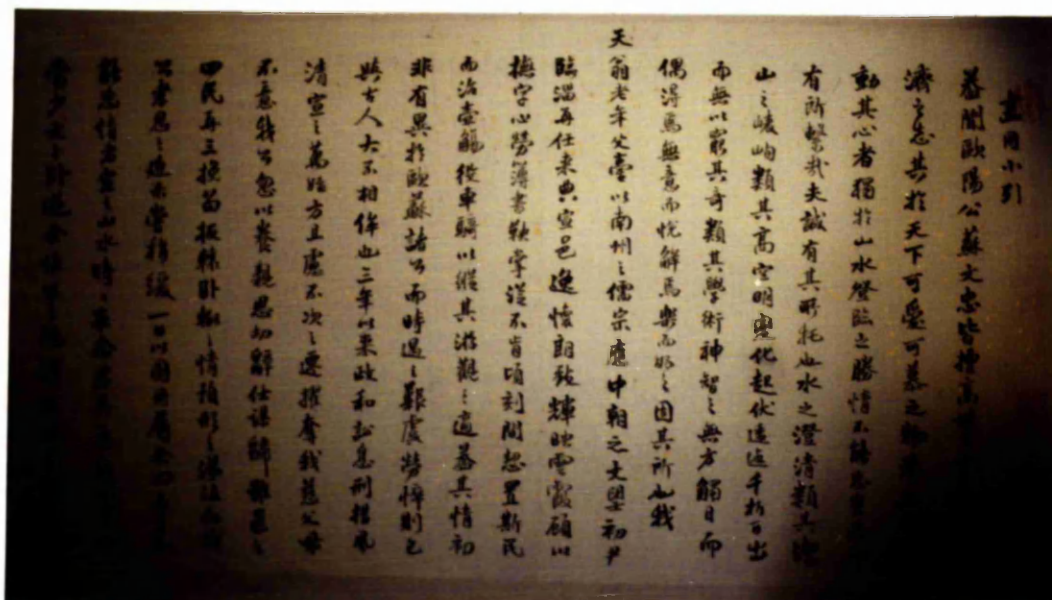
Pl. 36. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 22. *South Lake*. Author's photograph.



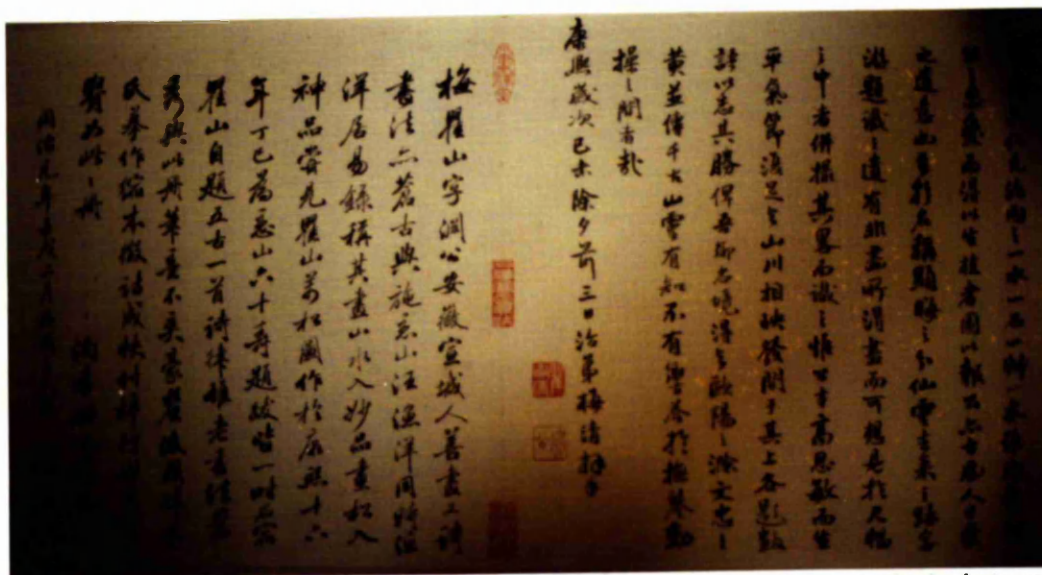
Pl. 37. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 23. *Mt. Magu*. Courtesy of the Museum Rietberg, Zurich.



Pl. 38. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Leaf 24. *East River*. Courtesy of the Museum Rietberg, Zurich.



Pl. 39. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Colophon 1 by Mei Qing. Author's photograph.



Pl. 40. Mei Qing: *Twenty-Four Views of Xuancheng*. Colophon 2 by Xiyuan zhuren. Author's photograph.



Pl. 41. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Old Masters*. Dated 1690. Album, ink and ink and light colours on paper, 28.6 x 44 cm. Leaf 1. *Style of Li Cheng*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 42. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Old Masters*. Leaf 2. Style of Wu Zhen. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 43. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Old Masters*. Leaf 3. Style of Huang Gongwang. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 44. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Old Masters*. Leaf 7. *Style of Ke Jiusi*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 45. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Dated 1693. Album, ink and ink and light colour on paper. Leaf 1. *Style of Huang Gongwang*. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



Pl. 46. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 2. *Style of Zhao Mengfu*.
Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



Pl. 47. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 3. *Style of Ma Yuan*.
Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



Pl. 48. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 4. Style of Gao Kegong. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



Pl. 49. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 5. Style of Li Cheng. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



Pl. 50. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 6. Style of Wu Zhen. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. .



Pl. 51. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 7. Style of Shen Zhou. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



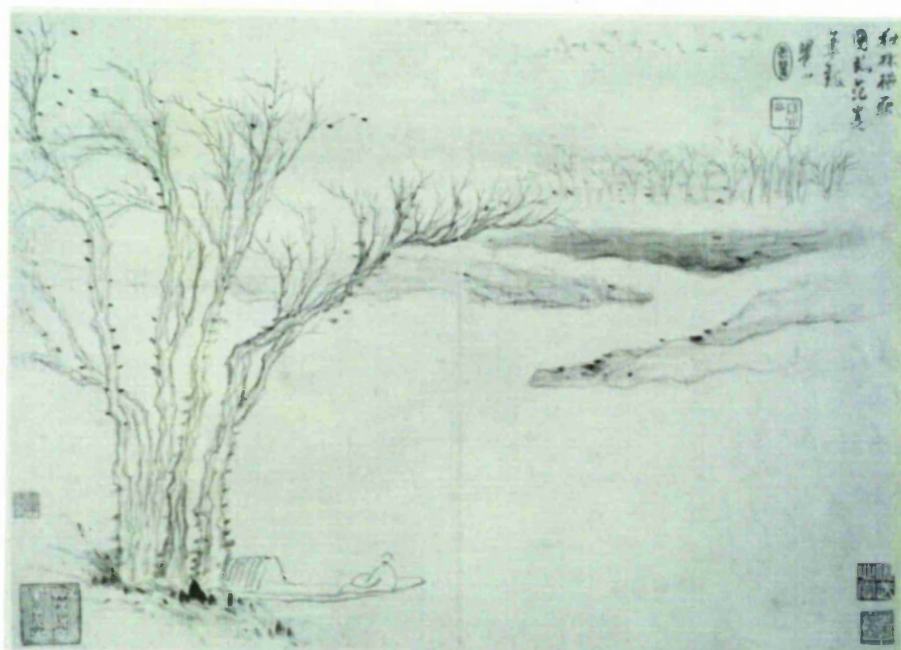
Pl. 52. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 8. *Style of Xu Wei*. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. .



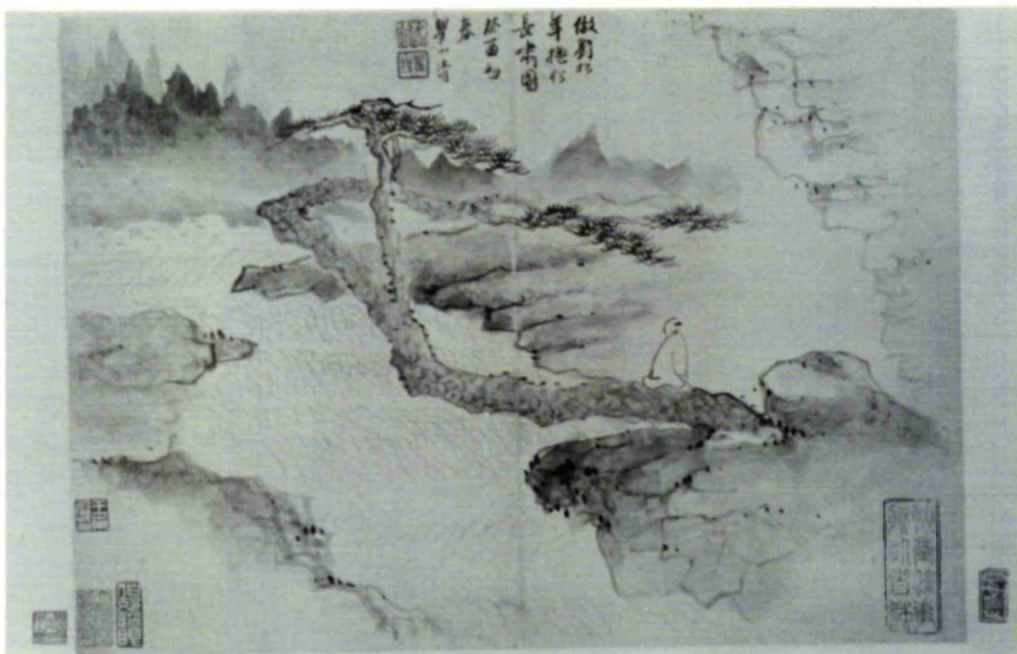
Pl. 53. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 9. *Style of Ni Zan*. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. .



Pl. 54. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 10. Style of Wu Zhen. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. .



Pl. 55. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 11. Style of Fan Kuan. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin.



Pl. 56. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 12. *Style of Liu Songnian*. Courtesy of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. .



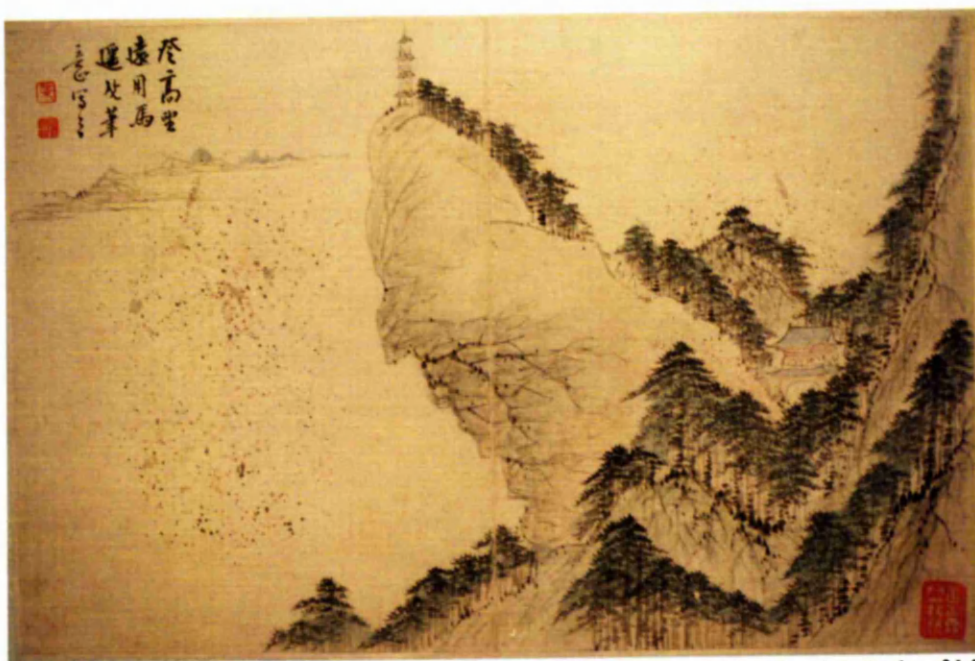
Pl. 57. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Dated 1693. Album, ink and colours on paper, 30.3 x 45.5 cm. Shanghai Museum. Leaf 1. *Style of Liu Songnian*. Author's photograph.



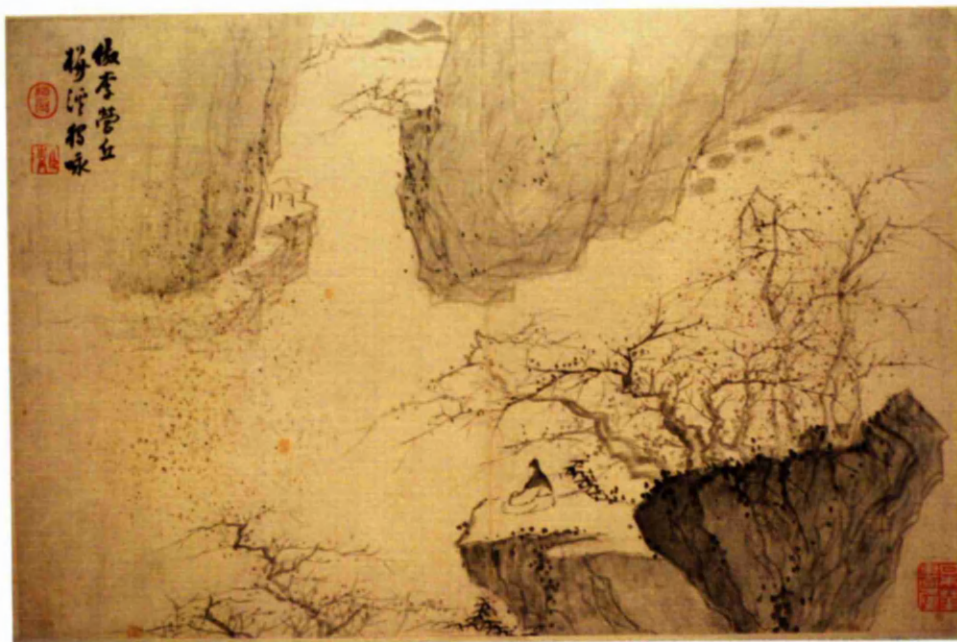
Pl. 58. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 2. Style of Dong Yuan. Author's photograph.



Pl. 59. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 3. Style of Fan Kuan. Author's photograph.



Pl. 60. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 4. Style of Ma Yuan. Author's photograph.



Pl. 61. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 5. Style of Li Cheng. Author's photograph.



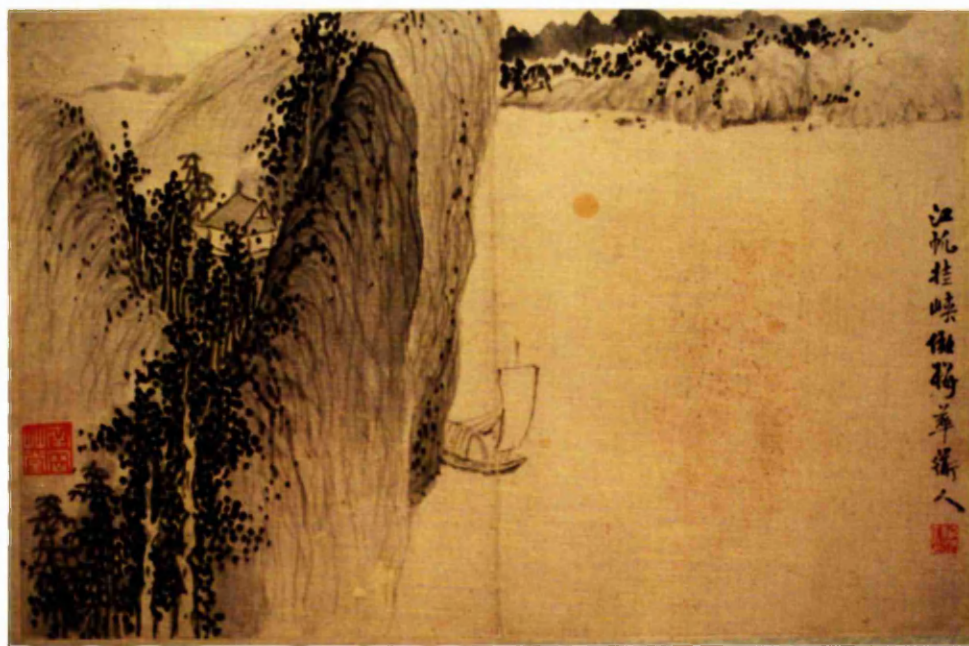
Pl. 62. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 6. Style of Gao Kegong. Author's photograph.



Pl. 63. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 7. Style of Jing Hao and Guan Tong. Author's photograph.



Pl. 64. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 8. Style of Shen Zhou. Author's photograph.



Pl. 65. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 9. Style of Wu Zhen. Author's photograph.



Pl. 66. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 10. Style of Guo Xi. Author's photograph.



Pl. 67. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 11. Style of Ni Zan. Author's photograph.



Pl. 68. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Brush Idea of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 12. Style of Wang Meng. Author's photograph.



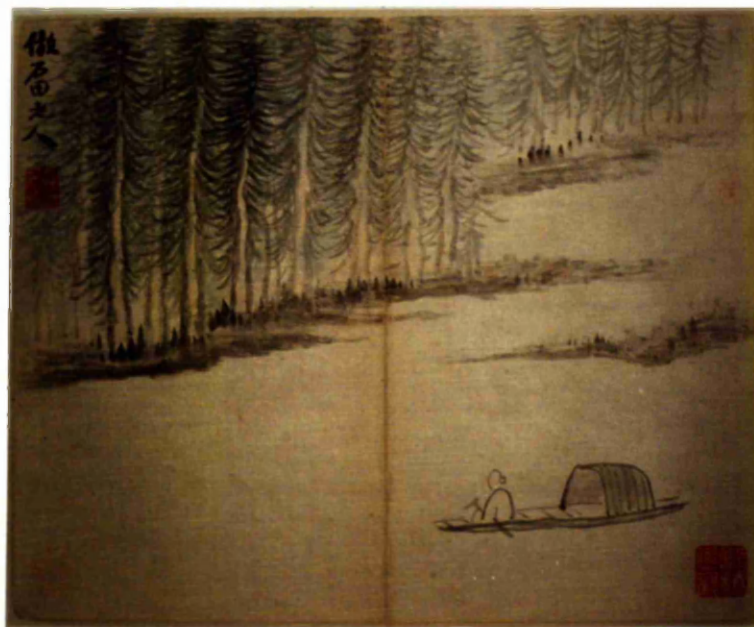
Pl. 69. Li Cheng: *Plum-Blossom Studio*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*.



Pl. 70. Wu Zhen: *Fisherman*. Dated 1342. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 176.1 x 95.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. From *Hills Beyond A River*, Pl. 26.



Pl. 71. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Dated 1693. Albumen, ink and ink and light colour on paper. Mrs. M. H. & Mr. Guy Weill collection, New York. Leaf 1. *Style of Mi Fu and Mi Youren*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 72. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 2. Style of Shen Zhou. Author's photograph.



Pl. 73. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 3. Style of Liu Songnian. Author's photograph.



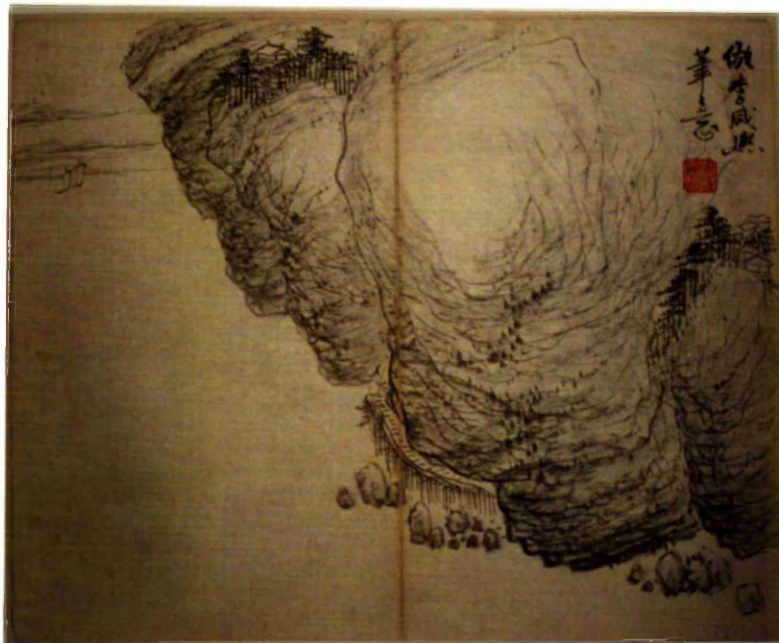
Pl. 74. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 4. Style of Fang Kuan. Author's photograph.



Pl. 75. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 5. Style of Wu Zhen. Author's photograph.



Pl. 76. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 6. Style of Ma Yuan, Jing Hao and Guan Tong. Author's photograph.



Pl. 77. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 7. Style of Li Cheng. Author's photograph.



Pl. 78. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 8. *Style of Guo Xi*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 79. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 9. *Style of Zhong Ren*. Author's photograph.



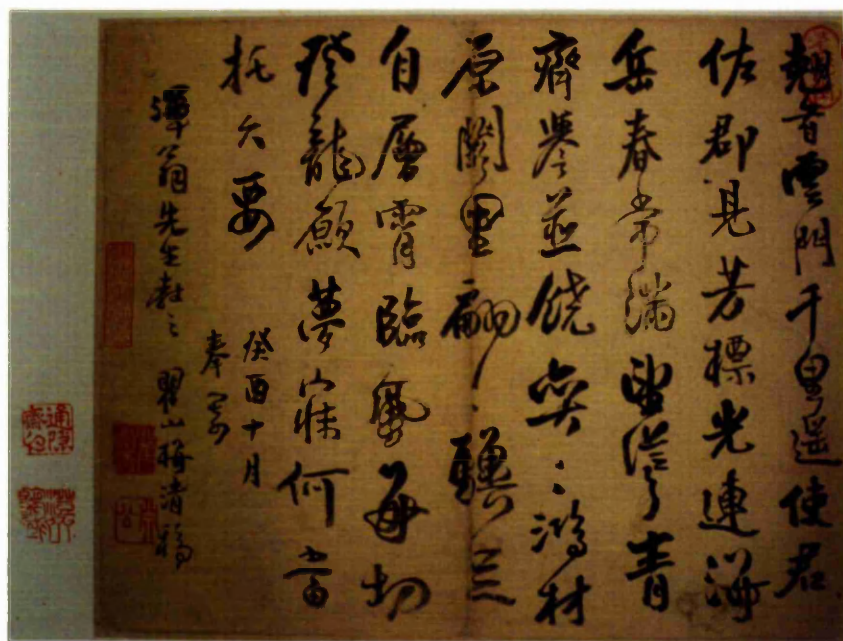
Pl. 80. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 10. *Style of Li Cheng*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 81. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 11. *Style of Wu Zhen*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 82. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Leaf 12. Style of Wang Meng. Author's photograph.



Pl. 83. Mei Qing: *Landscapes in the Styles of Twelve Ancient Masters*. Colophon by Mei Qing. Author's photograph.



Pl. 84. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Dated 1695. Album. Whereabouts unknown. Leaf 2. Style of Bi Hong and Wei Yan. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 20.



Pl. 85. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Leaf 3. Style of Shen Zhou. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 21.



Pl. 86. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Leaf 6. *Style of Wu Zhen*. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 24.



Pl. 87. Mei Qing: *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scrolls. Whereabouts unknown. Scroll 1. *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. From photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

Pl. 88. Mei Qing: *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Scroll 2. *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. From photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

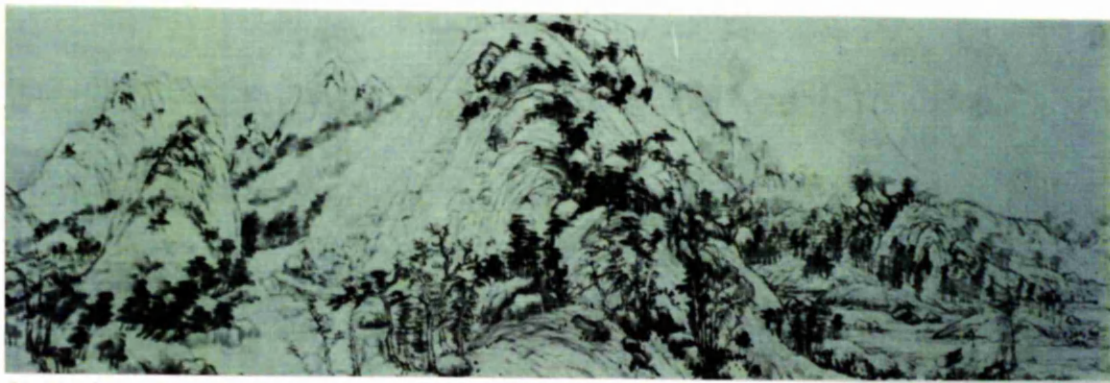


Pl. 89. Mei Qing: *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Scroll 3. *Cloudy Gate*. From photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

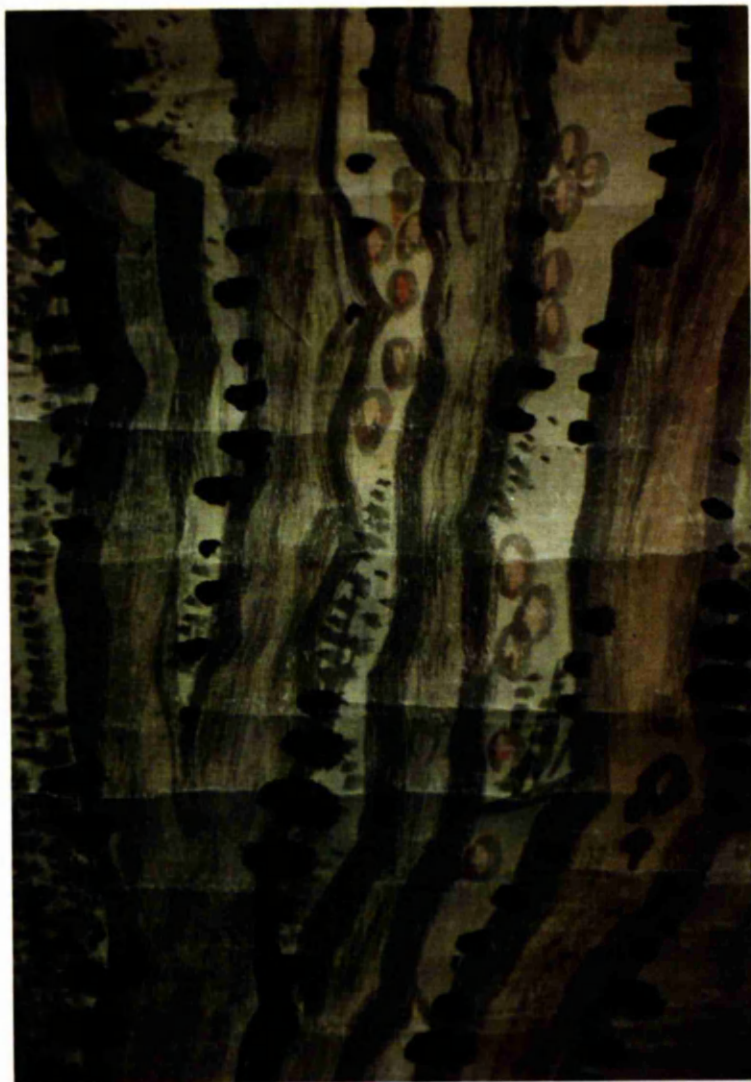
Pl. 90. Mei Qing: *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Scroll 4. *Sounding Strings Spring*. From photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. (For the inscription see Pl. 278)



Pl. 91. Mei Qing: *Refining Cinnabar Platform in the Style of Zhao Mengfu*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 132.9 x 52 cm. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20.



Pl. 92. Huang Gongwang: Section from the *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* handscroll. Undated. Ink on paper, 33 x 639.9 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. From *Hills Beyond A River*, Pl. 42.



Pl. 94. Detail of Pl. 93. *Landscape Panorama*. Author's photograph.



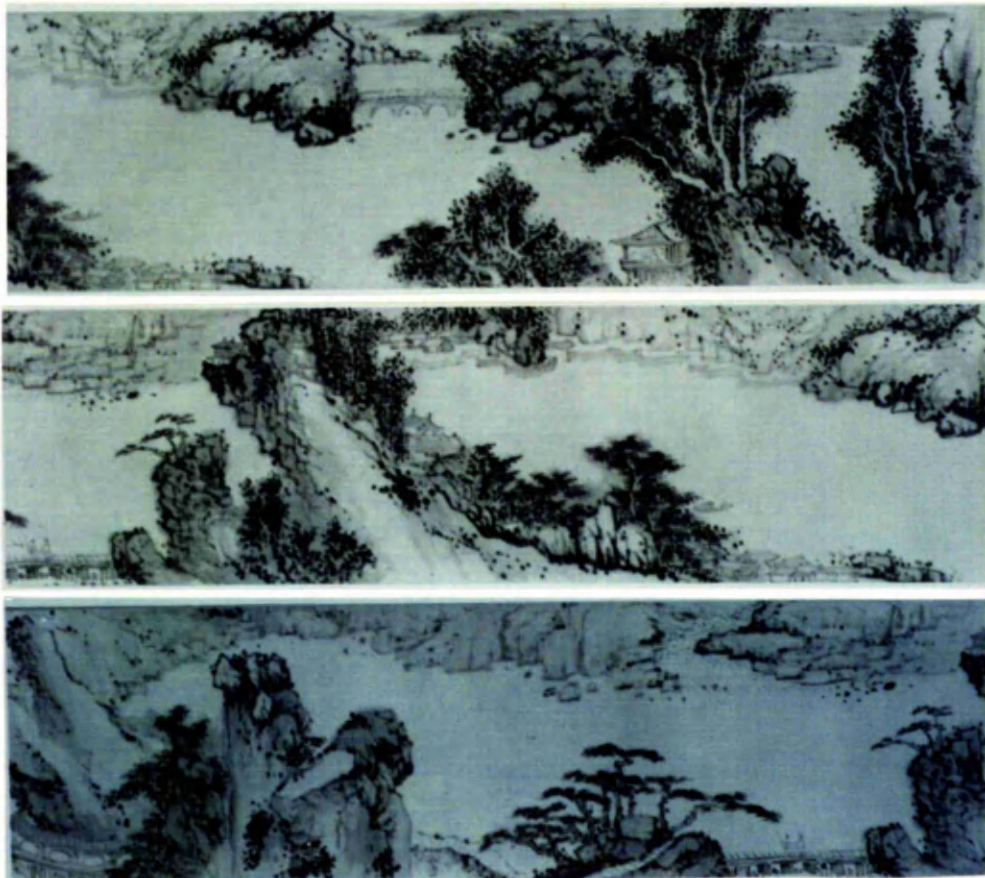
Pl. 93. Mei Qing: *Landscape Panorama*. Dated 1693. A set of ten hanging scrolls, ink and colours on silk, 181.5 x 493.6 cm. Guangzhou Art Gallery. From *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 16.



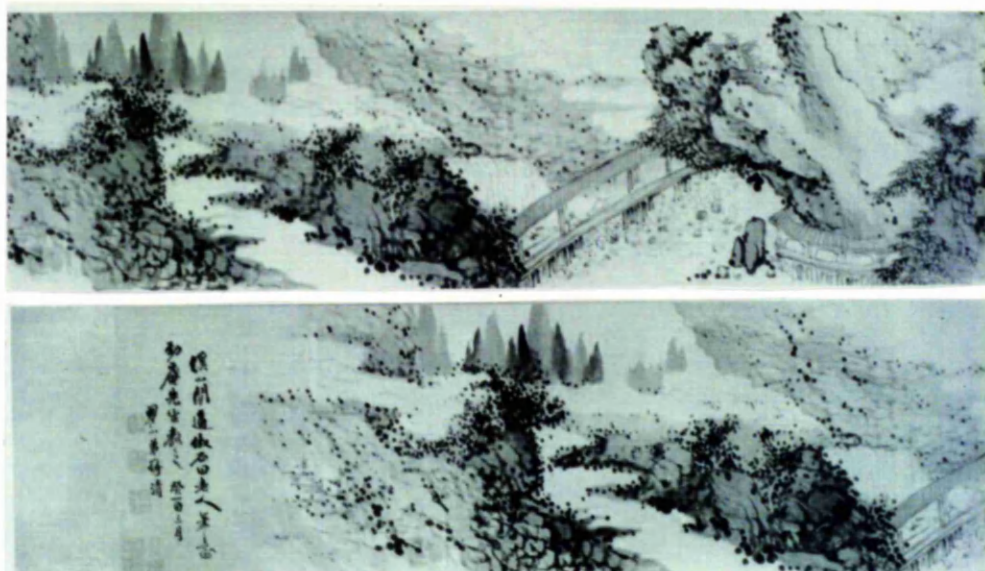
Pl. 95. Detail of Pl. 93. *Landscape Panorama*. Author's photograph.



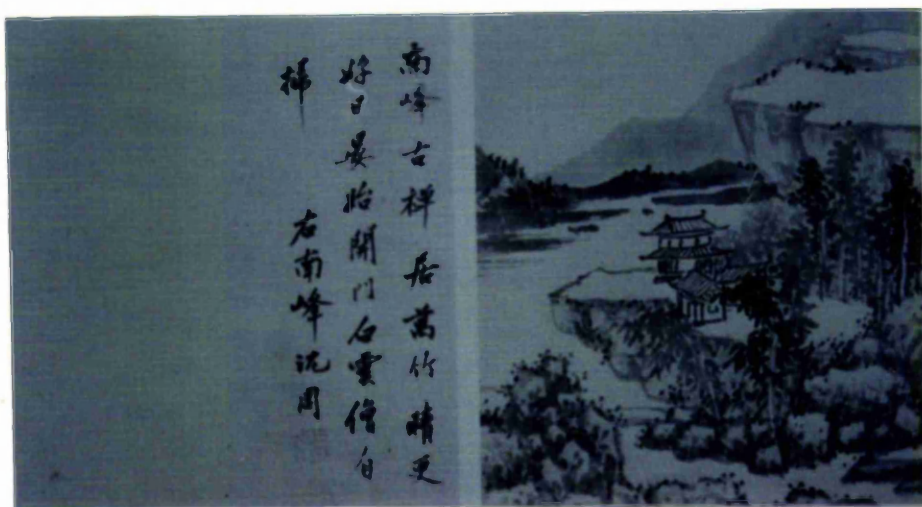
Pl. 96. Xiao Yuncong: *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains after Huang Gongwang*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*.



Pl. 97. Mei Qing: Sections 1-2 of the *Visiting Mt. Xi* handscroll. Dated 1693. Ink on paper, 29.1 x 355.1 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2681.



Pl. 98. Mei Qing: Sections 4-5 of the *Visiting Mt. Xi* handscroll. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2681.



Pl. 99. Shen Zhou: *Nanfeng* from *Twelve Views of Wumen (Suzhou)* album. Undated. Ink on paper, 25.6 x 22.5 cm. Guangzhou Art Gallery. From *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 1.



Pl. 100. Shen Zhou: *Juehai Temple* from *Twelve Views of Wumen (Suzhou)* album. From *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 1.

Pl. 101. Wang Meng: *Forest Dwellings at Juqu*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 68.7 x 42.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. From James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, p. 114.



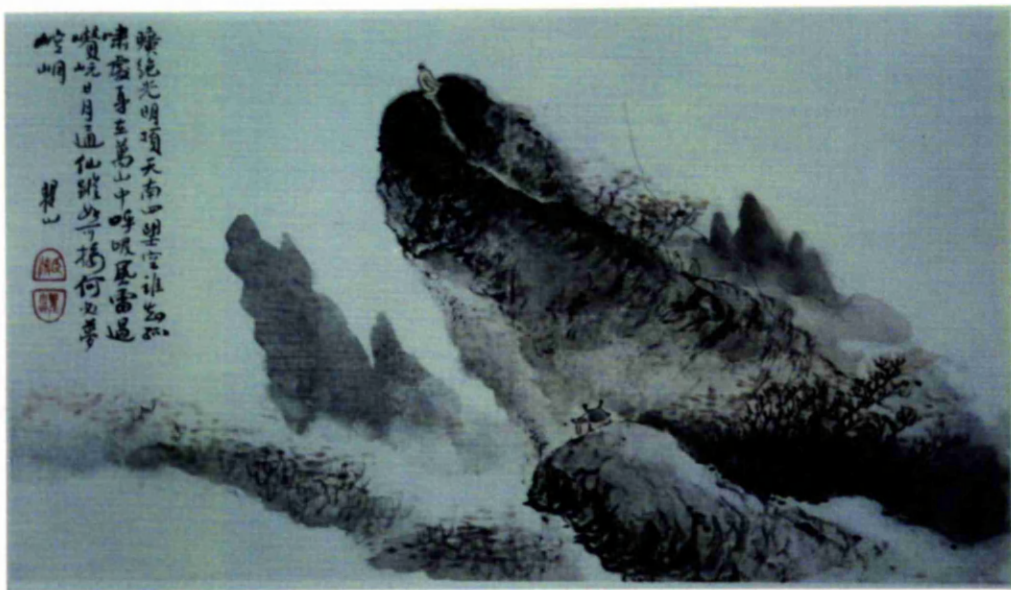
Pl. 102. Mei Qing: *Mt. Bojian*. Dated 1690. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 345 x 127.3 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2675.



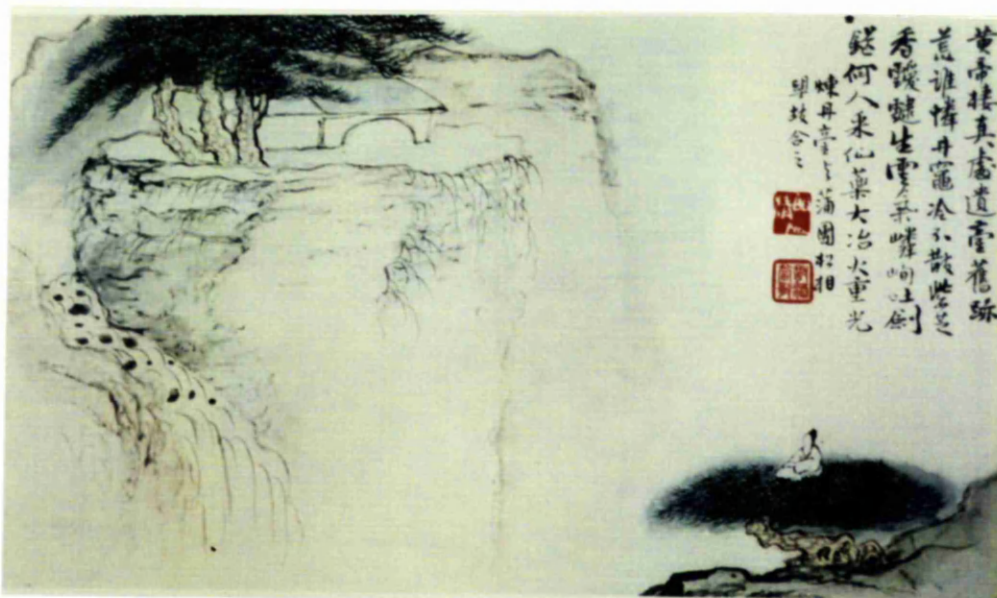
Pl. 103. Mei Qing: *Mt. Bojian*. Dated 1693. Hanging scroll. Whereabouts unknown. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 1.



Pl. 104. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1690. Album, ink and ink and colours on paper, 22.5 x 38.2 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Leaf 1. *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 1.



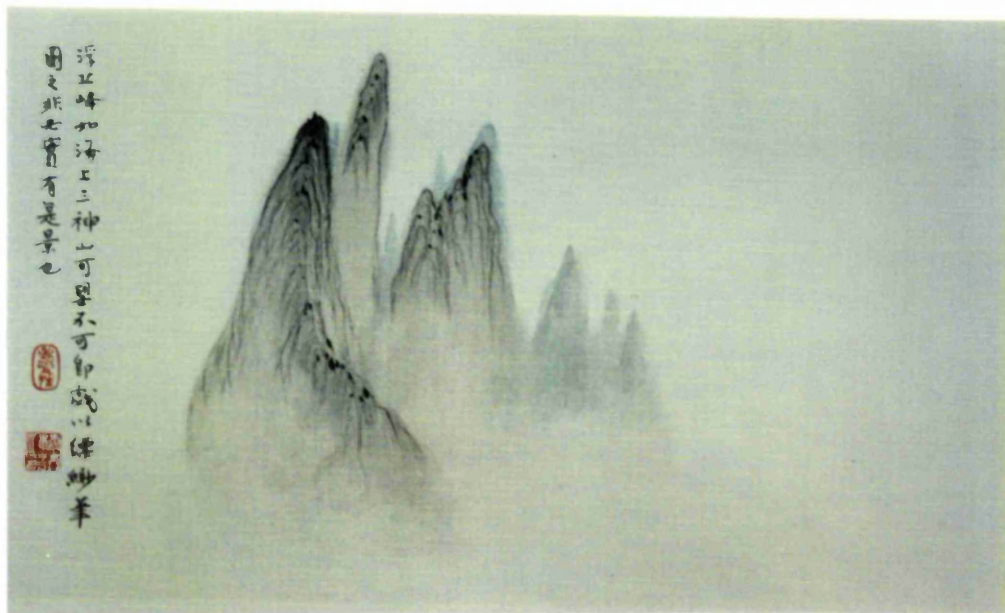
Pl. 105. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 2. *Radiant Brightness Summit*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 2.



Pl. 106. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. *Refining Cinnabar Platform and Round Mat Pine*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 3.



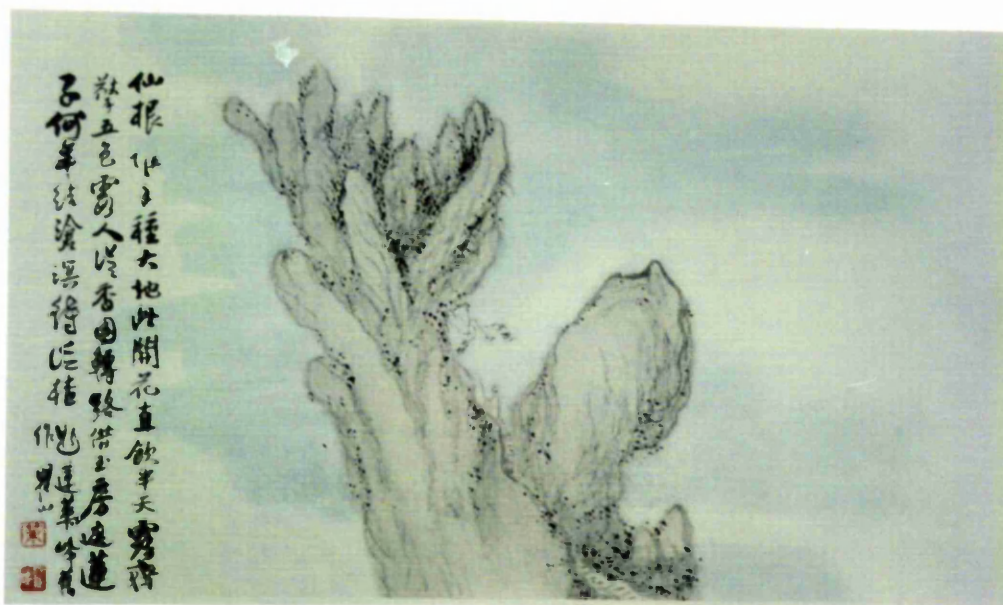
Pl. 107. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 4. *Sounding Strings Spring*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 4.



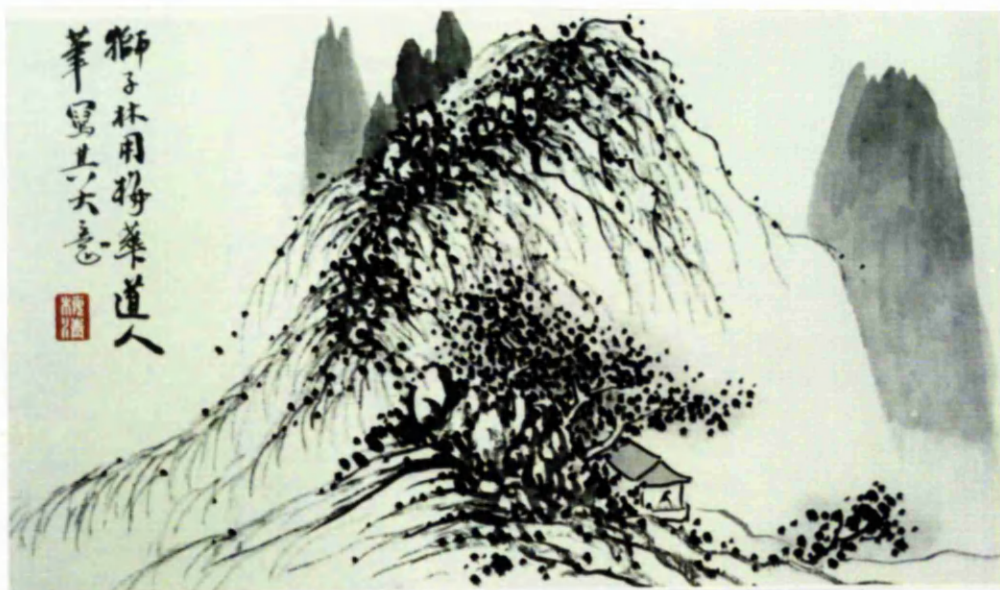
Pl. 108. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 5. *Fuqiu Peak*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 5.



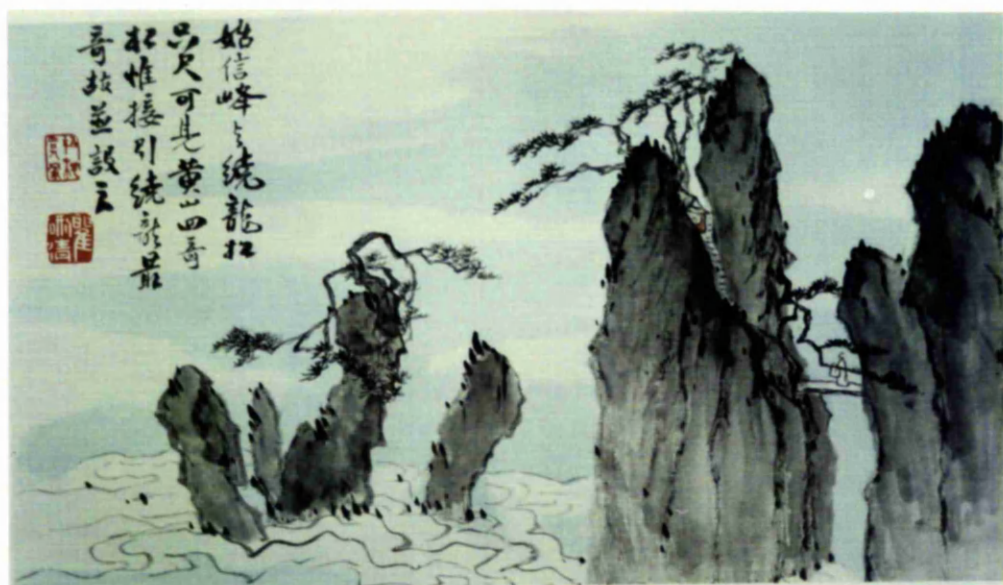
Pl. 109. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 6. *Hot Springs and Xiangfu Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 6.



Pl. 110. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 7. *Lotus Blossom Peak*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 7.



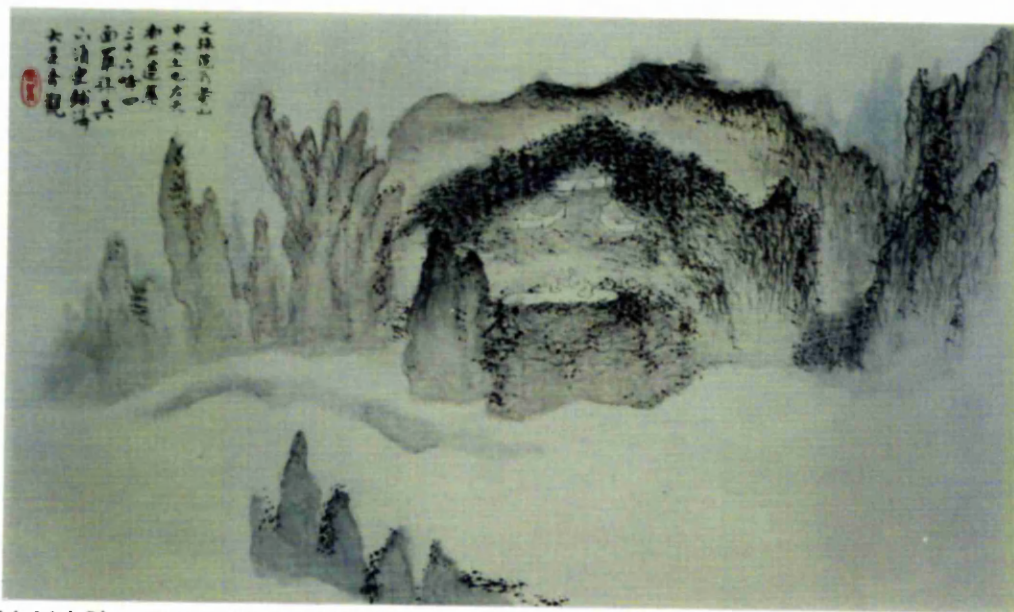
Pl. 111. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 8. *Lion Forest*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 8.



Pl. 112. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 9. *Beginning to Believe Peak and Twisted Dragon Pine*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 9.



Pl. 113. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 10. *Pine Valley*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 10.



Pl. 114. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 11. *Wenshu Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 11.



Pl. 115. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 12. Cuiwei Temple. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 12.



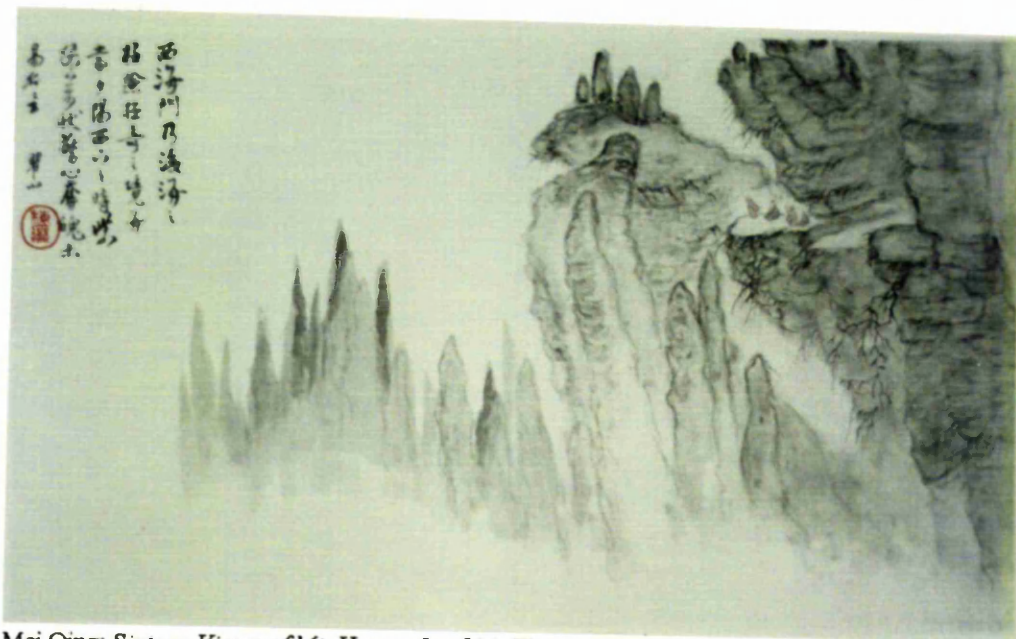
Pl. 116. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 13. Heavenly Capital Peak. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 13.



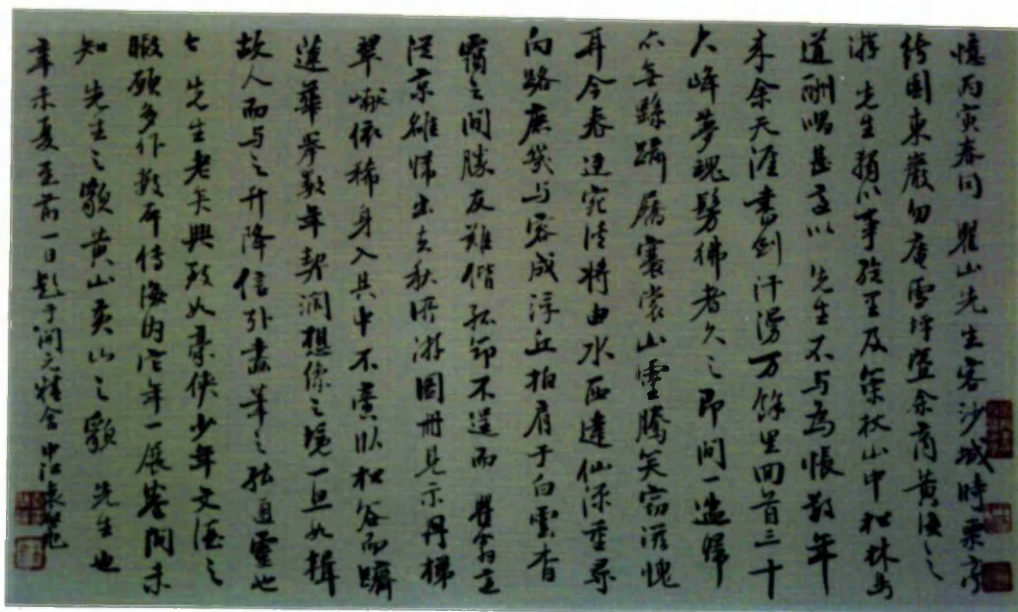
Pl. 117. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 14. *Merciful Brilliance Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 14.



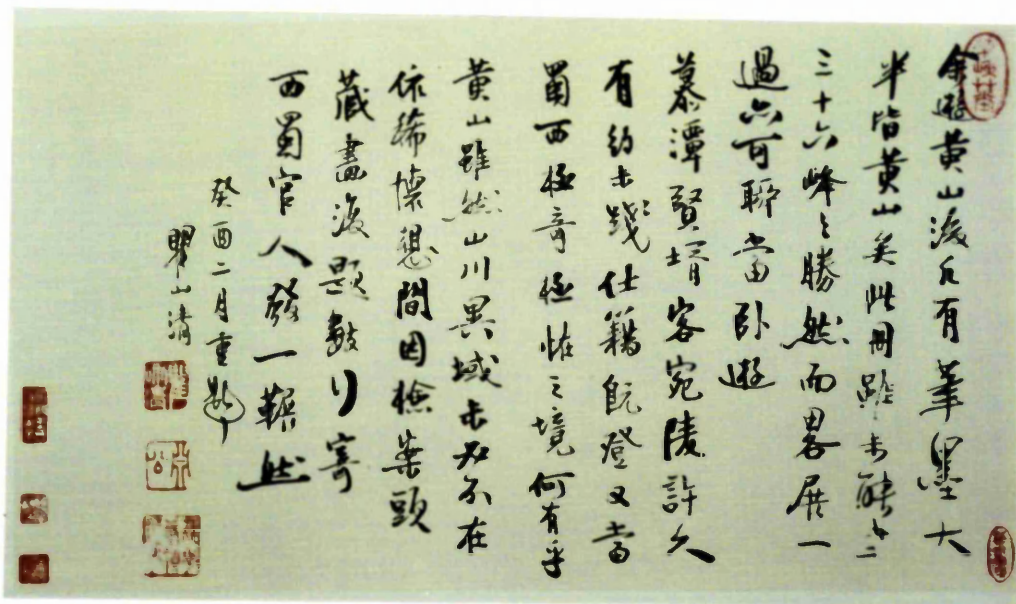
Pl. 118. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 15. *Cloudy Gate*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 15.



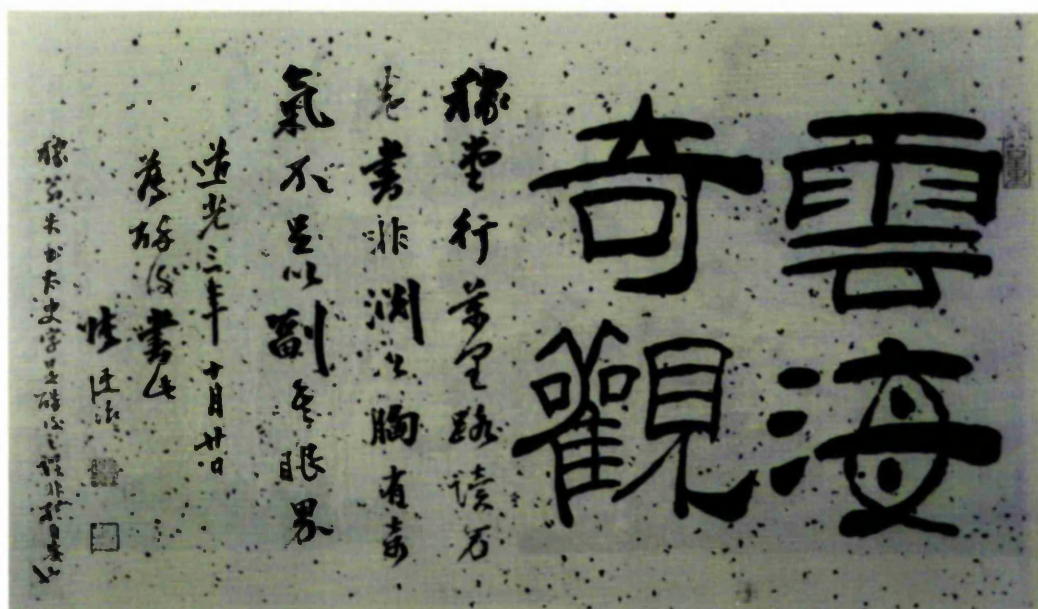
Pl. 119. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 16. *West Sea Gate*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 16.



Pl. 120. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Colophon 1 by Yuan Quxu. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980).



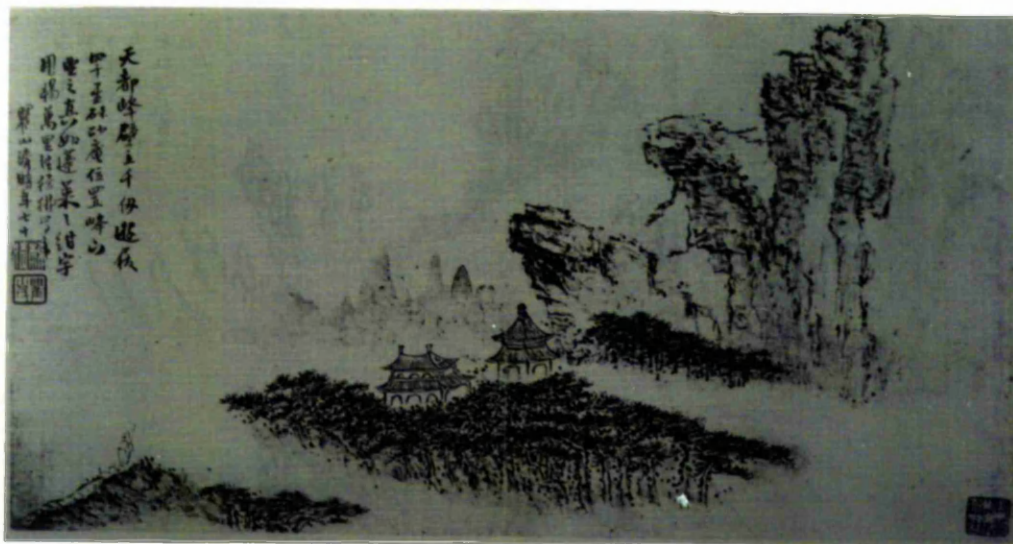
Pl. 121. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Colophon 2 by Mei Qing. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980).



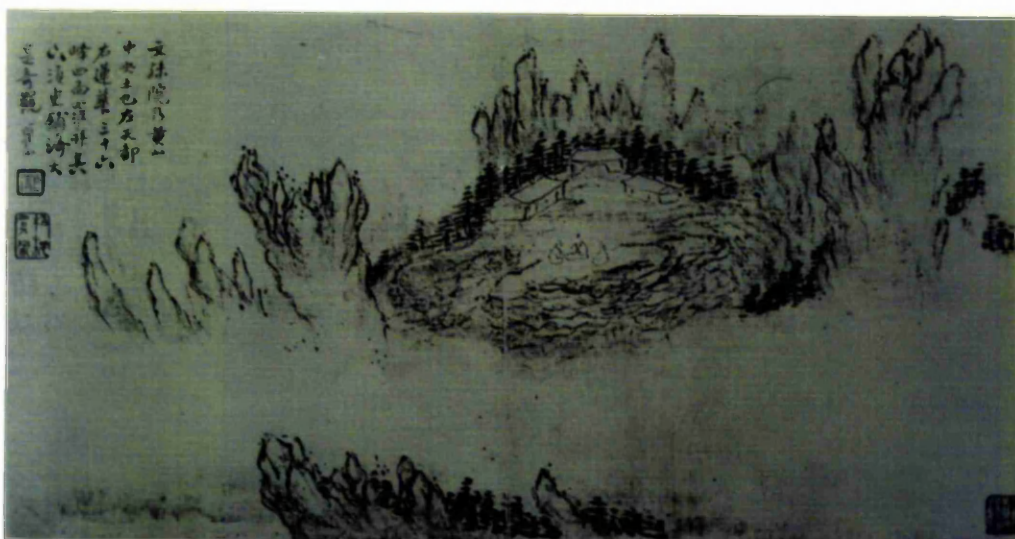
Pl. 122. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1692. Album, ink and colours on paper, 20.8 x 38.2 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Frontispiece by Zhang Tingzhi. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961).



Pl. 123. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 1. *Hot Springs and Xiangfu Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 1.



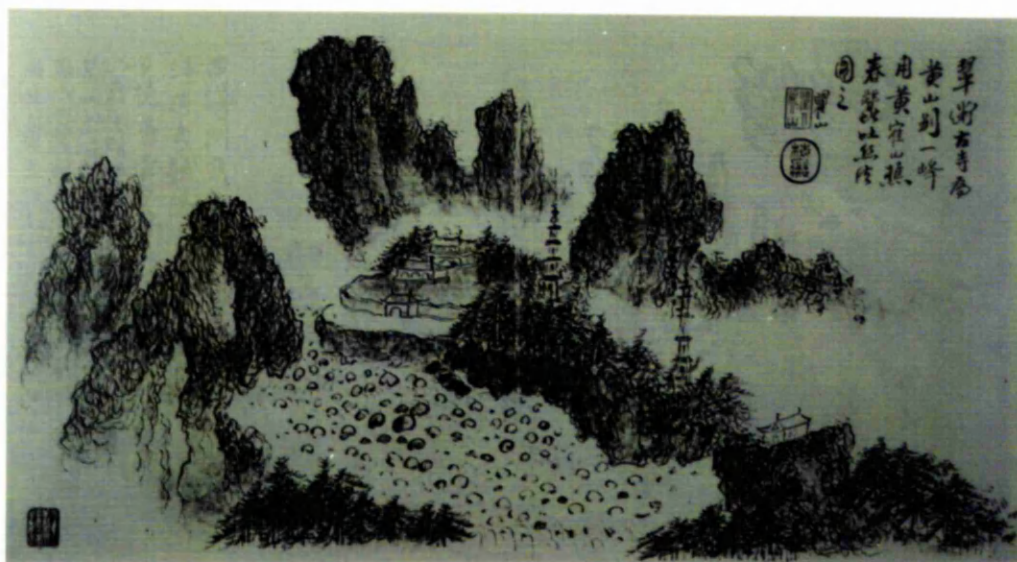
Pl. 124. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 2. *Heavenly Capital Peak*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 2.



Pl. 125. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. *Wenshu Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 3.



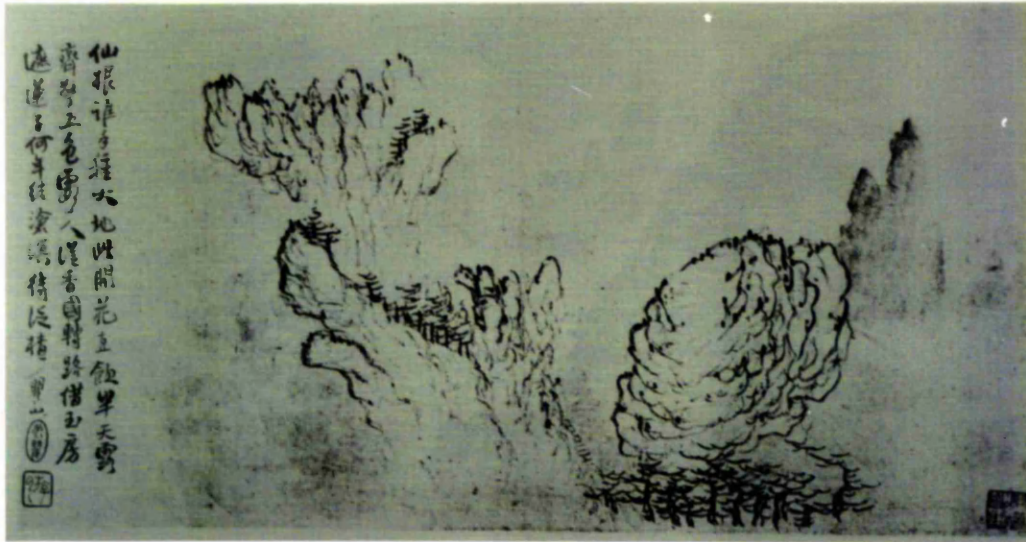
Pl. 126. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 4. *Receiving Pine and Twisted Dragon Pine*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 4.



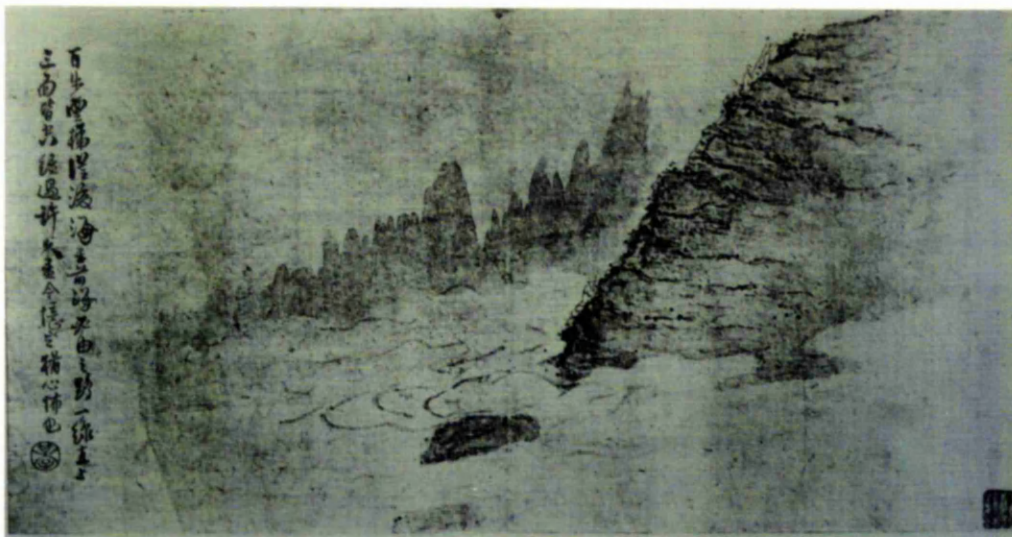
Pl. 127. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 5. Cuiwei Temple. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 5.



Pl. 128. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 6. West Sea Gate. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 6.



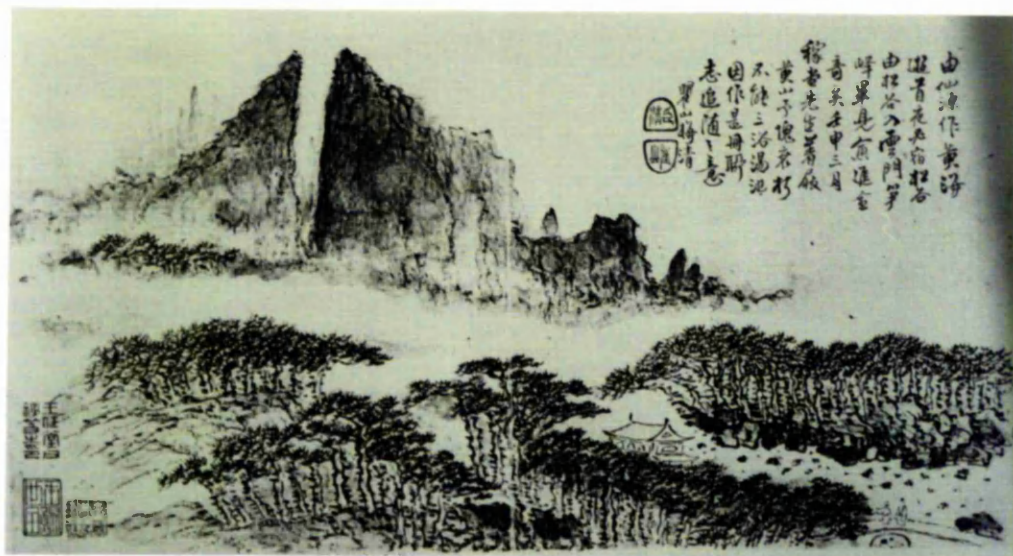
Pl. 129. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 7. *Lotus Blossom Peak*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tu* (1961), Pl. 7.



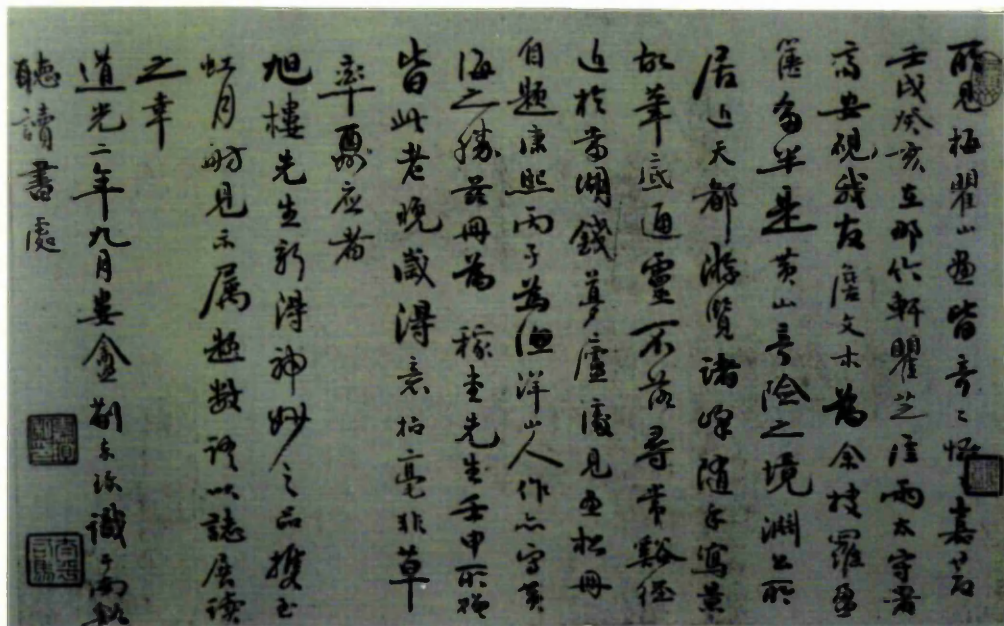
Pl. 130. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 8. *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tu* (1961), Pl. 8.



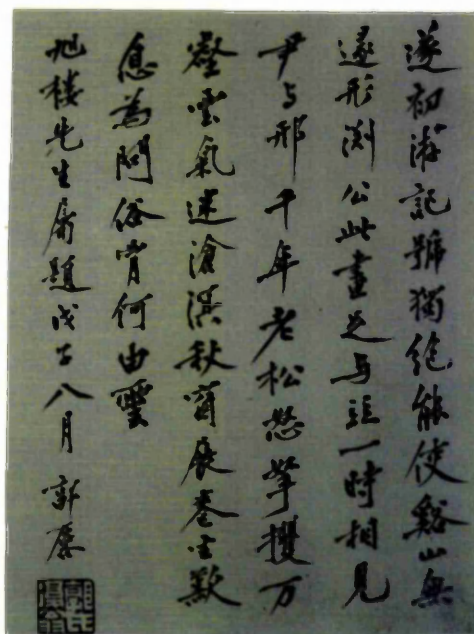
Pl. 131. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 9. *Refining Cinnabar Platform and Round Mat Pine*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 9.



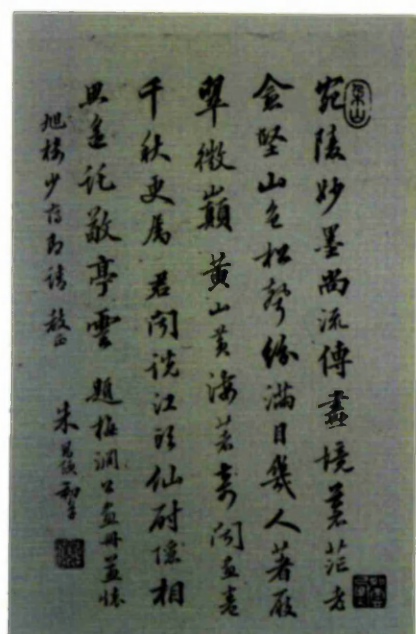
Pl. 132. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 10. *Pine Valley*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 10.



Pl. 133. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Colophon 1 by Kuai Jiazhen. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961).



Pl. 134. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Colophon 2 by Guo Lu. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961).



Pl. 135. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Colophon 3 by Zhu Changyi. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961)

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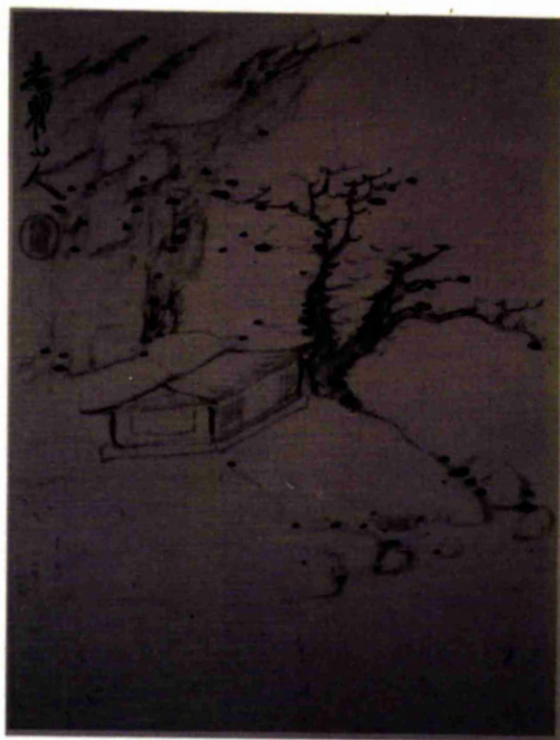
Pl. 136. Mei Qing: Ten Views of Mt. Huang. Colophon 4 by Zhang Kaifu. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961).



Pl. 137. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Dated 1695. Ink on paper, 27 x 20.5 cm. Shanghai Museum.
Leaf 1. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



Pl. 138. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 2. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



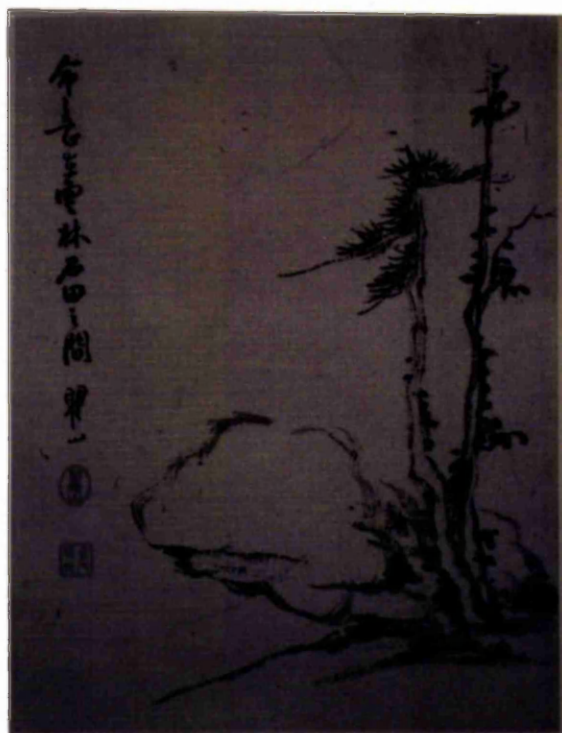
Pl. 139. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 3. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



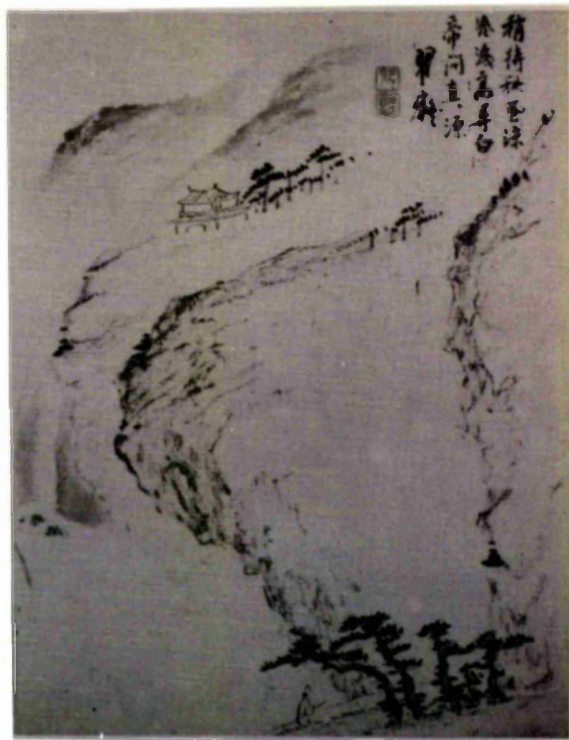
Pl. 140. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 4. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



Pl. 141. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 5. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



Pl. 142. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 6. *Trees and Rock in the Styles of Ni Zan and Shen Zhou*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



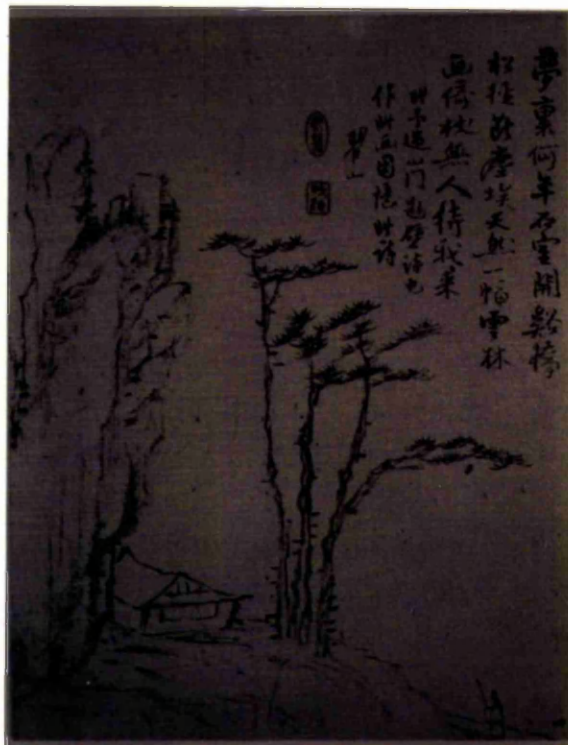
Pl. 143. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 7. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



Pl. 144. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 8. *Tree, Rock and Bamboo*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1- 2684.



Pl. 145. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 9. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



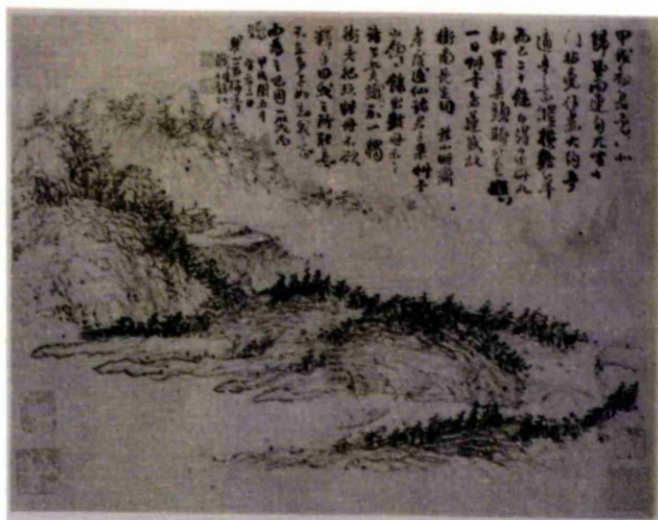
Pl. 146. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 10. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



Pl. 147. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 11. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



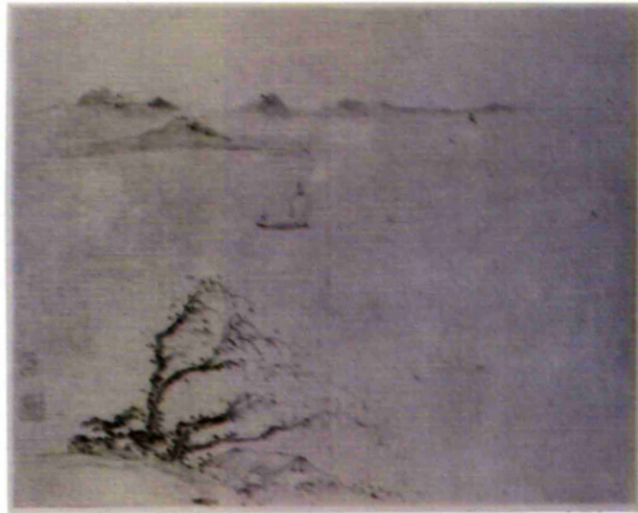
Pl. 148. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 12. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



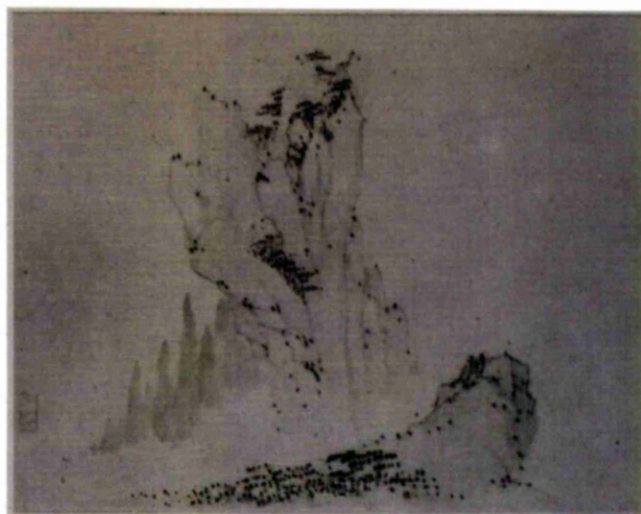
Pl. 149. Mei Qing: *Landscapes*. Dated 1694. Album, ink and colour on paper, 26.4 x 33.6 cm. Shanghai Museum. Leaf 1. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2683.



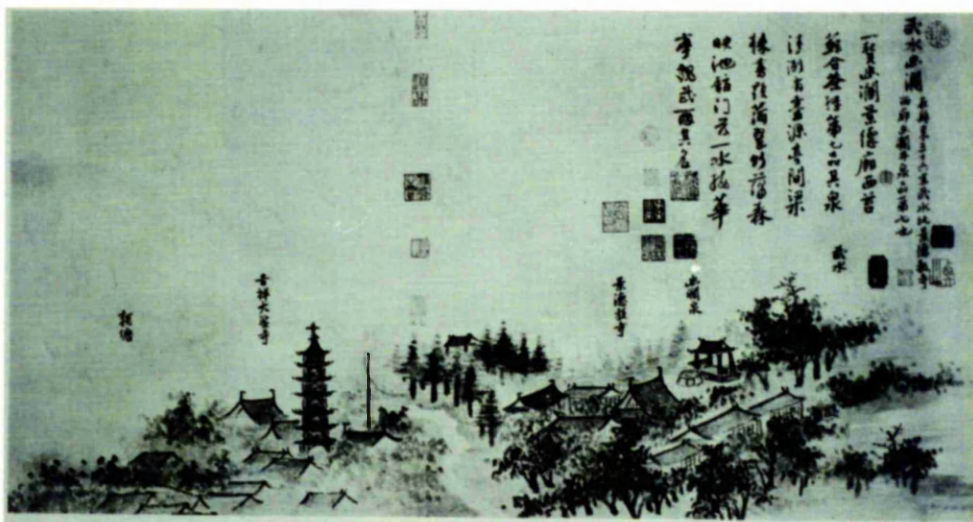
Pl. 150. Mei Qing: *Landscapes*. Leaf 4. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2683.



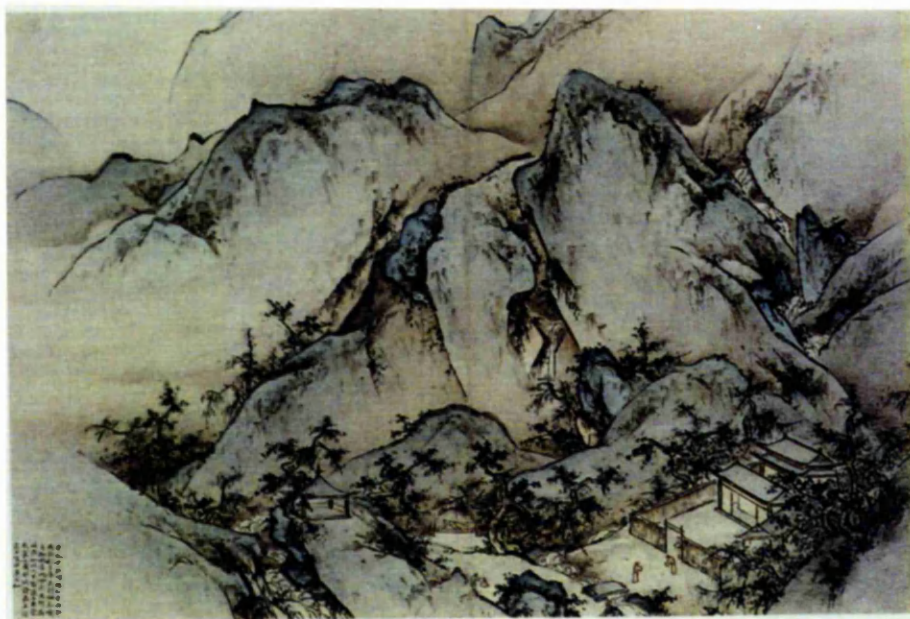
Pl. 151. Mei Qing: *Landscapes*. Leaf 5. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2683.



Pl. 152. Mei Qing: *Landscapes*. Leaf 6. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2683.



Pl. 153. Wu Zhen: Section from the *Eight Views of Jiahe* handscroll. Dated 1344. Ink on paper, 36.3 x 850.9 cm. Formerly Luo Jialun Collection, Taipei. From *Hills Beyond A River*, Pl. 28.



Pl. 154. Wang Lu: *The Jade Stream Monastery* from the *Scenes of Mt. Hua* album. Ink and colours on paper, 34.5 x 50 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Shanghai bowuguan zhan*, cat. no. 56.



Pl. 155. Wang Lu: *The Celestial Realm Peak* from the *Scenes of Mt. Hua* album. Shanghai Museum. From *Shanghai bowuguan zhan*, cat. no. 56.



Pl. 156. Song Xu: *Mt. Tai* from the *Five Sacred Mountains* handscroll. Dated 1588. Ink and colour on silk, 24.7 x 385.4 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Paintings of the Ming Dynasty from the Palace Museum*, cat. no. 54.

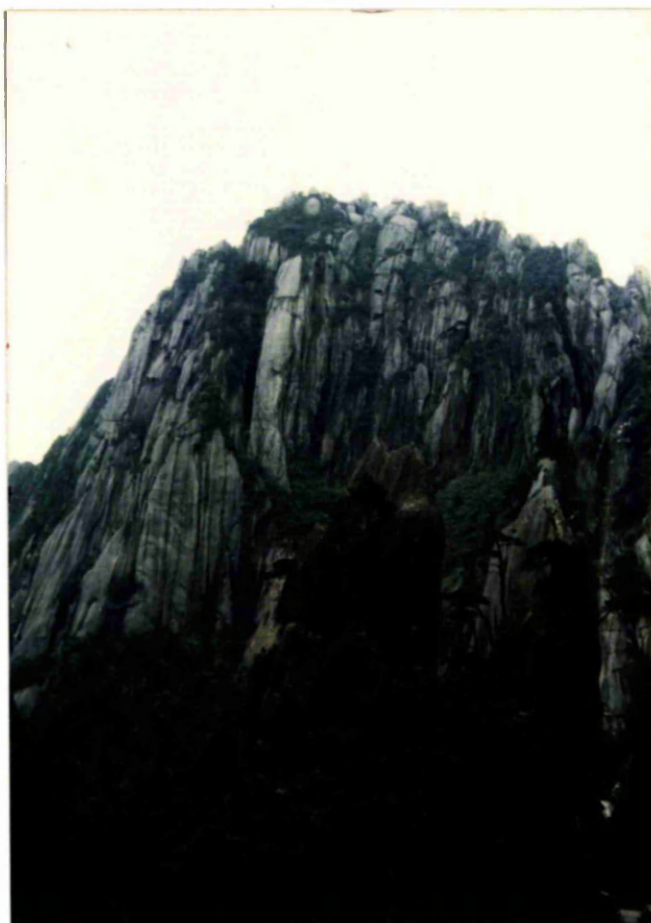


Pl. 157. Zhang Hong: Leaf from the *Ten Scenes of Yue* album. Dated 1639. Ink and light colours on silk, 29.9 x 18.2 cm. Moriya Tadashi Collection, Kyoto. From *Compelling Image*, Fig. 1.14.

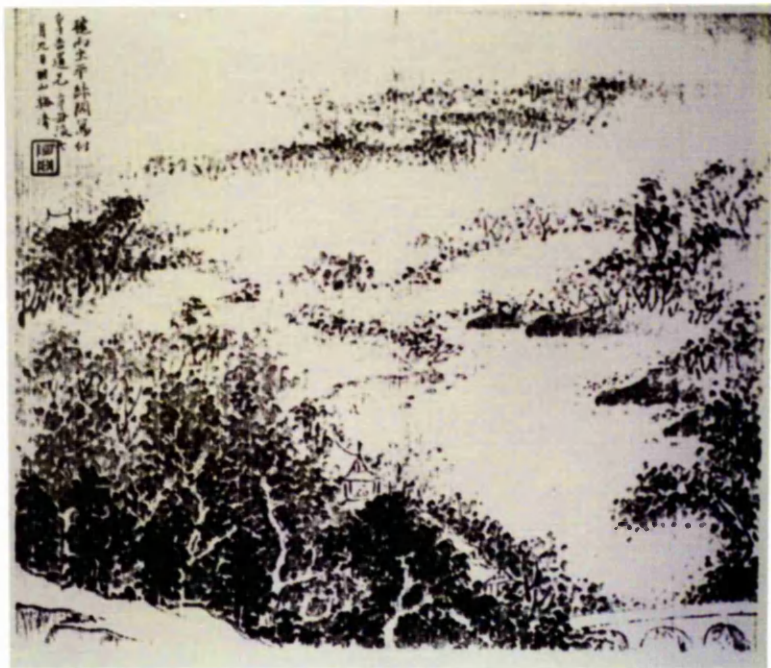


Pl. 158. *Lotus Blossom Peak*. Author's photograph.

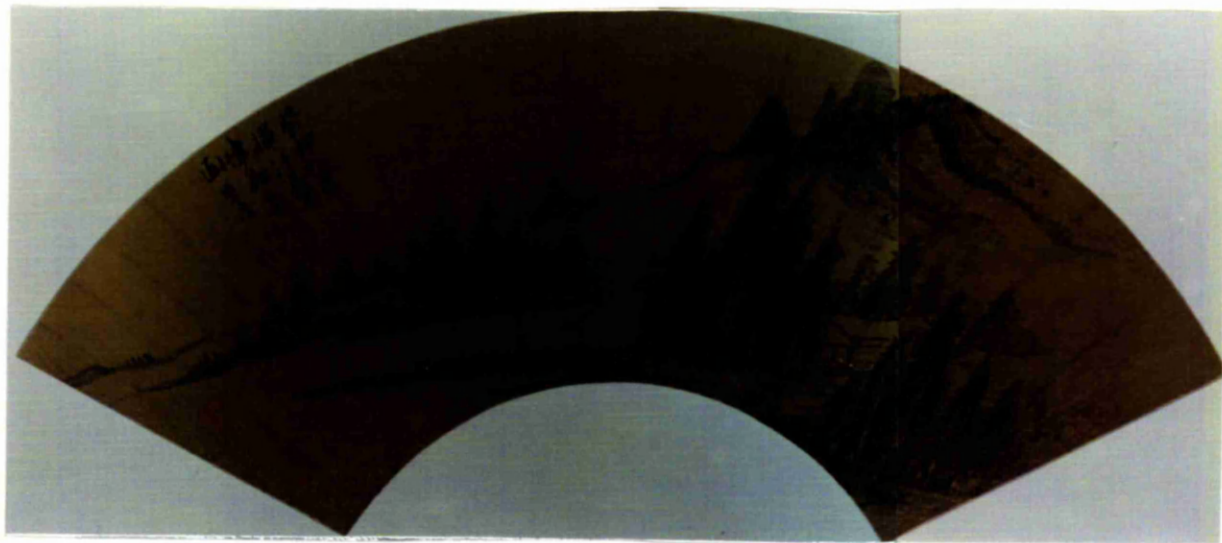
Pl. 159. Mei Qing: *The Heavenly Capital Peak of Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scroll, colour on satin, 187 x 56.7 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 99.



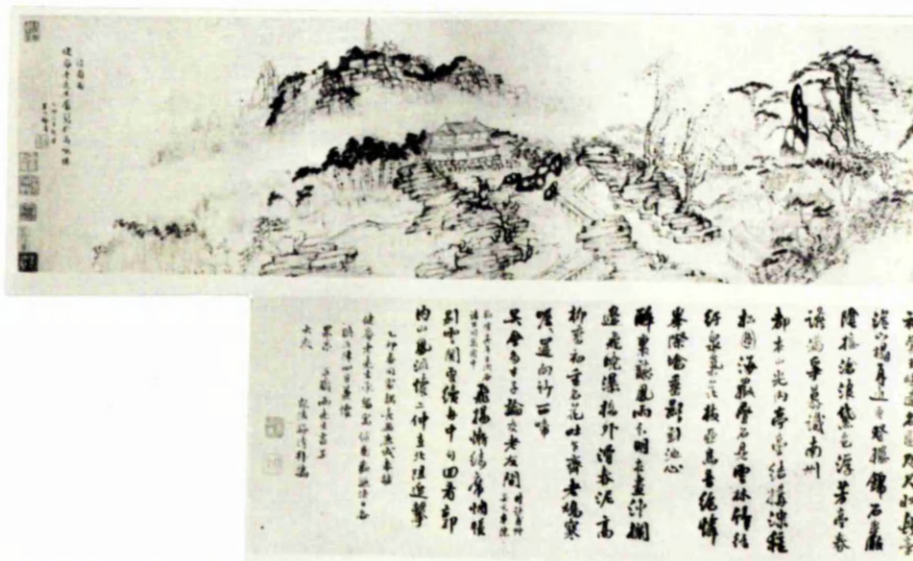
Pl. 160. *Heavenly Capital Peak*. Author's photograph.



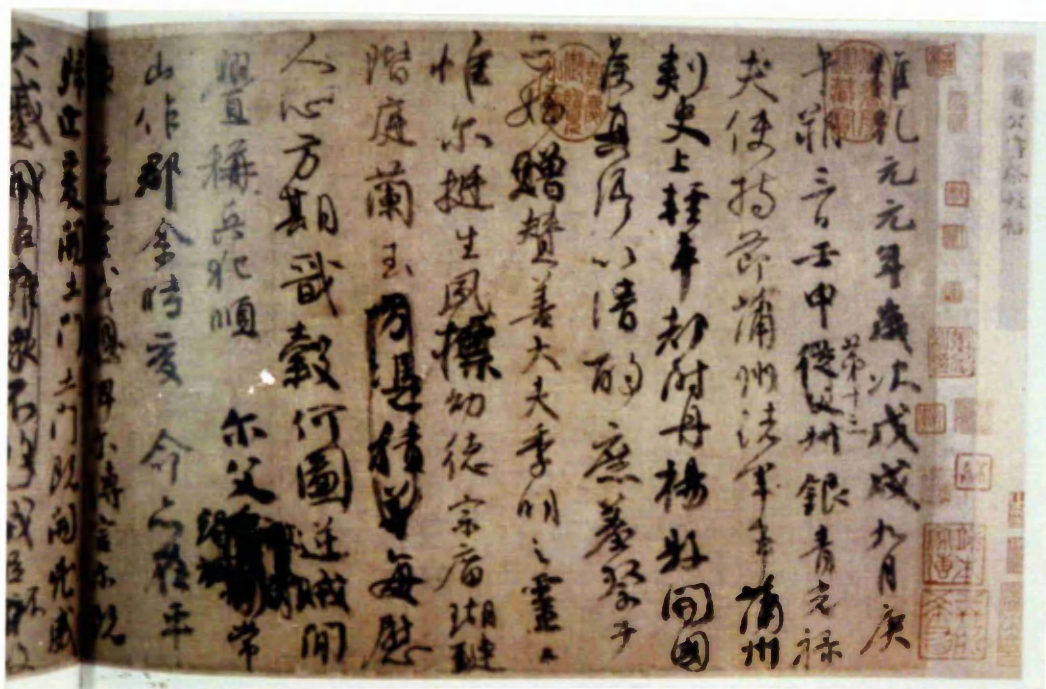
Pl. 161. Mei Qing: *The Scene of Pinghu Pavilion*. Dated 1661. Album leaf, ink on paper. Formerly Mr. & Mrs. T. Ebcey Collection, Illinois. From photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.



Pl. 162. Mei Qing: *The Clear View of a Mountain Village*. Dated 1663. Fan. Shanghai Museum. From *The Fan Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Collections of Shanghai Museum*, Pl. 112.



Pl. 163. Mei Qing: *The Garden of Tranquillity*. Dated 1665. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 27.5 x 96 cm. Tianjin Historical Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 8, no. 2-082.

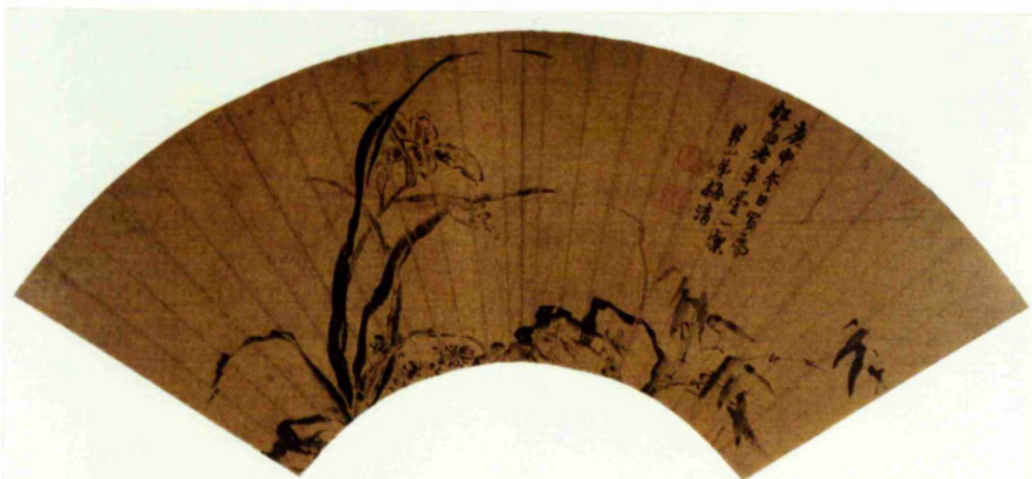


Pl. 164. Yan Zhenqing: *A Funeral Essay in Memory of a Nephew*. Dated 758. Cursive script, 268 characters. Handscroll, ink on paper, 28.8 x 75.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Shuhua zhuanke 3, Pl. 69.

Pl. 165. Yang Ningshi: *Jiuhua Tie*. Undated. Running-standard script, 7 lines. Album leaf, ink on paper. Whereabouts unknown. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Shuhua zhuanke 3, Pl. 93.



Pl. 166. Mei Qing: *The Cliff and Pine*. Dated 1675. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 110 x 46 cm. The Capital Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 1, no. 5-383.



Pl. 167. Mei Qing: *Bamboo, Rock and Tawny Daylily*. Dated 1680. Fan, ink on golden paper, 17.5 x 52.9 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 96.



Pl. 168. Mei Qing: *Mt. Jingting after Rain*. Dated 1683. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 171 x 63.6 cm. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.

Pl. 169. Mei Qing: *Looking at the Mountain while Leaves are Falling*. Dated 1683. Hanging scroll, light colour on satin, 191 x 49.8 cm. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.

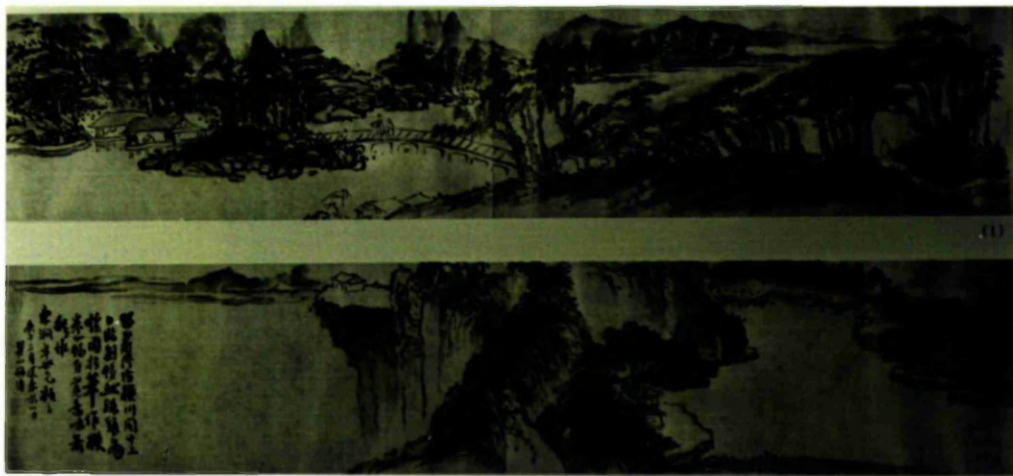


Pl. 170. Mei Qing: *Pine and Rock*. Dated 1685. Hanging scroll. Whereabouts unknown. From photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

Pl. 171. Mei Qing: *Pine and Rock*. Dated 1683. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 305 x 123 cm. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



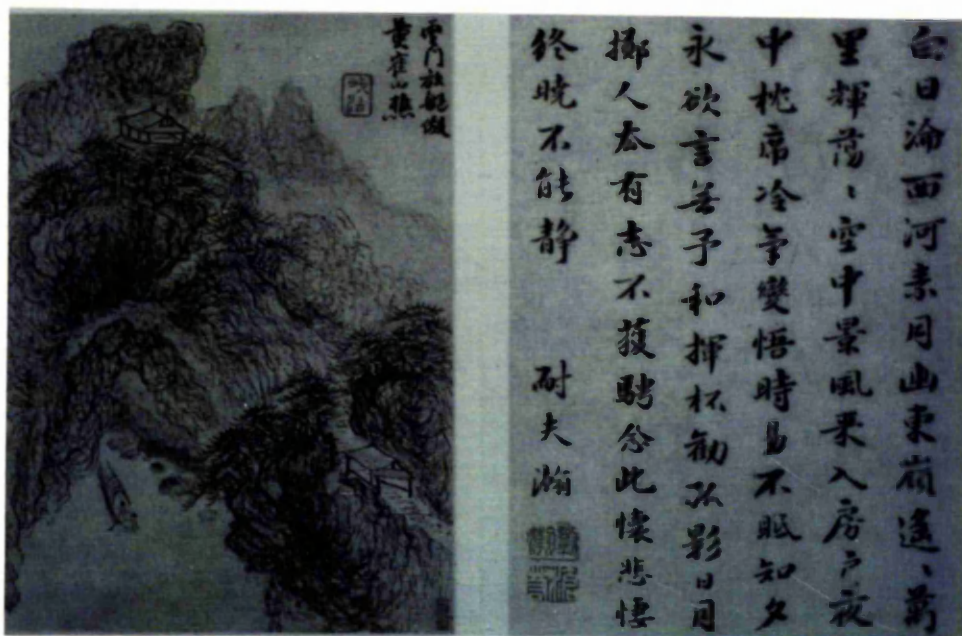
Pl. 172. Mei Qing: *Studying in the Mountain Studio*. Dated 1687. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 349.9 x 124.3 cm. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



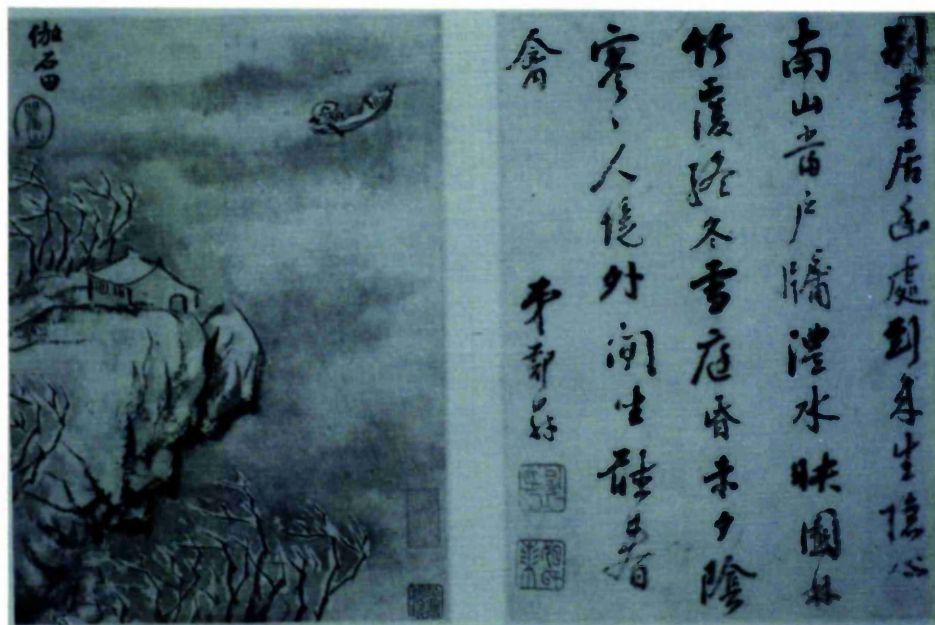
Pl. 173. Mei Qing: *Yan Stream*. Dated 1690. Handscroll, ink on satin, 24 x 222 cm. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



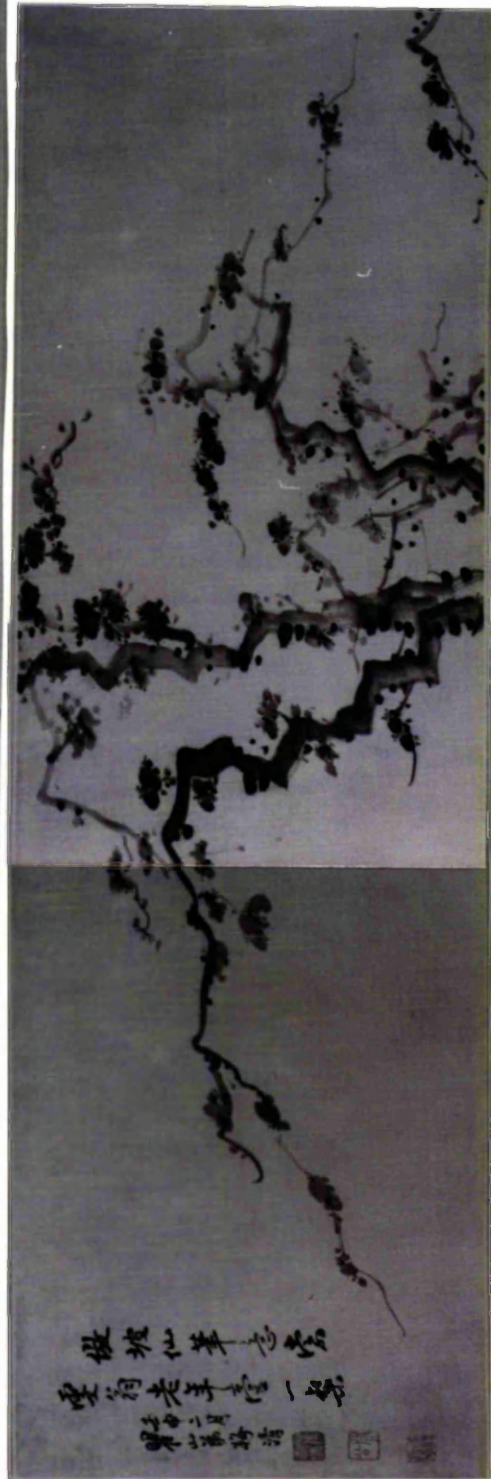
Pl. 174. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Dated 1691. Album, ink on paper, 17.2 x 12 cm. Leaf 1. Mei Qing's Colophon and Style of Ke Jiushi. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



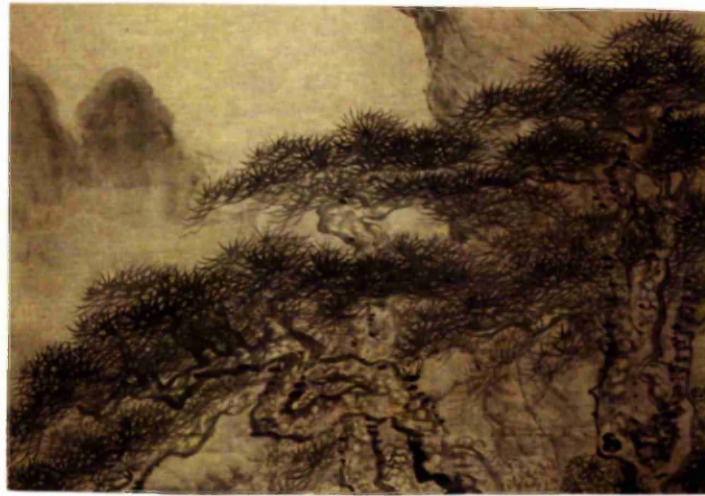
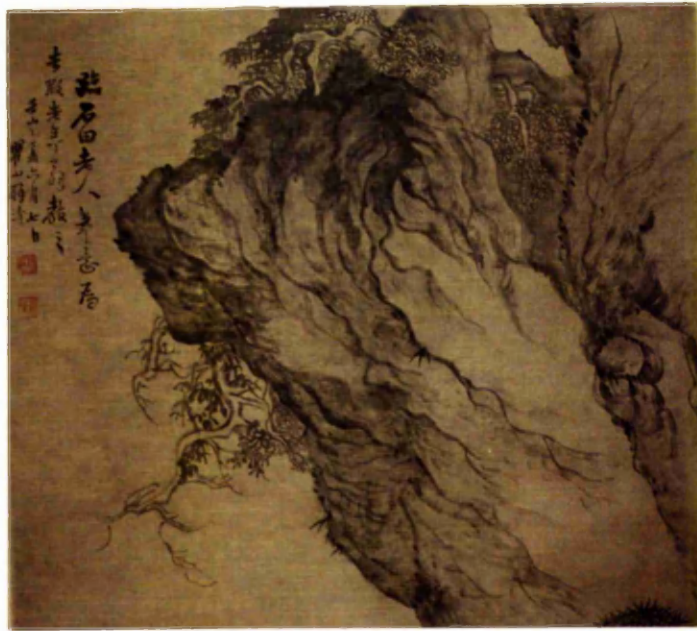
Pl. 175. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Leaf 7. Style of Wang Meng. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



Pl. 176. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Leaf 12. Style of Shen Zhou. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



Pl. 177. Mei Qing: *Plum Blossoms in the Style of Shu Shi*. Dated 1692. Handscroll, ink on paper, 189 x 28.6 cm. Courtesy of the Honolulu Academy of Arts.



Pl. 178. Mei Qing: Sections from the *Landscape in the Style of Shen Zhou* hanging scroll. Dated 1692. Ink and colour on paper, 31.2 x 360 cm. The Central Academy of Arts & Design, Beijing. Author's photograph.



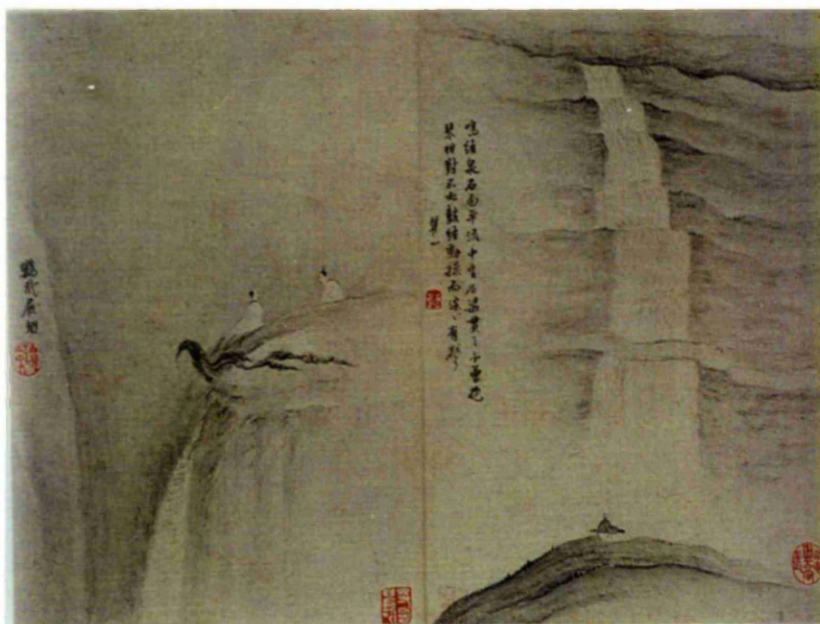
Pl. 179. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1693. Album, ink and colours on paper, 33.9 x 44.1 cm. Shanghai Museum. Leaf 1. *Nine Dragon Pool*. Author's photograph. (For the inscription and the details see Pls. 265-268)



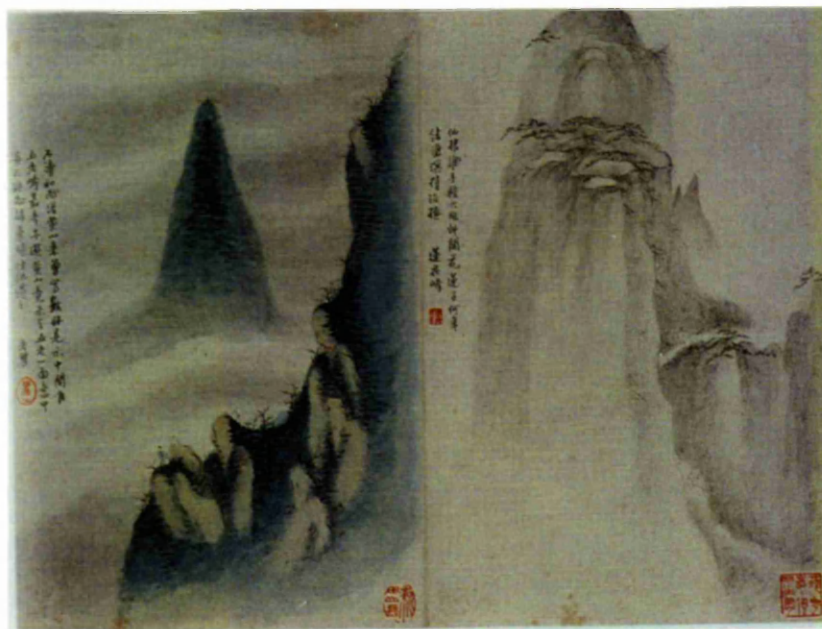
Pl. 180. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 2. *Heshi Dwelling*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 181. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. (A) *Pine Valley*, (B) *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. Author's photograph.



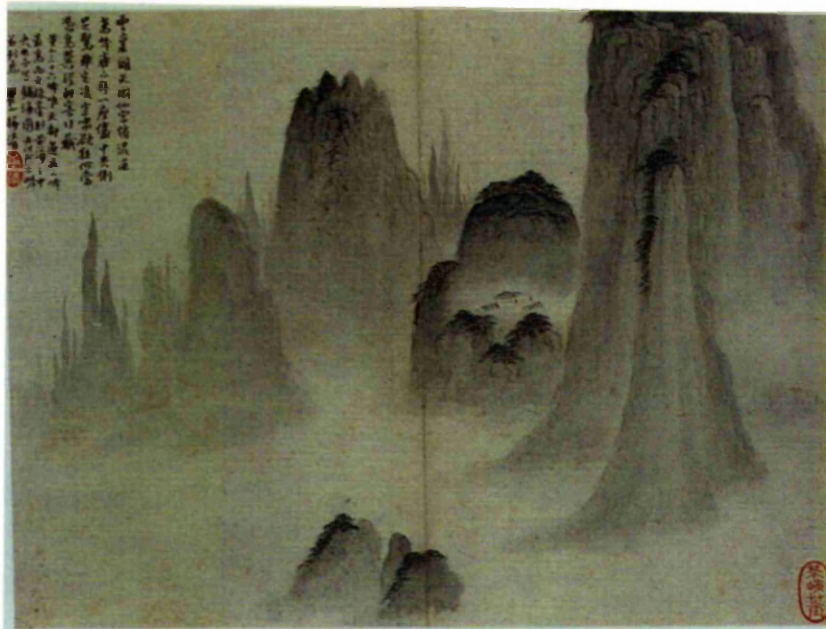
Pl. 182. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 4. (A) *Sounding Strings Spring*; (B) *Flapping Parrot*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 183. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 5. (A) *Lotus Blossom Peak*, (B) *Wulao Peak*. Author's photograph.



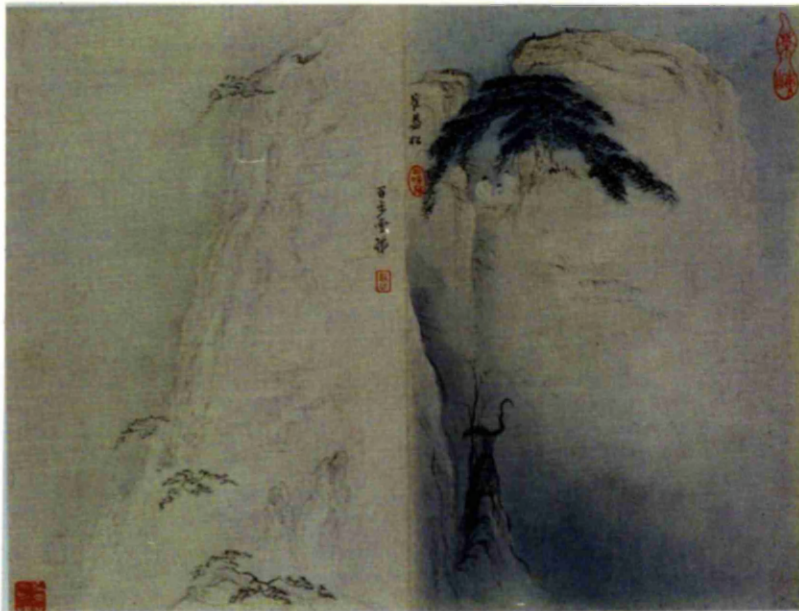
Pl. 184. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 6. (A) *Tiger Head Cave*, (B) *Lion Forest*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 185. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 7. *Wenshu Plateau*. Author's photograph.



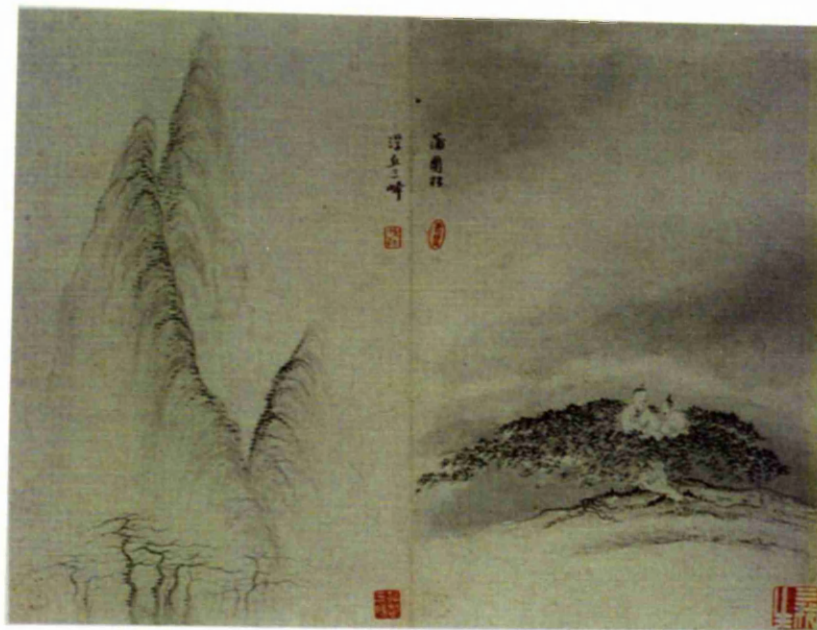
Pl. 186. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 8. *Hot Springs*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 187. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 9. (A) *Hegai Pine*, (B) *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 188. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 10. (A) *Two Peaks of Cloudy Gate*, (B) *Wugong Peak*. Author's photograph.



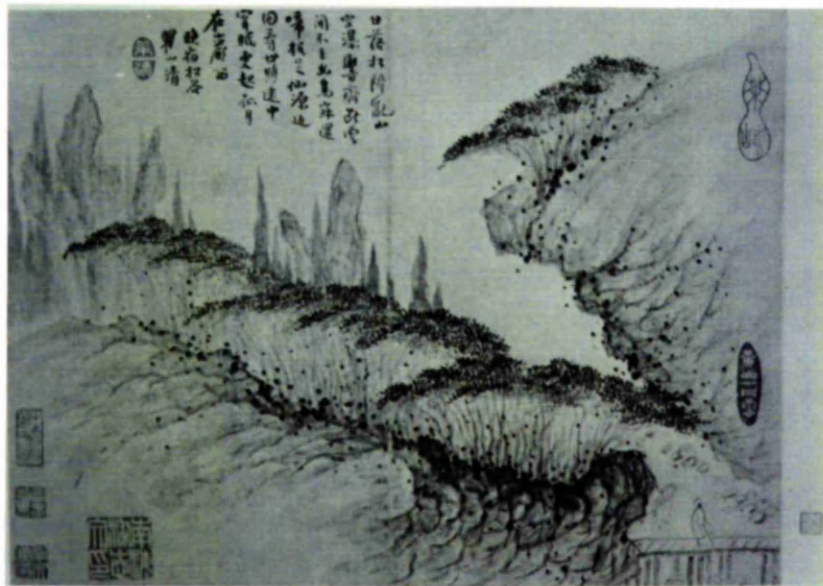
Pl. 189. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 11. (A) *Round Mat Pine*; (B) *Three Peaks of Fugu*. Author's photograph.



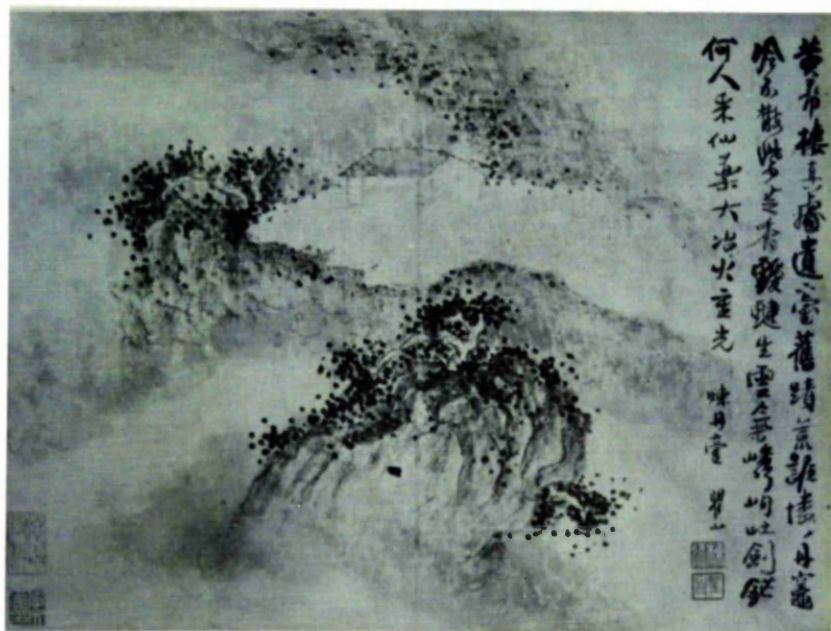
Pl. 190. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 12. *West Sea Gate*. Author's photograph.



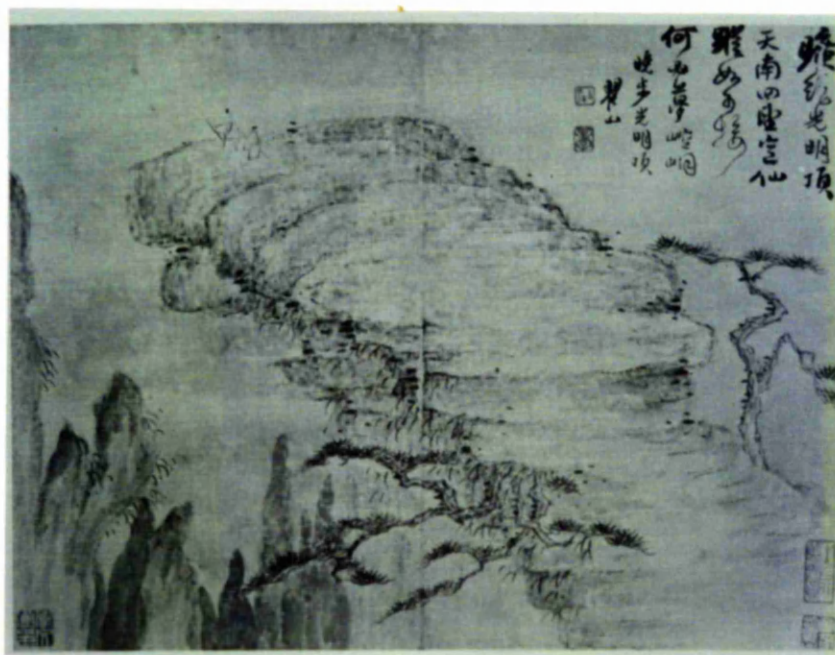
Pl. 191. Mei Qing: *Lofty Mountains and Flowing Stream*. Dated 1694. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 248.5 x 119.6 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Masterpieces of the Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*, cat. no. 43.



Pl. 192. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1694. Album, ink on paper, 26.2 x 33.9 cm. Cheng Te-K'un Collection, Hong Kong. Leaf 1. *Pine Valley*. From *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2, Pl. 25:a.



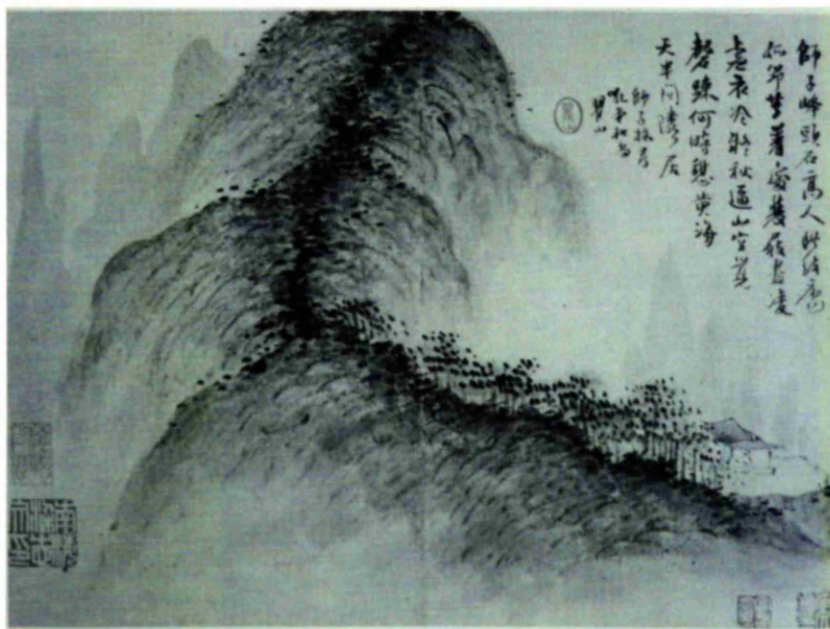
Pl. 193. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 2. *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. From *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, vol. 8, no. 2, Pl. 25:b.



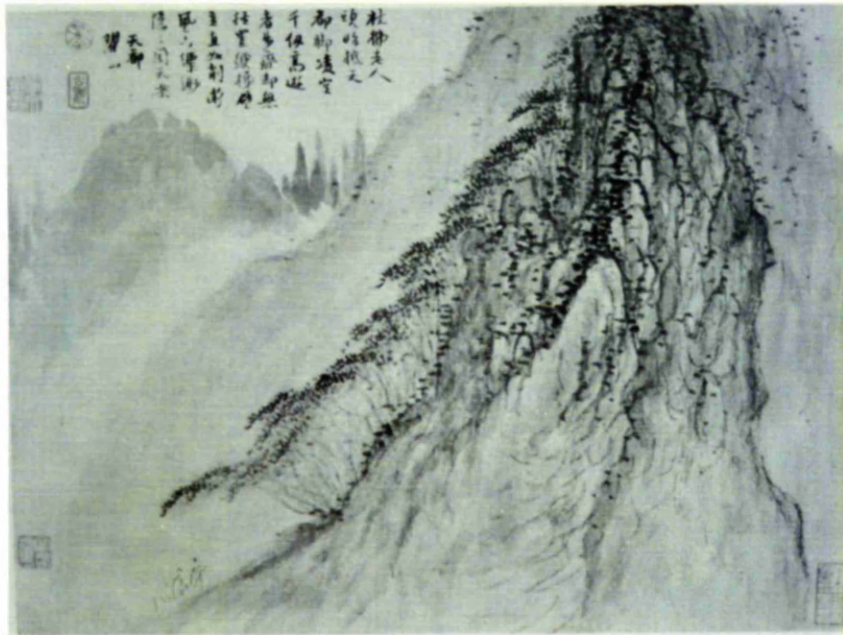
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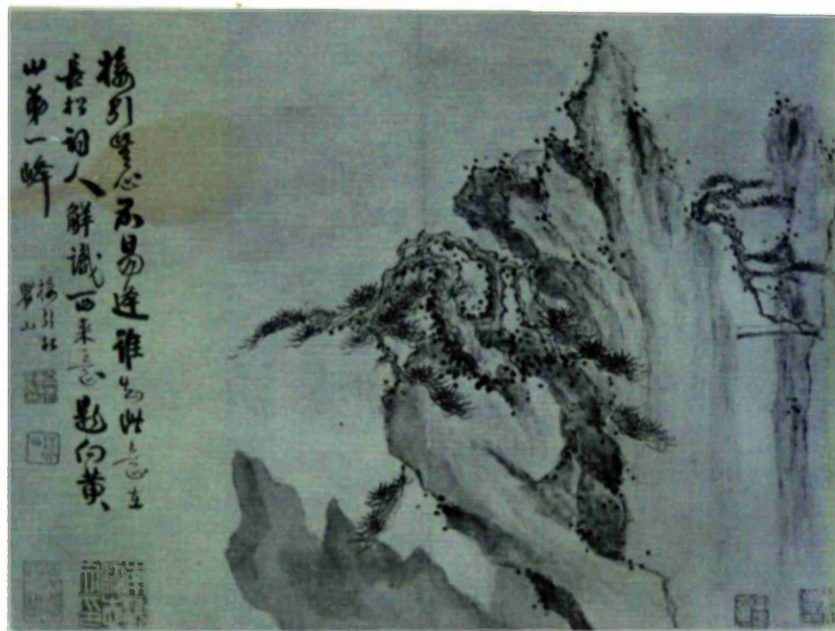
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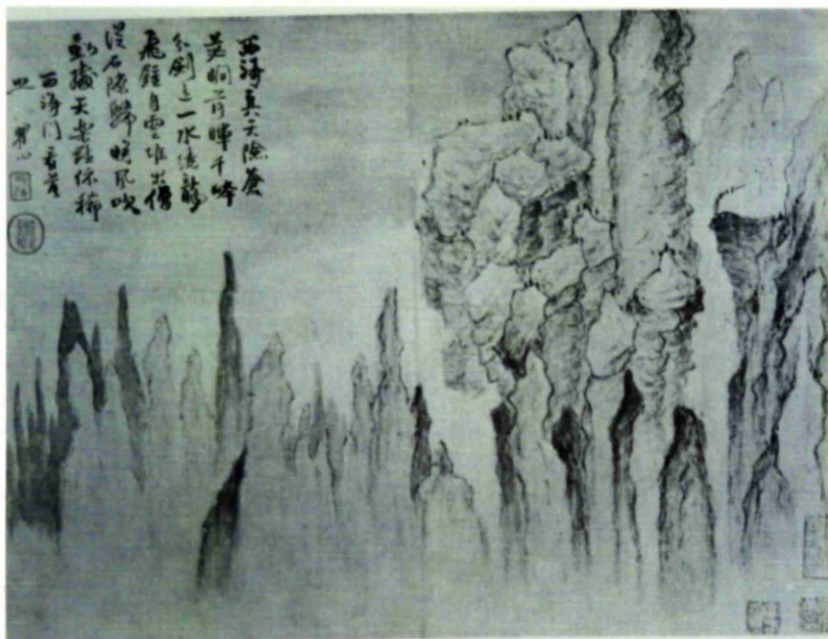
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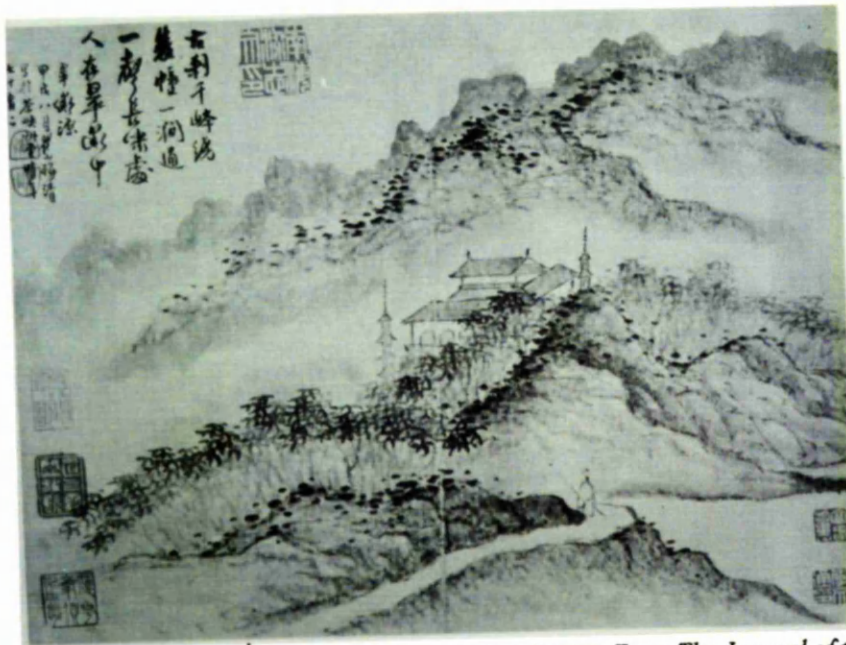
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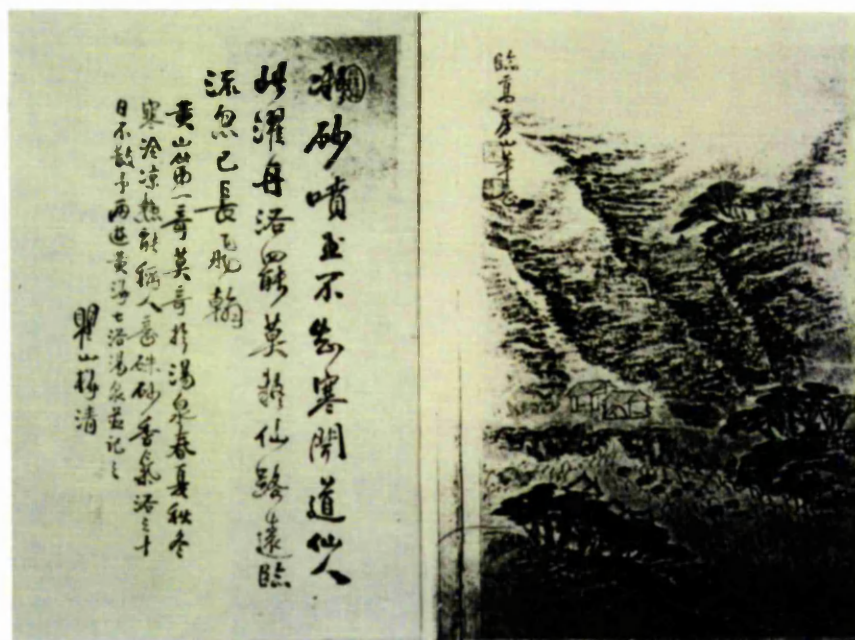
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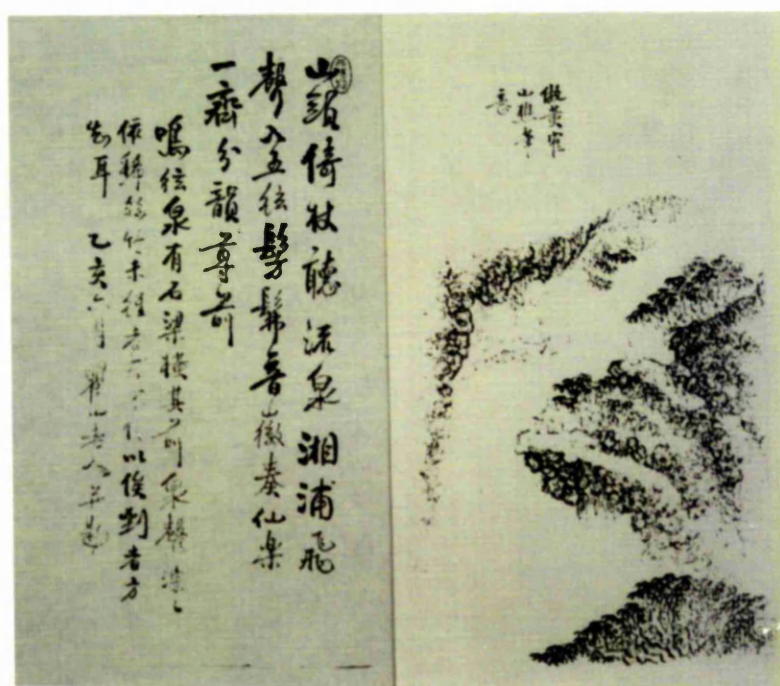
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Pl. 205. Mei Qing: *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. *Lotus Blossom Peak and Lotus Bud Peak*. Offered by Yang Chenbin.



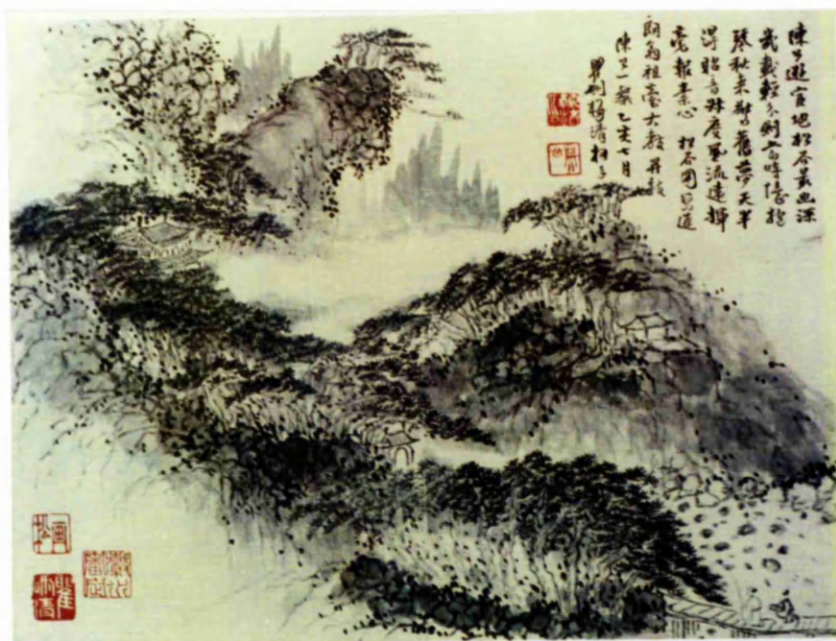
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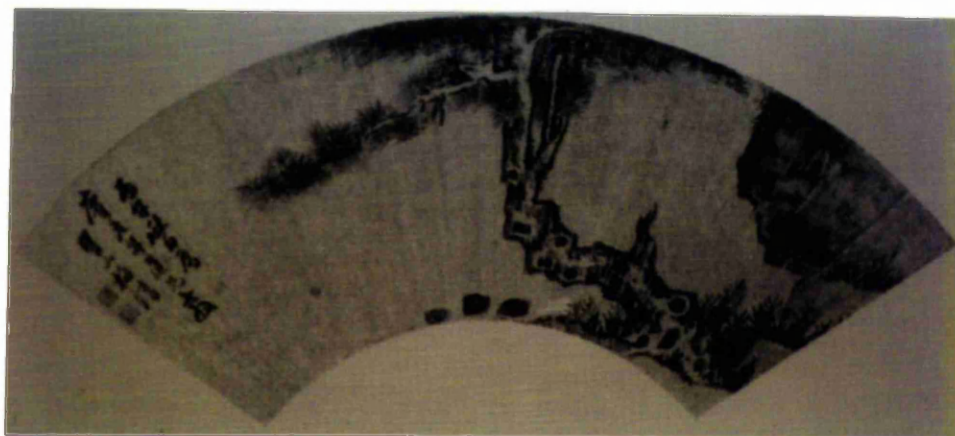
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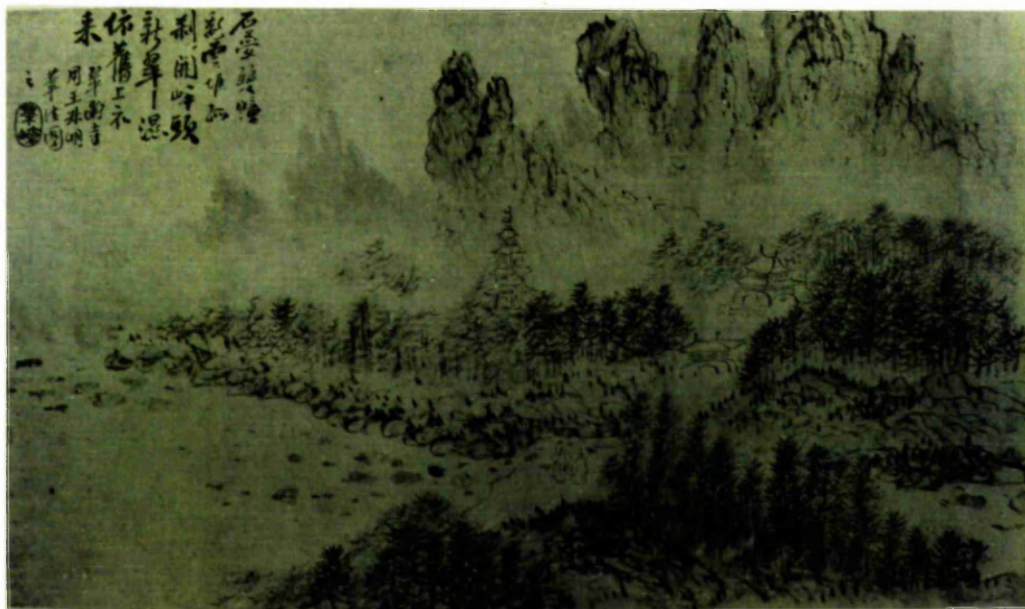
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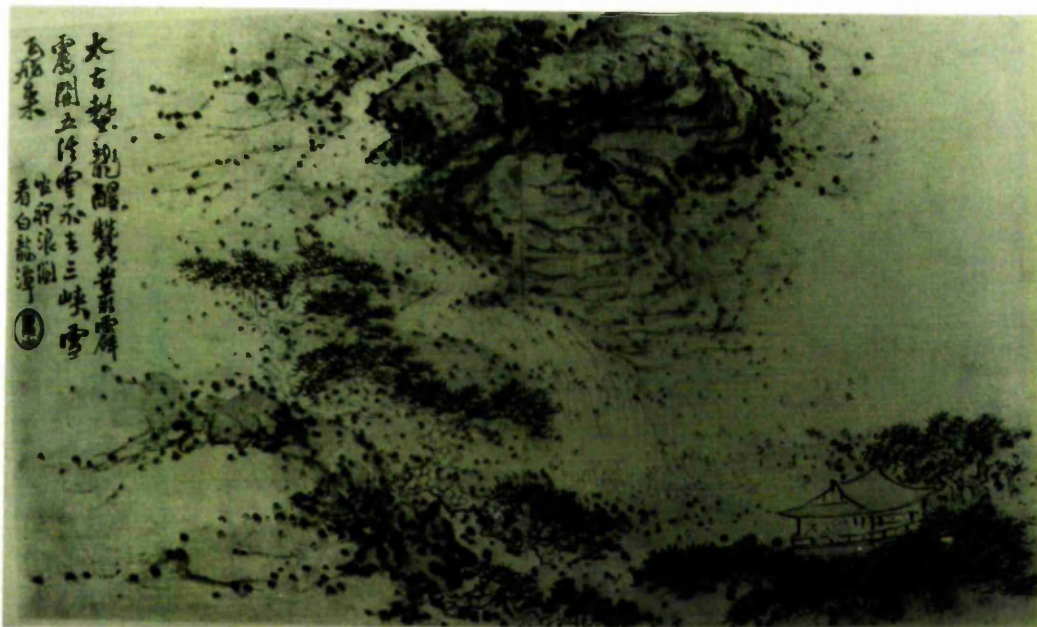
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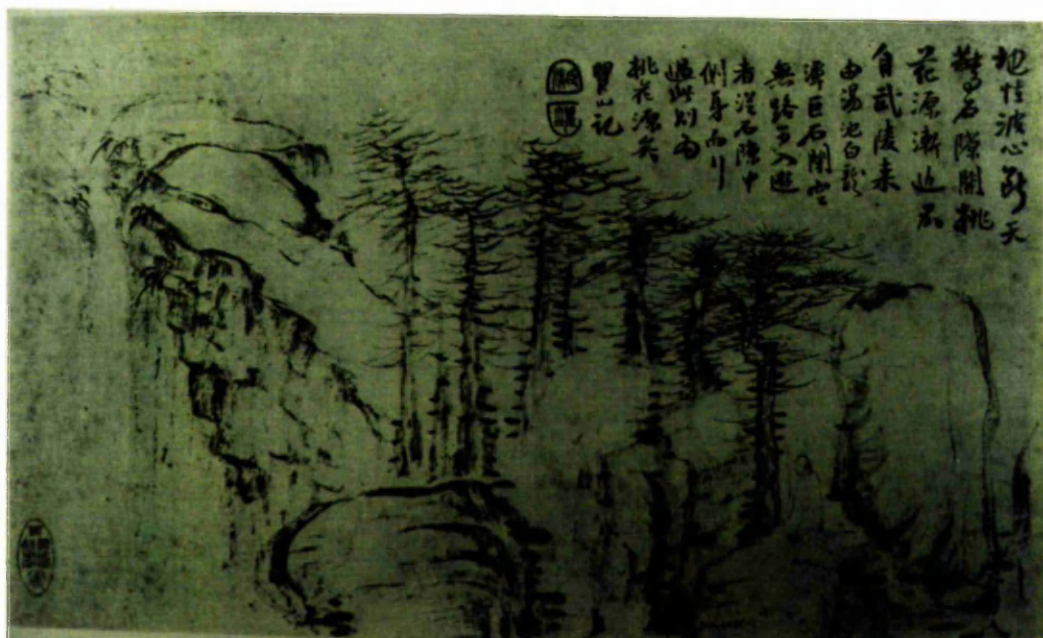
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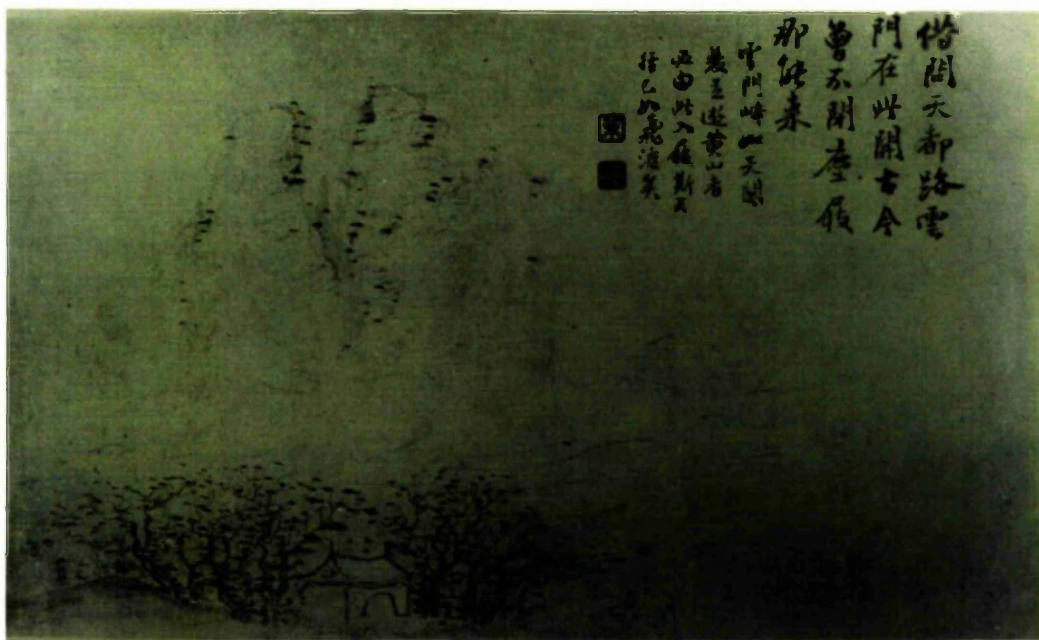
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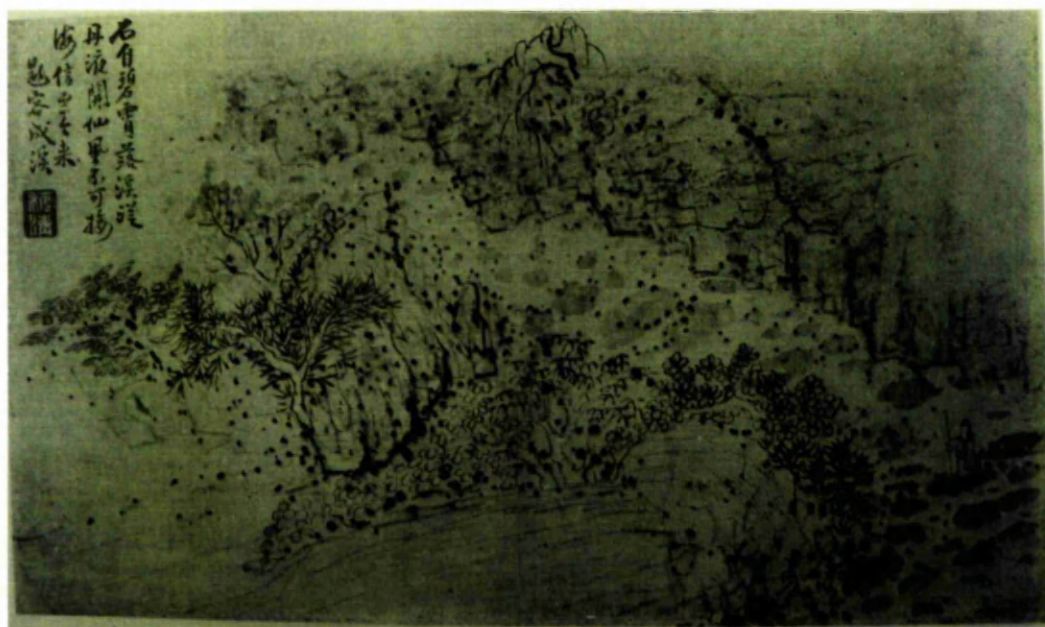
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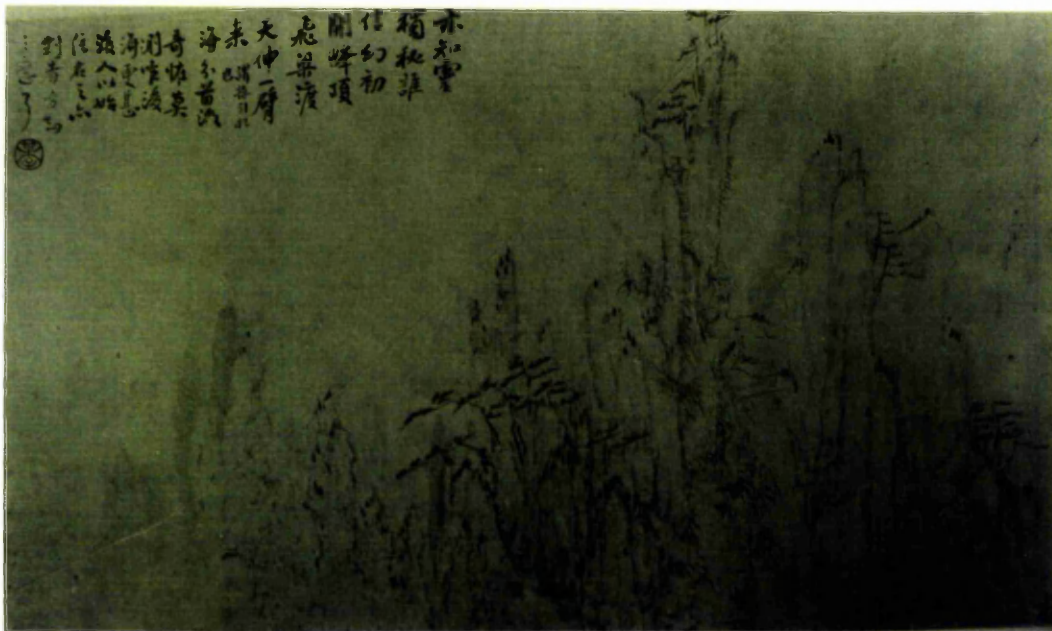
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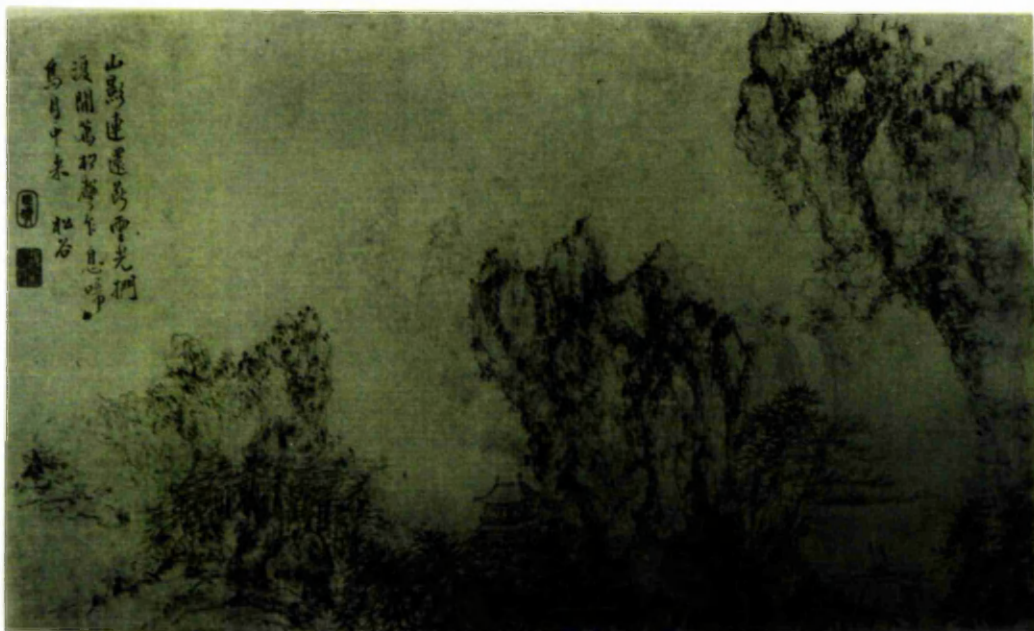
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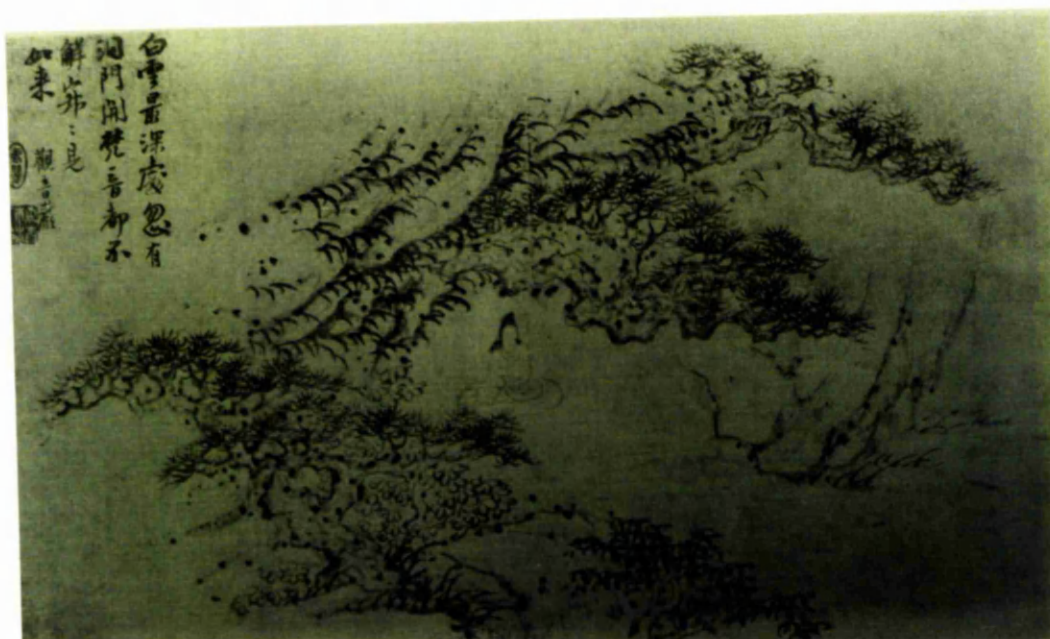
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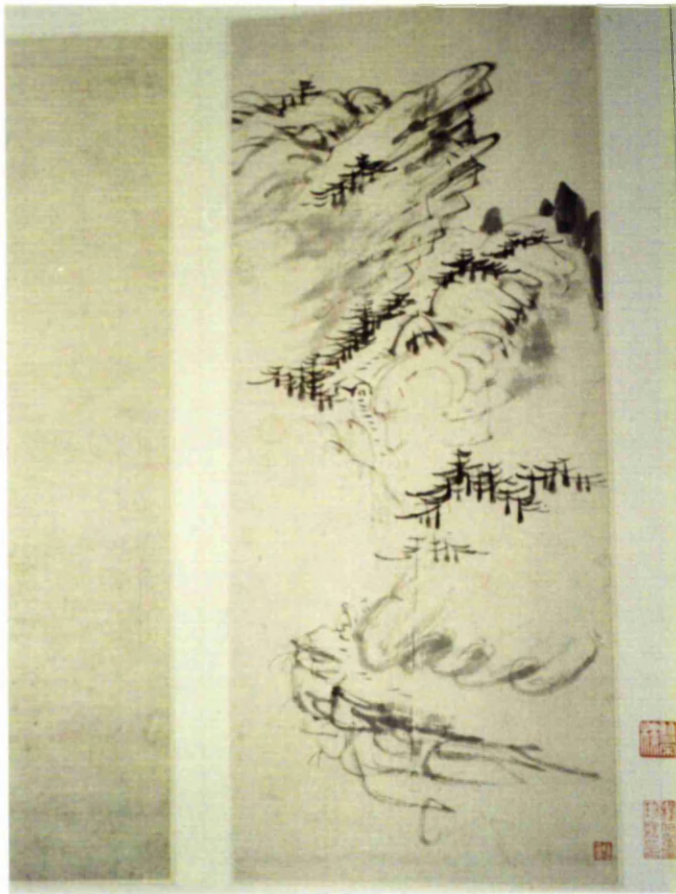
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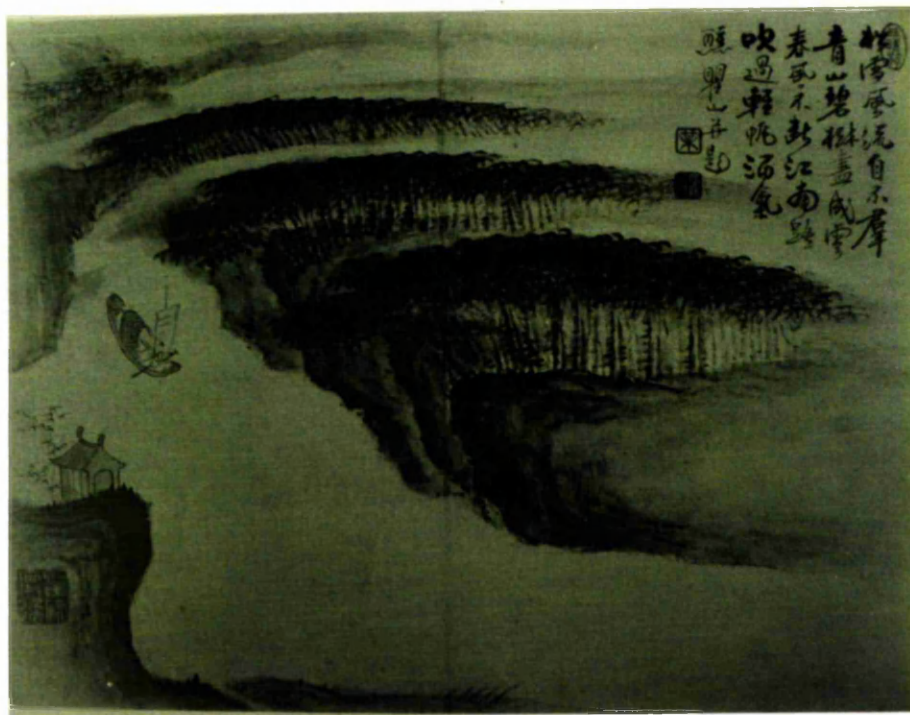
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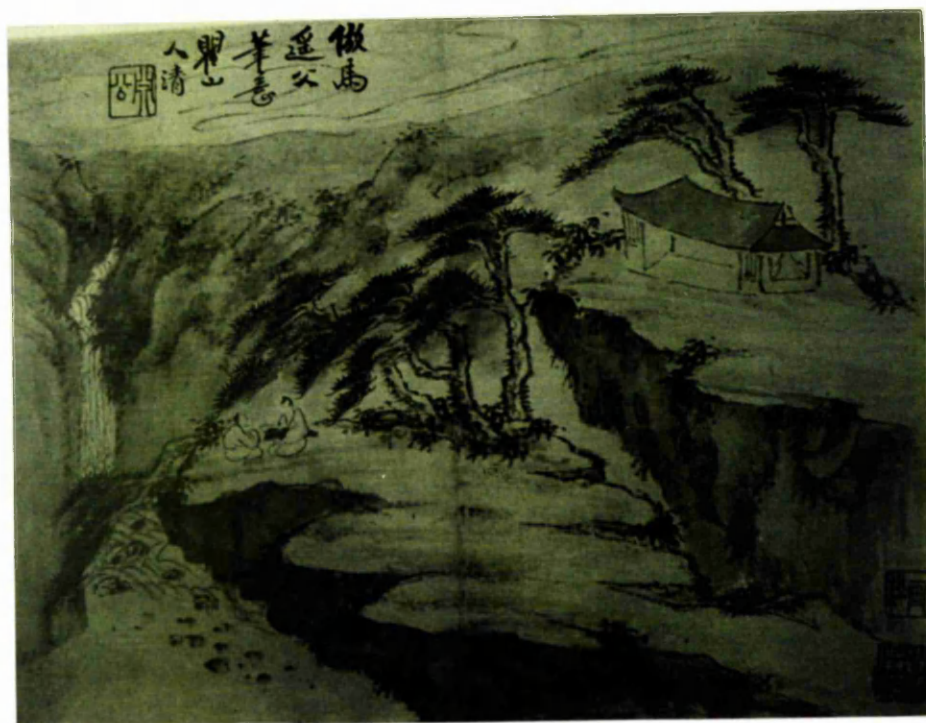
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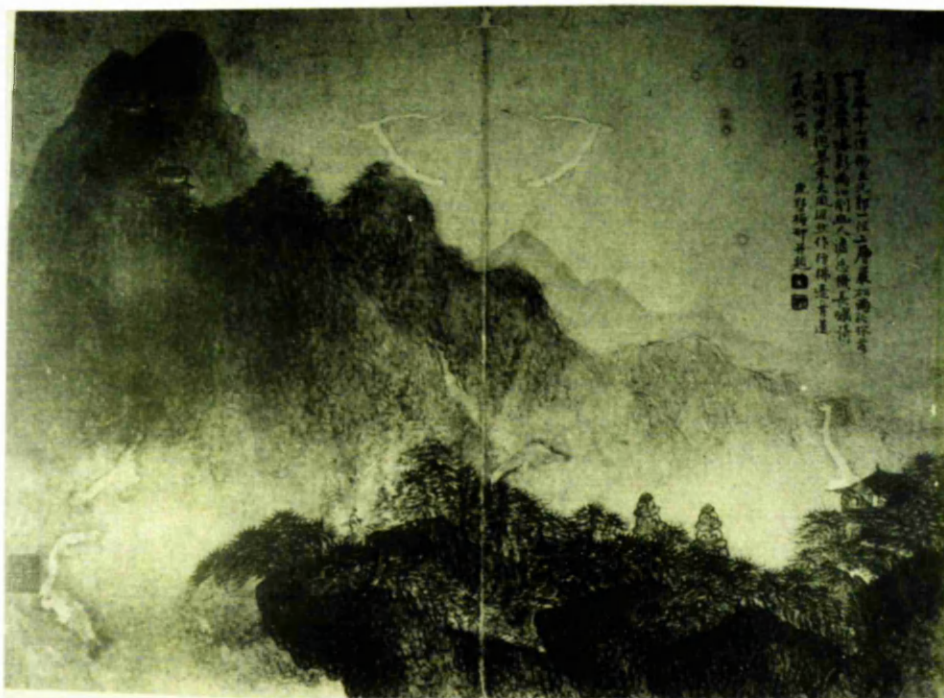
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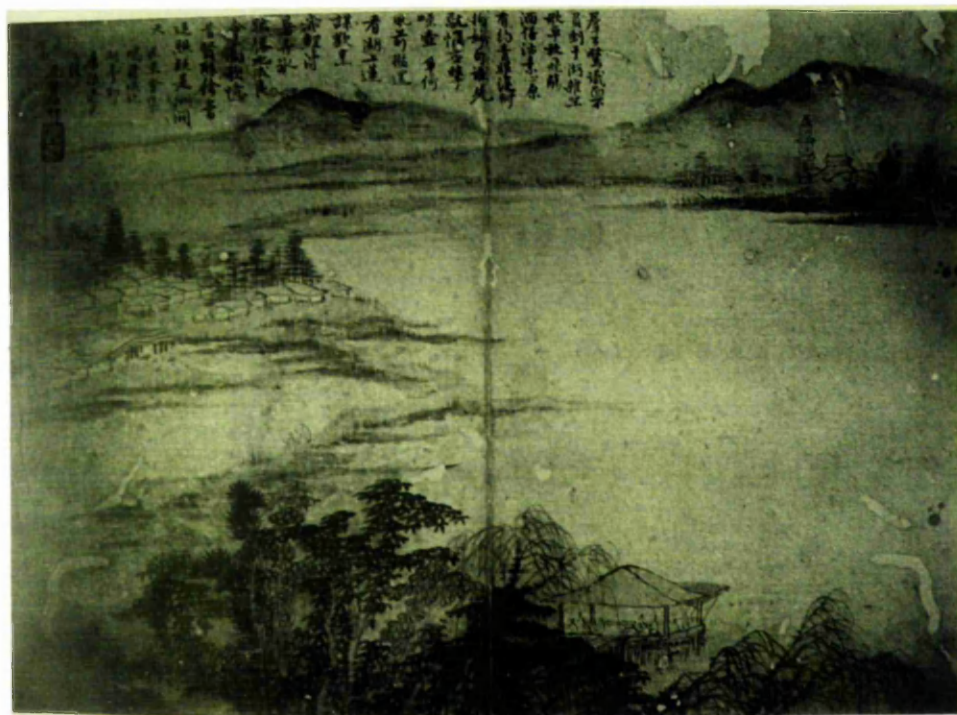
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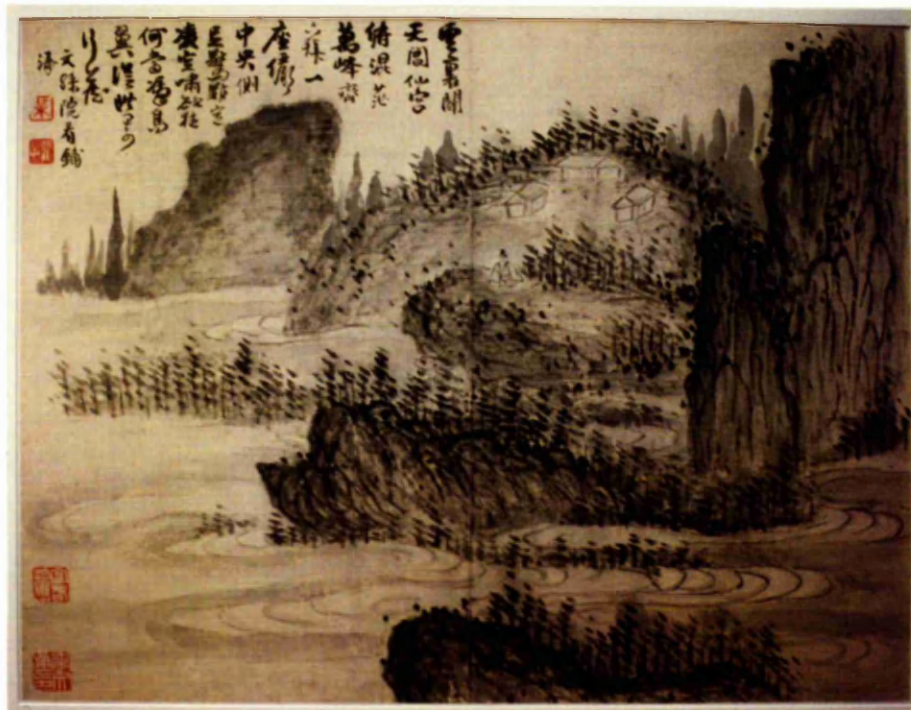
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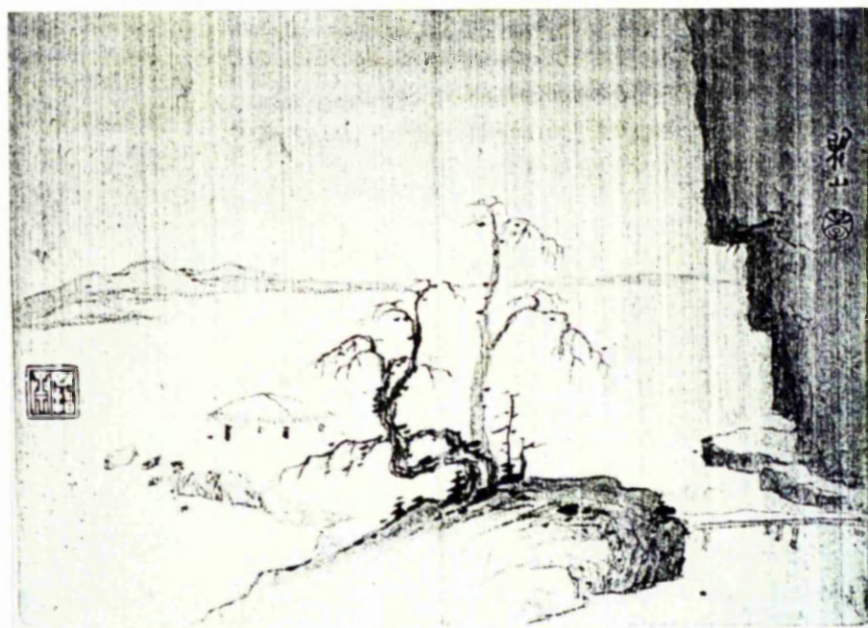
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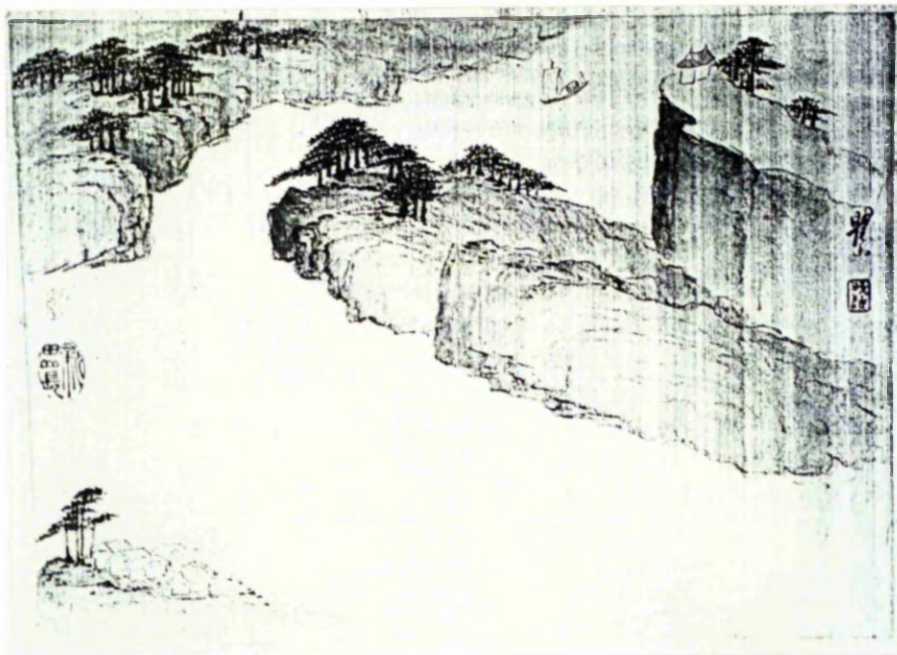
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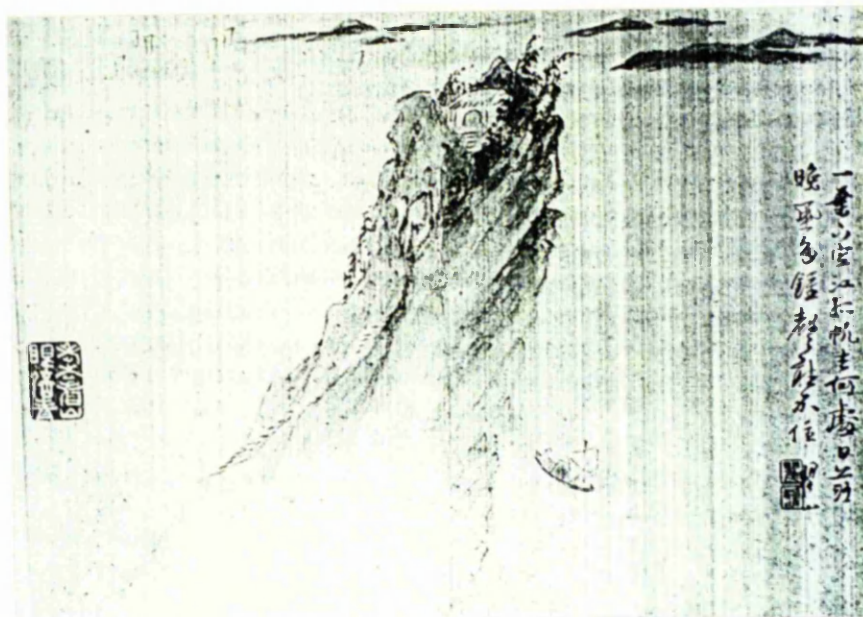
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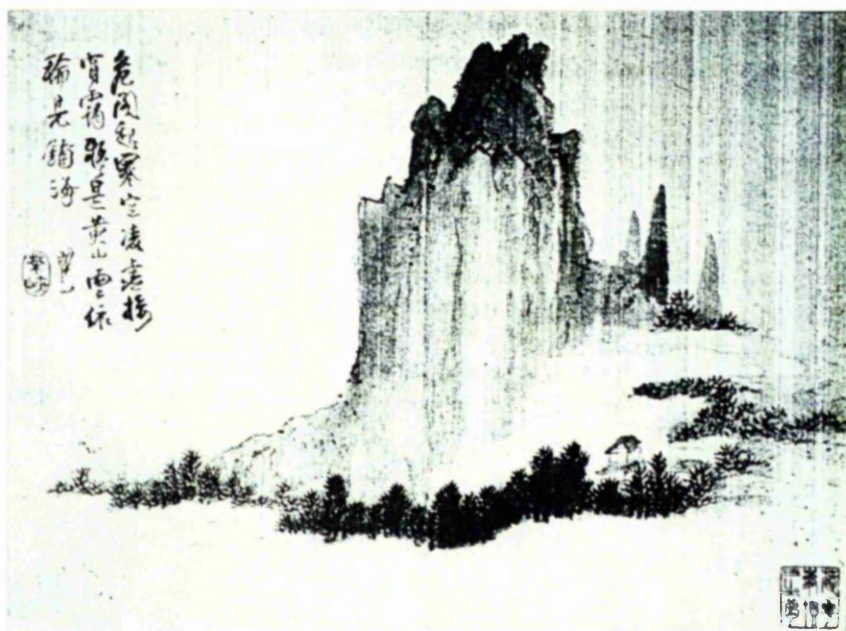
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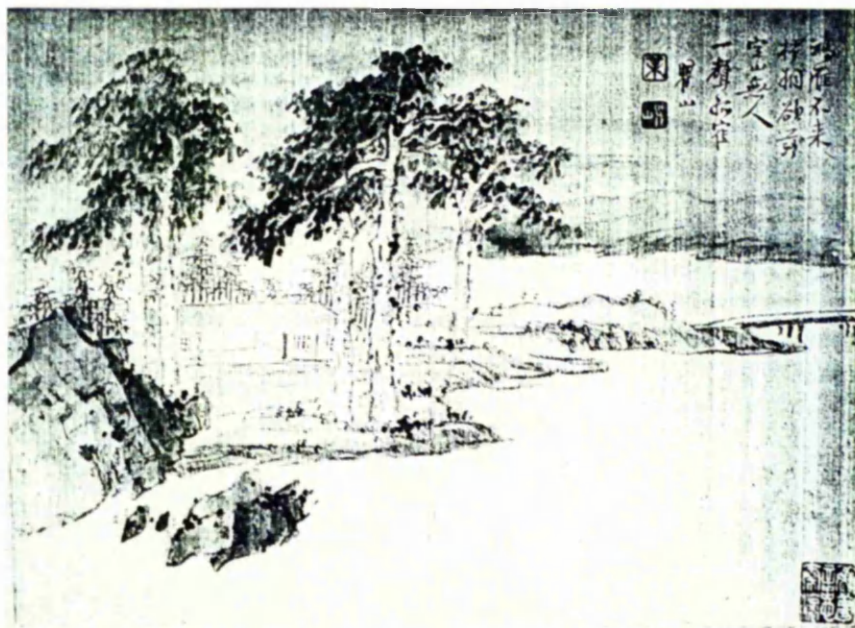
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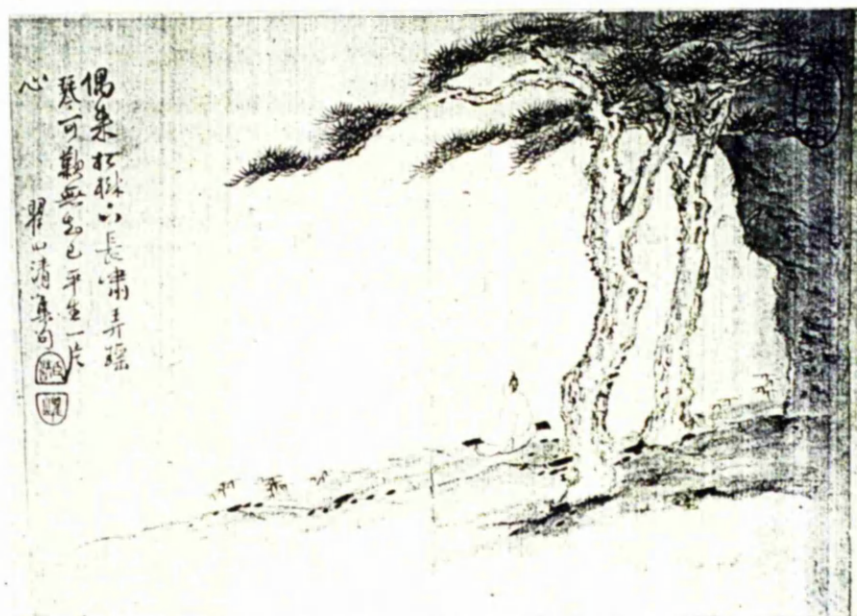
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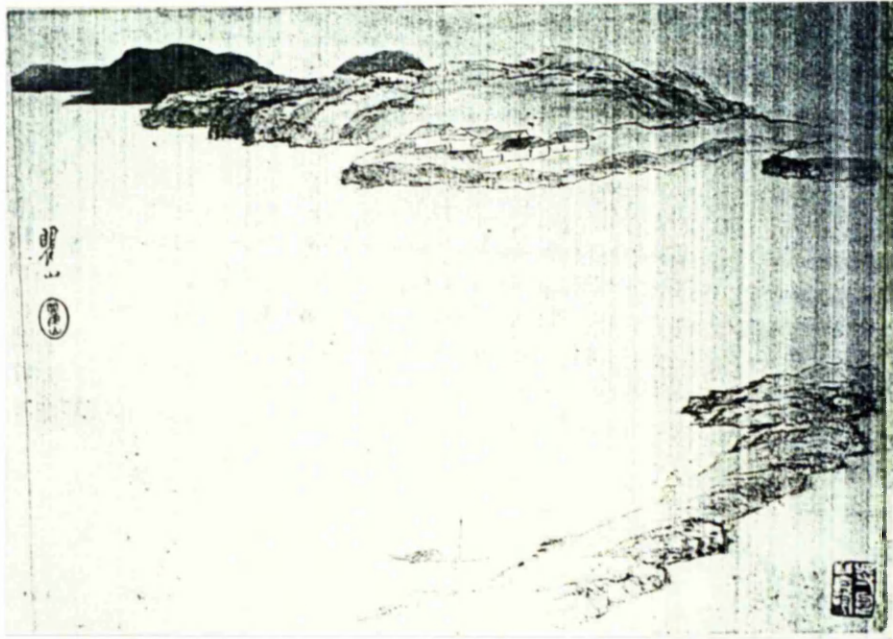
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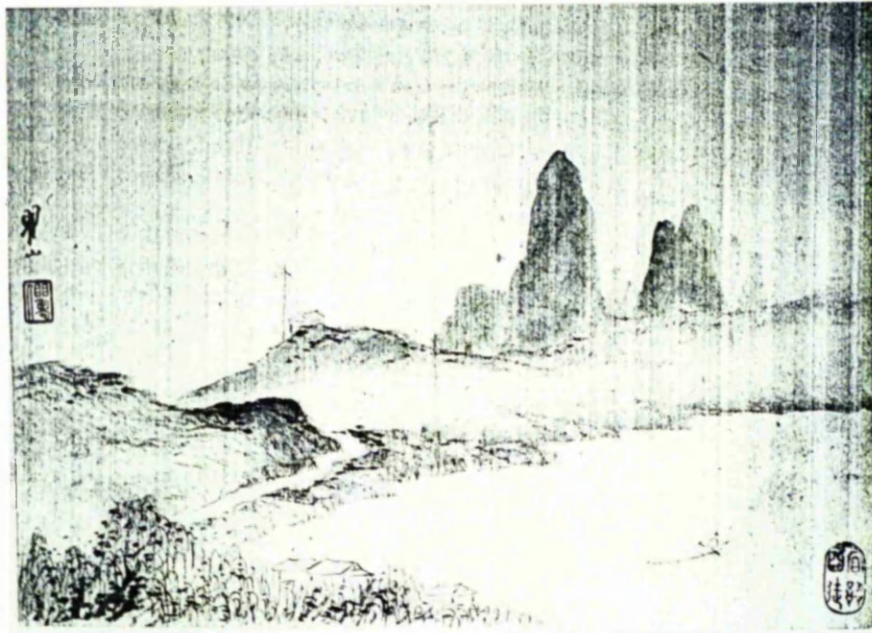
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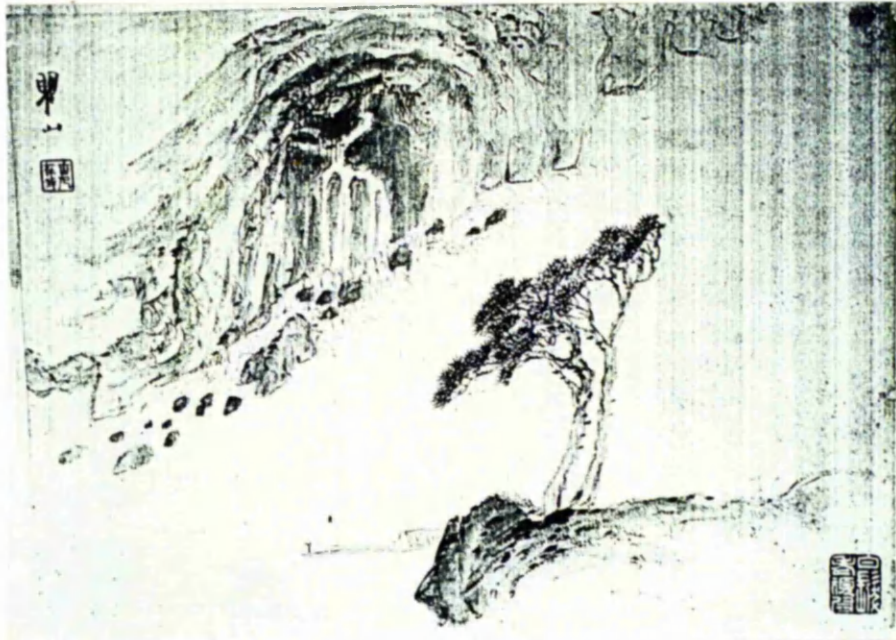
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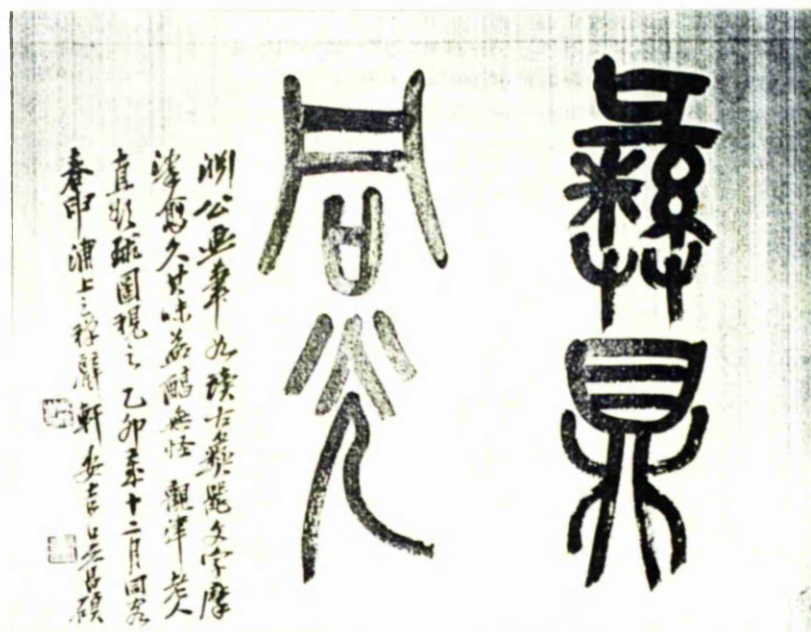
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Pl. 264. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Colophon by Wu Changshuo. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 4, JP. 34-075.

THE PAINTINGS OF MEI QING (1624-1697)

VOLUME II (B)

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JUNE 1994



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Fig. 1. *Landscape of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Dated 1663. Handscroll, ink and light colour on silk, 26 x 280.6 cm. Marie-Helene & Guy Weill Collection, New York. Author's photograph.

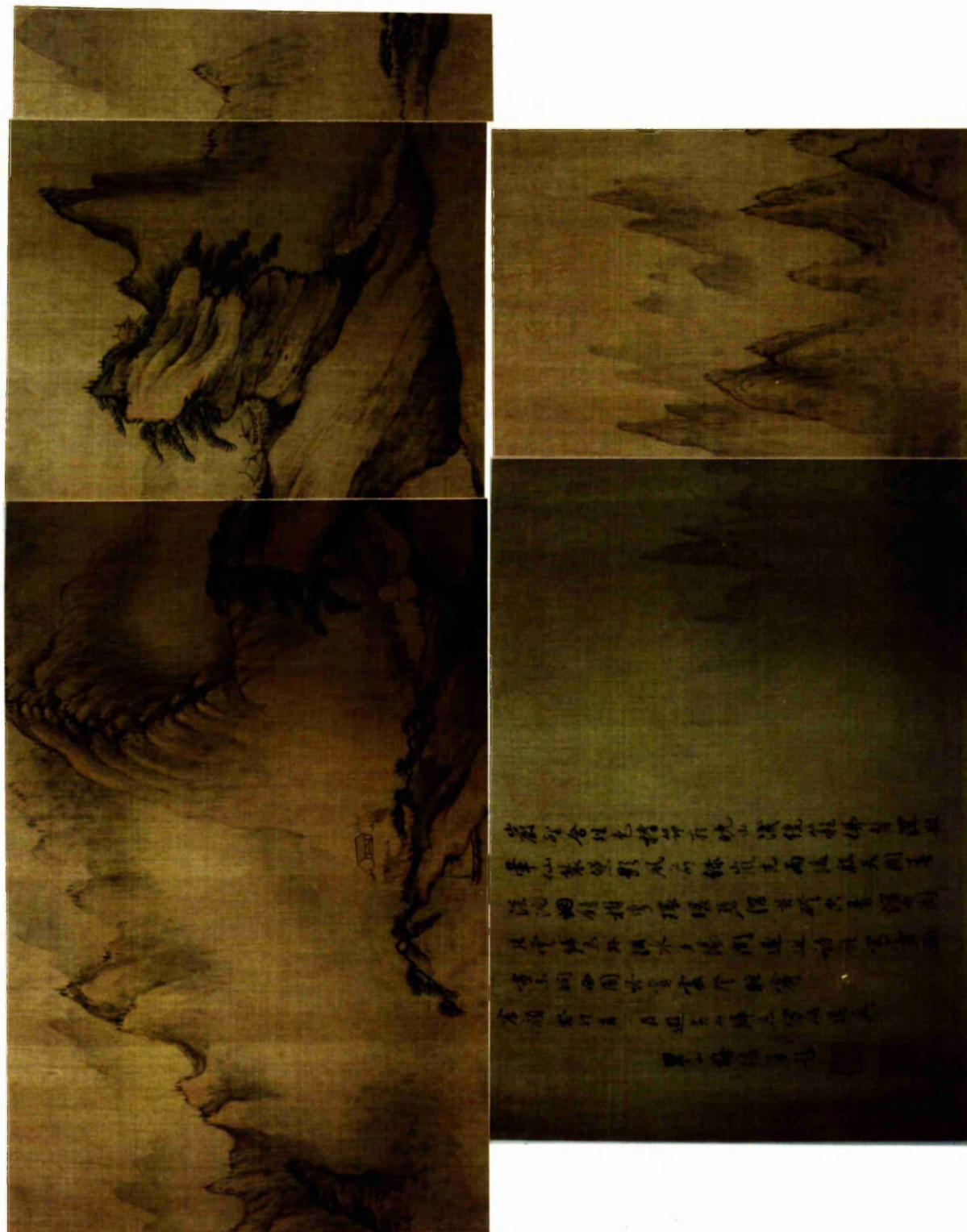


Fig. 1. *Landscape of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing, Dated 1663. Author's photograph.

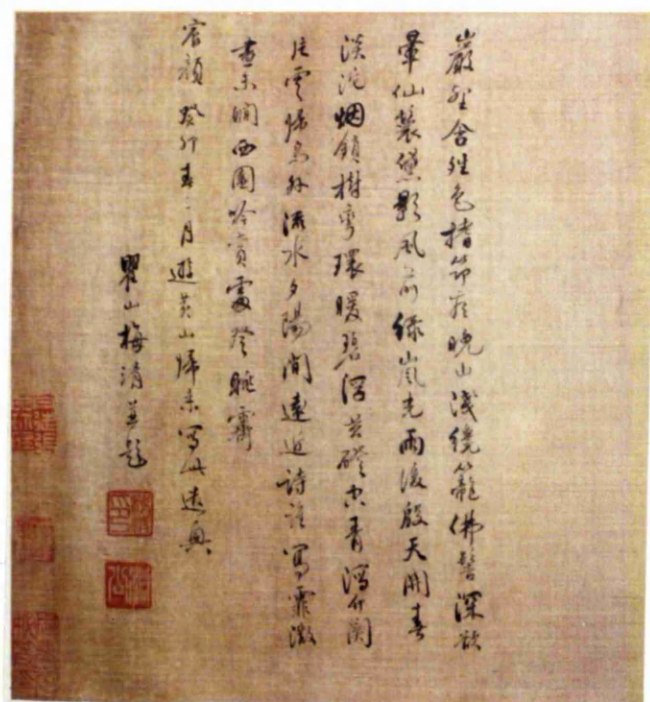


Fig. 2. Inscription of Fig. 1: *Landscape of Mt. Huang*. Author's photograph.

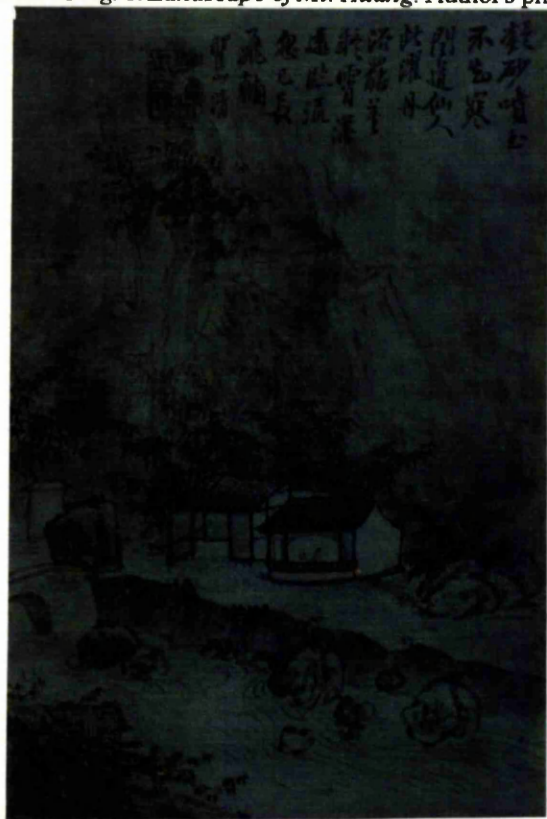


Fig. 3. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Dated 1672. Album, ink and colour on paper, 21 x 13.6 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Leaf 1. *Hot Springs*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 1.



Fig. 4. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 2. *Tiger Head Grotto*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 2.

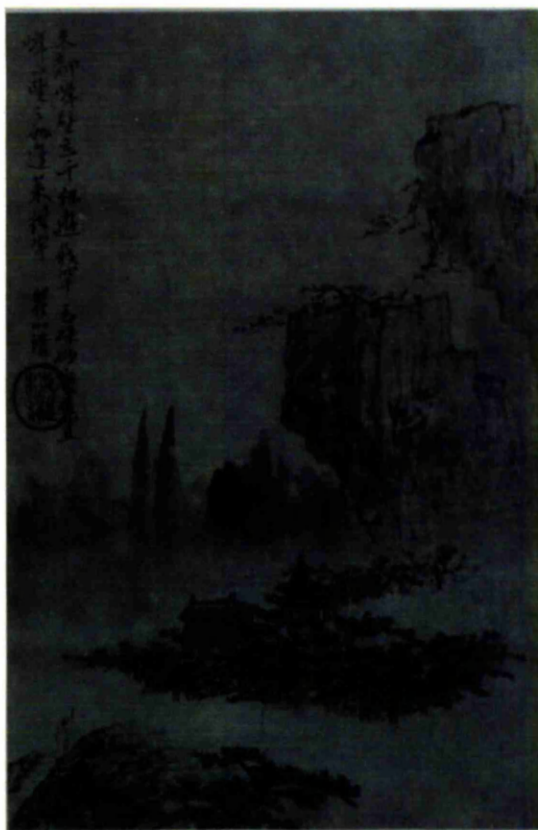


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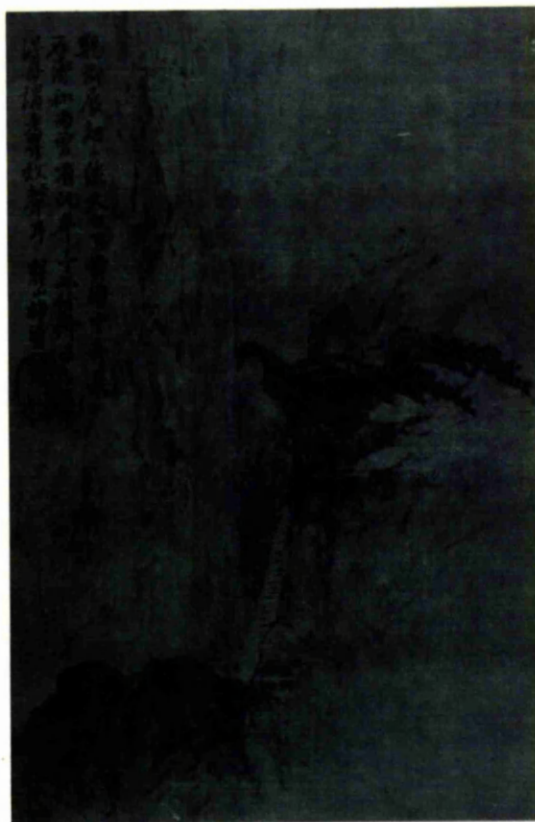


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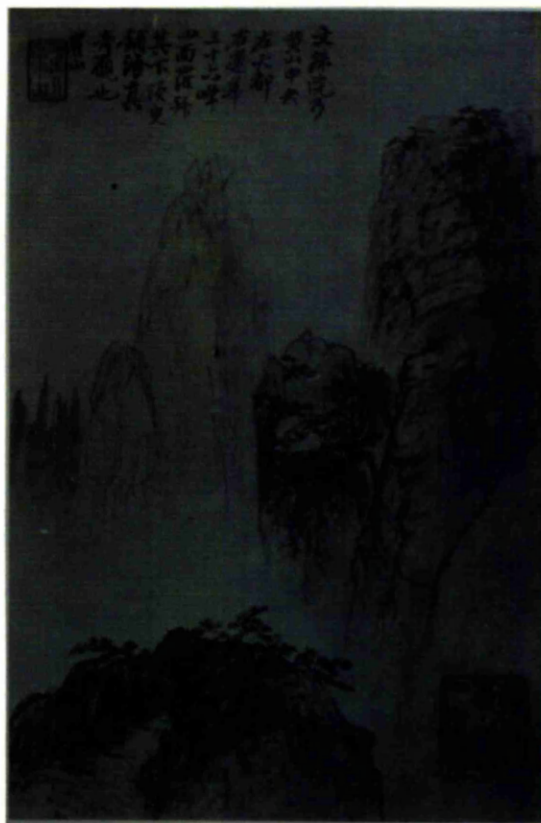


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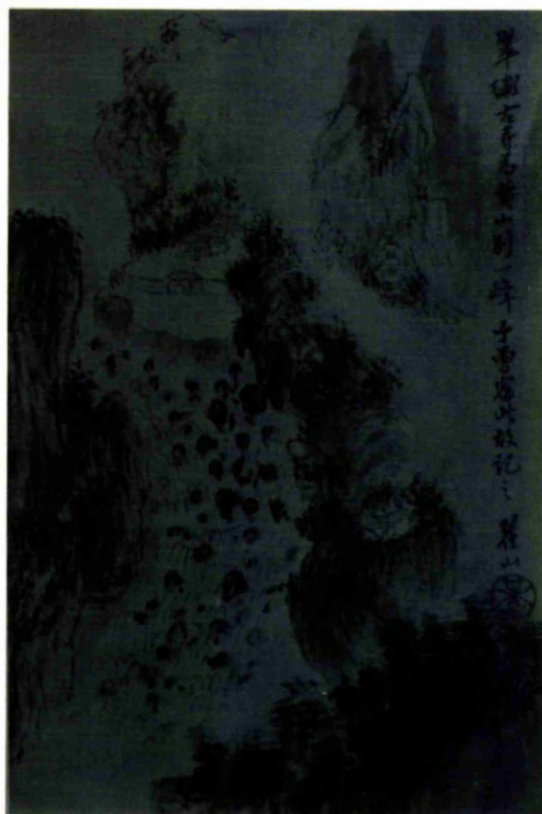


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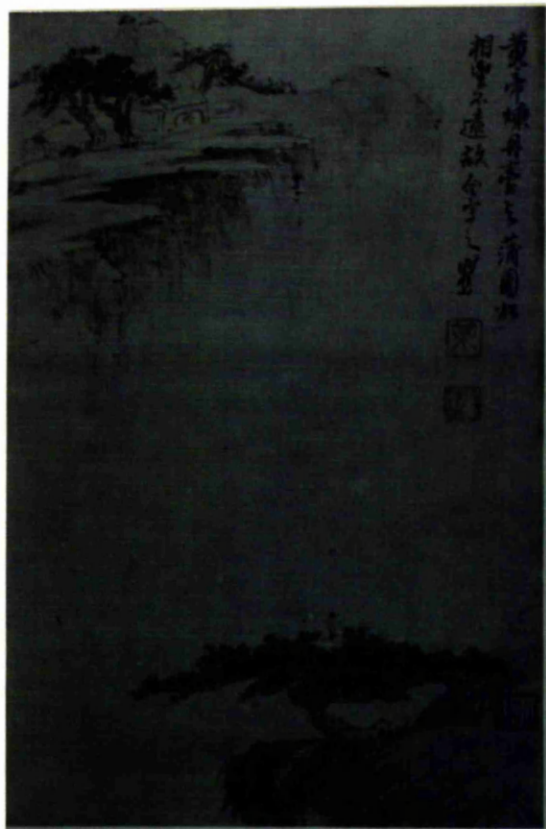


Fig. 9. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 7. *Refining Cinnabar Platform and Round Mat Pine*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 7.

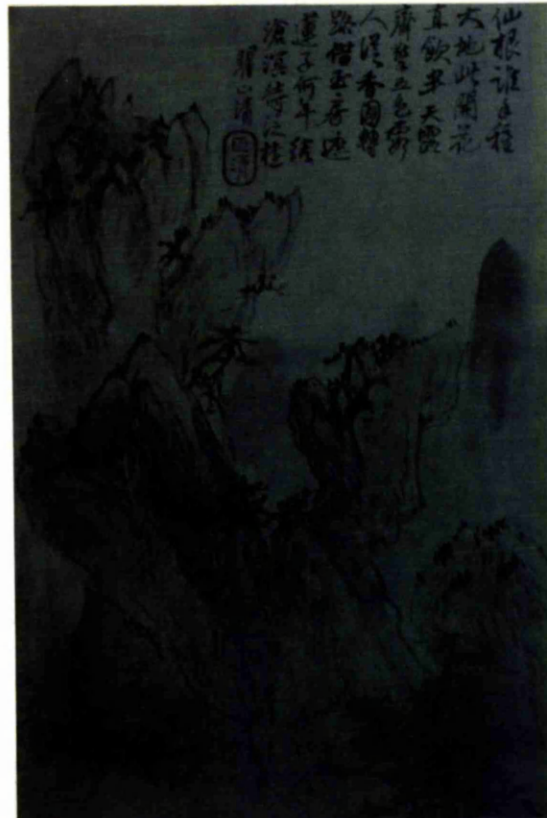


Fig. 10. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 8. *Lotus Blossom Peak*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 8.



Fig. 11. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 9. *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 9.

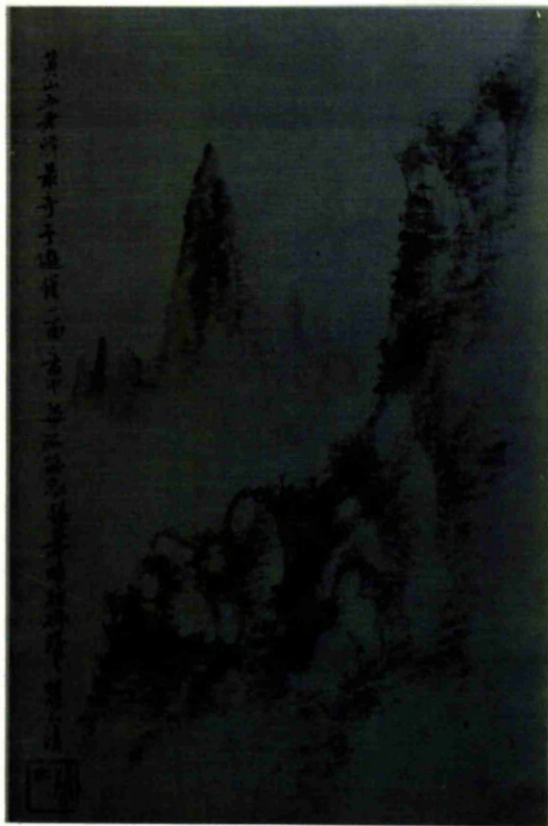


Fig. 12. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 10. *Wulao Peak*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 10.

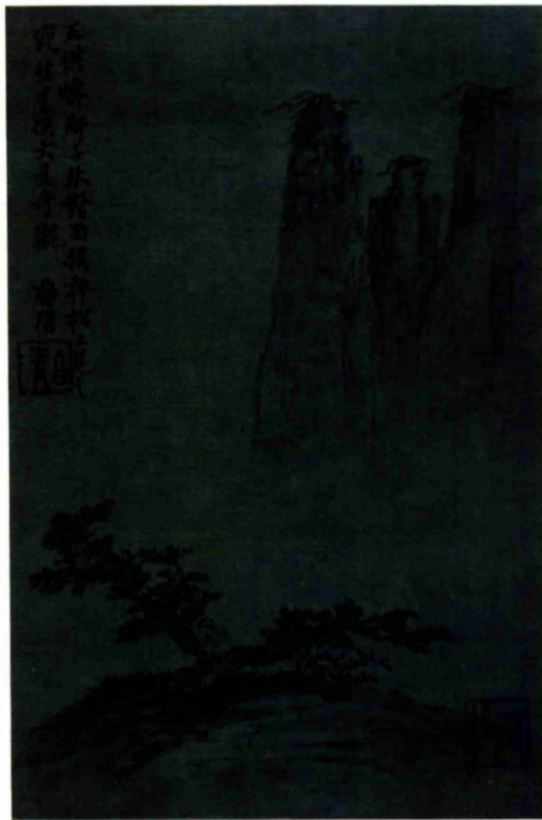


Fig. 13. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 11. *Wugong Peak*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 11.

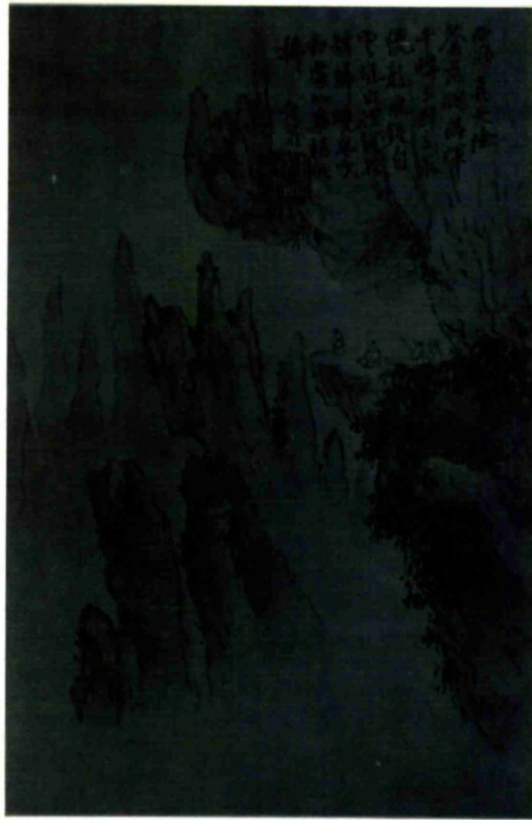


Fig. 14. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 12. *West Sea*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 12.

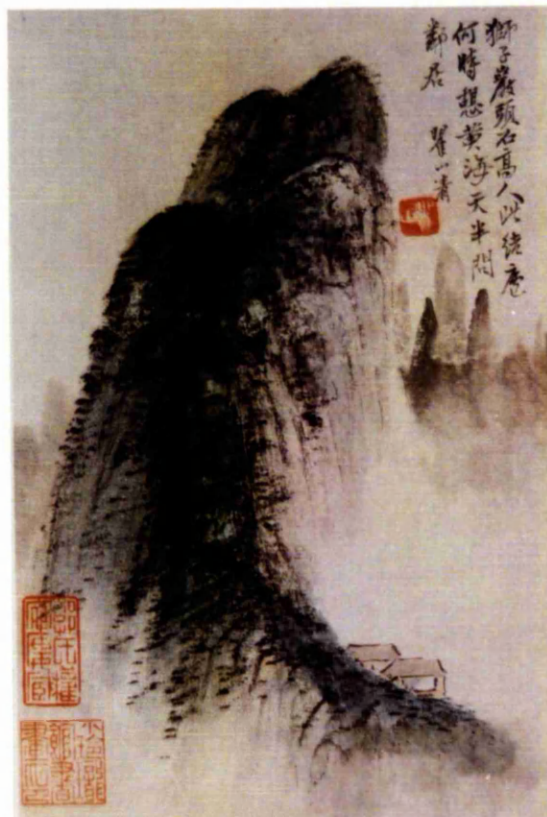


Fig. 15. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 13. *Lion Peak*. From *Sotheby's Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 1, 1992), Lot 43.

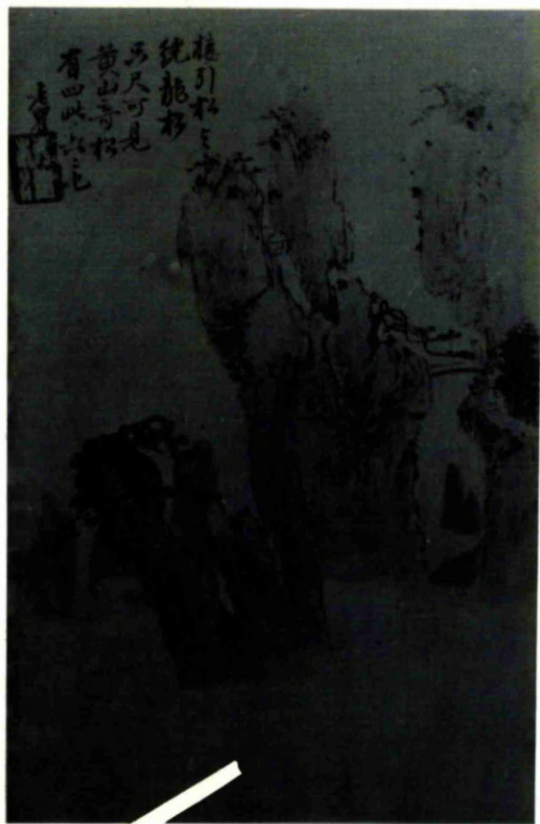


Fig. 16. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 14. *Receiving Pine and Twisted Dragon Pine*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 14.



Fig. 17. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 15. *Nine Dragon Pool*. From *From Sotheby's Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 1, 1992), Lot 43.

Fig. 18. *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 16. *Pine Valley*. From *Mei Qushan Huangshan quanjing jingpin* (1939), Pl. 16.



Fig. 19. *Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng*, signed as Mei Qing. Dated 1691. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 197.2 x 49.7 cm. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.



Fig. 20. Detail of Fig. 19. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.



Fig. 21. Detail of Fig. 19. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.



Fig. 22. Inscription of Fig. 19. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.



Pl. 174. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Dated 1691. Album, ink on paper, 17.2 x 12 cm. Leaf 1. Mei Qing's Colophon and Style of Ke Jiushi. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.

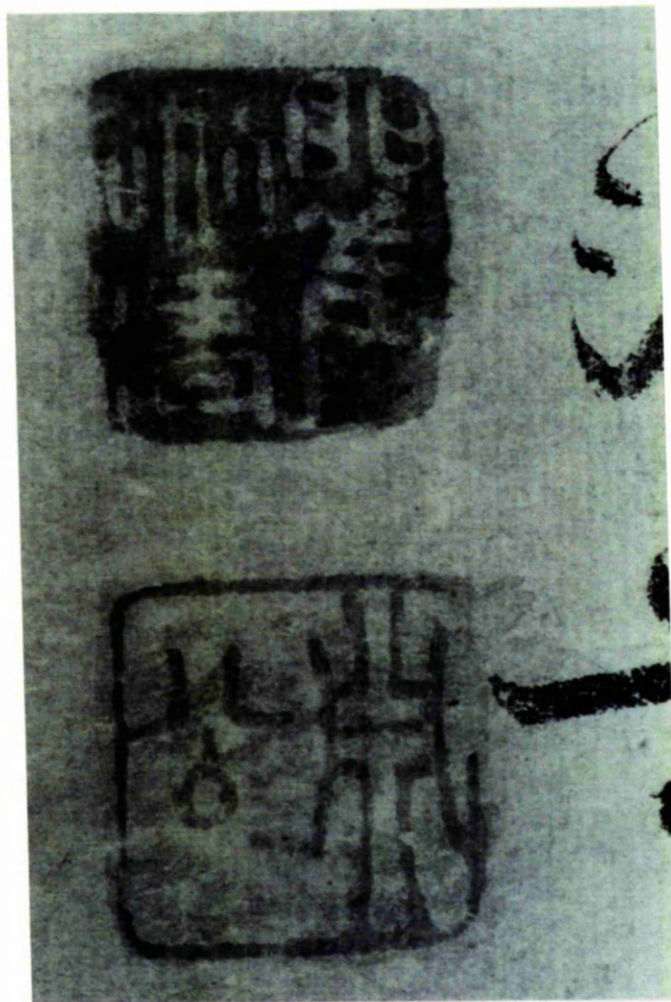


Fig. 23. Seals of Fig. 19. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

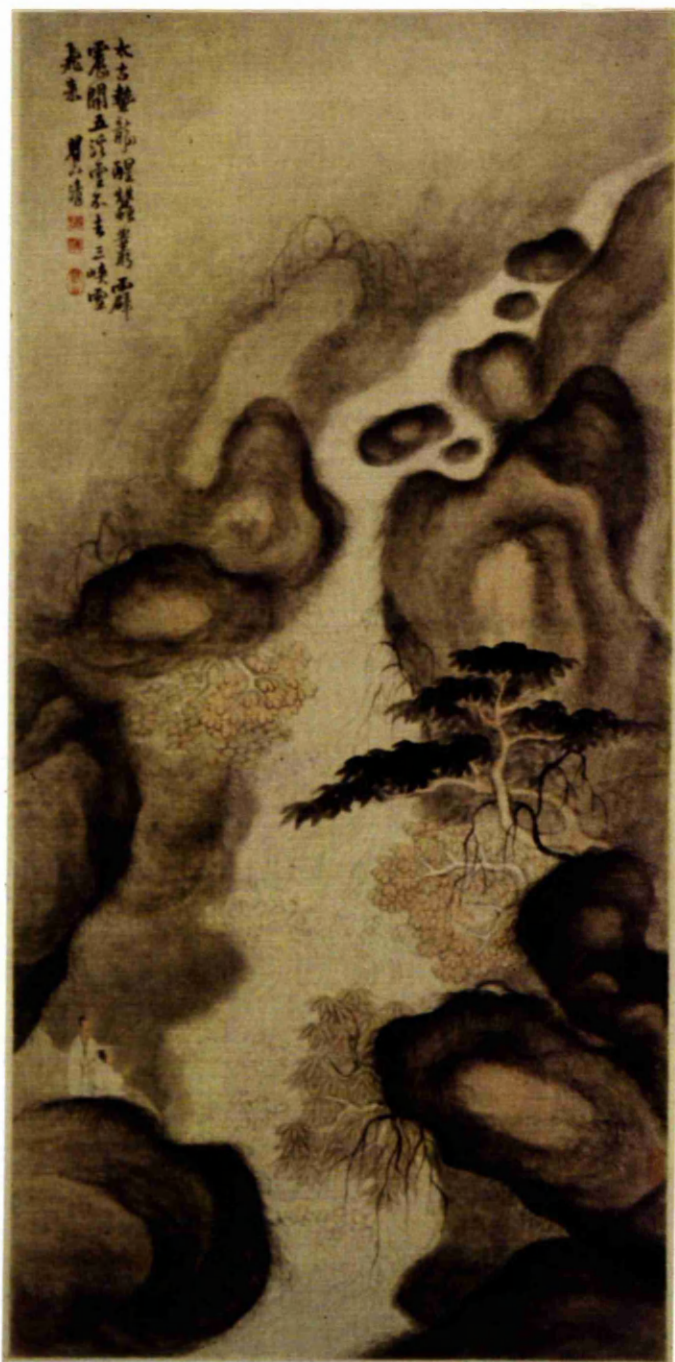
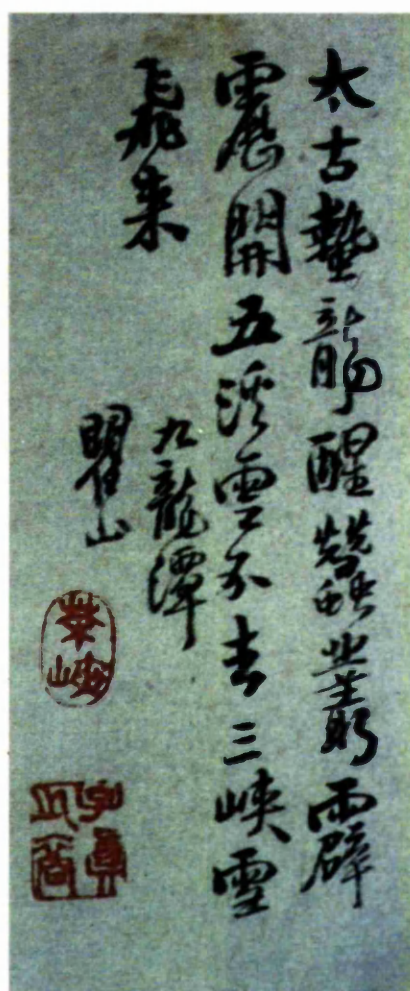
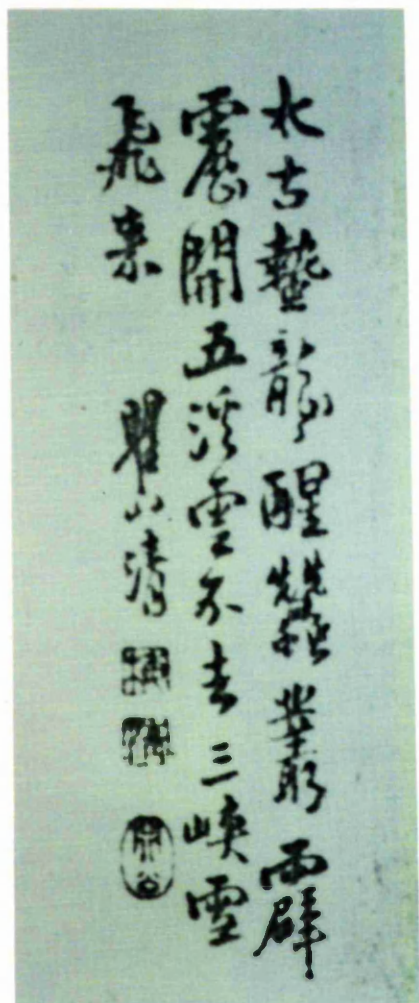


Fig. 24. *Nine Dragon Pool*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 92 x 43.5 cm. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 179. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1693. Album, ink and colours on paper, 33.9 x 44.1 cm. Shanghai Museum. Leaf 1. *Nine Dragon Pool*. Author's photograph.

Fig. 25. Inscription of Fig. 24: *Nine Dragon Pool*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



PL 265. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 179: *Nine Dragon Pool*. From *Sianghai hakubuthukan ten*, Pl. 78.

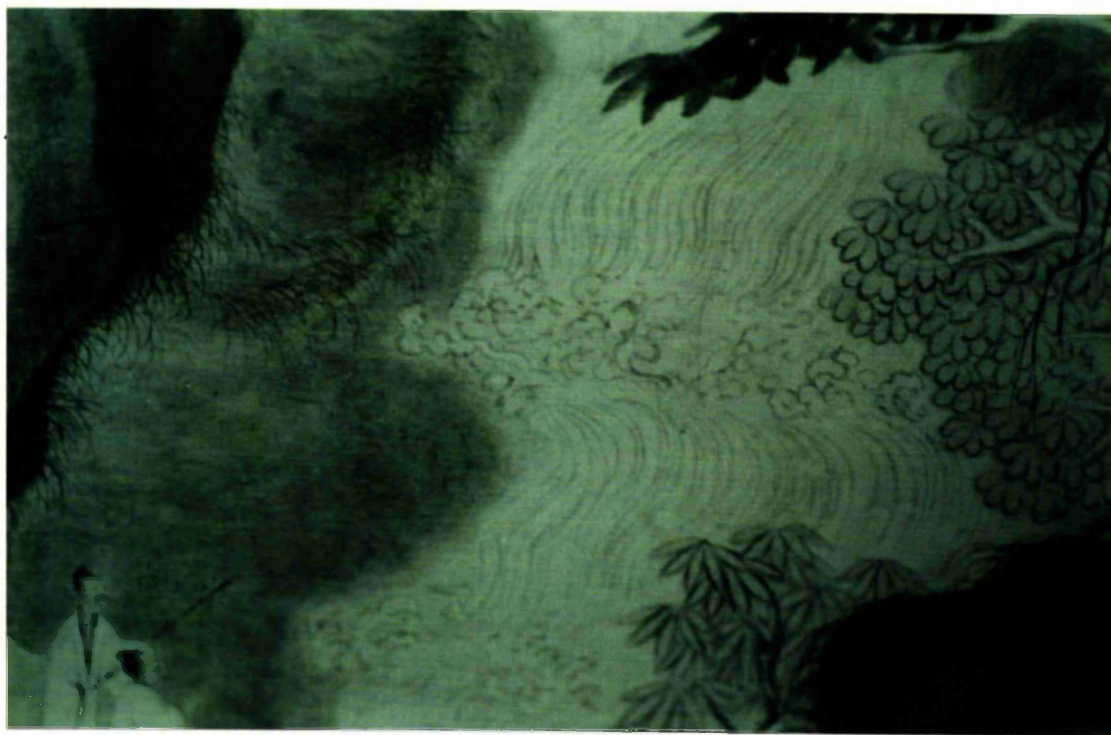


Fig. 26. Detail of Fig. 24. *Nine Dragon Pool*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 266. Mei Qing: Detail of Pl. 179: *Nine Dragon Pool*. From *Sianghai hakubuthukan ten*, Pl. 78.



Fig. 27. Detail of Fig. 24. *Nine Dragon Pool*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 267. Mei Qing: Detail of Pl. 179: *Nine Dragon Pool*. From *Sianghai hakubuthukan ten*, Pl. 78.

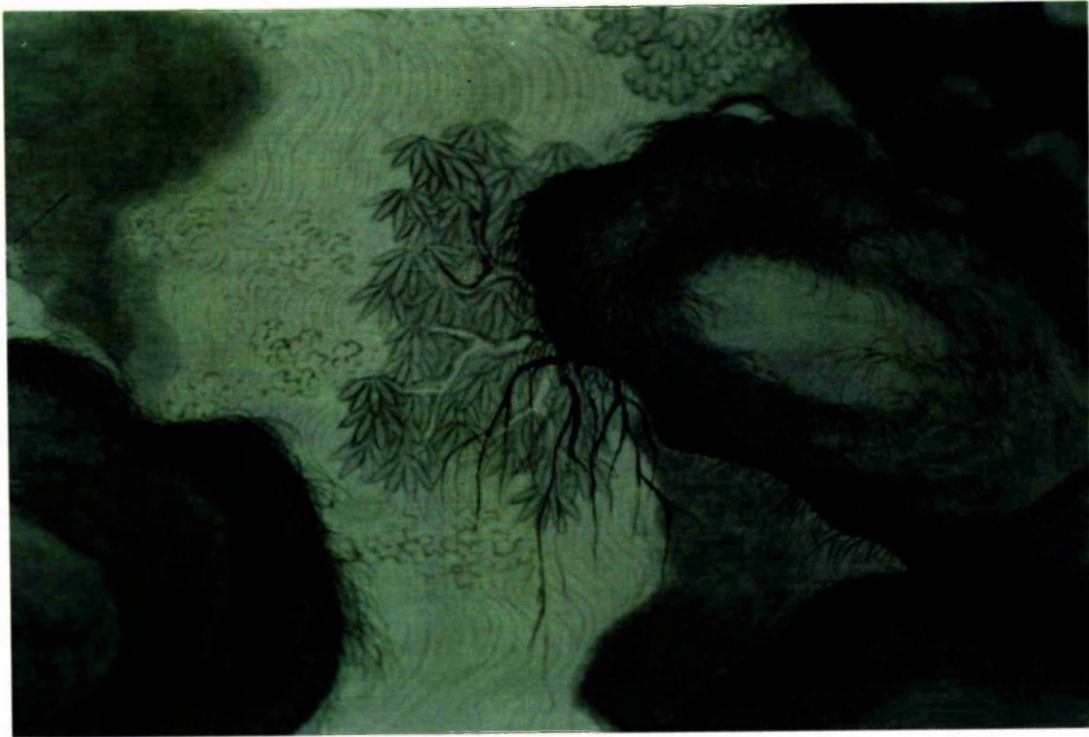


Fig. 28. Detail of Fig. 24. *Nine Dragon Pool*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.



Pl. 268. Mei Qing: Detail of Pl. 179: *Nine Dragon Pool*. From *Sianghai hakubuthukan ten*, Pl. 78.

Fig. 29. *Thousand Peaks of the West Sea*, signed as Mei Qing. Dated 1695. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 73.6 x 49 cm. Tianjin Art Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 98.

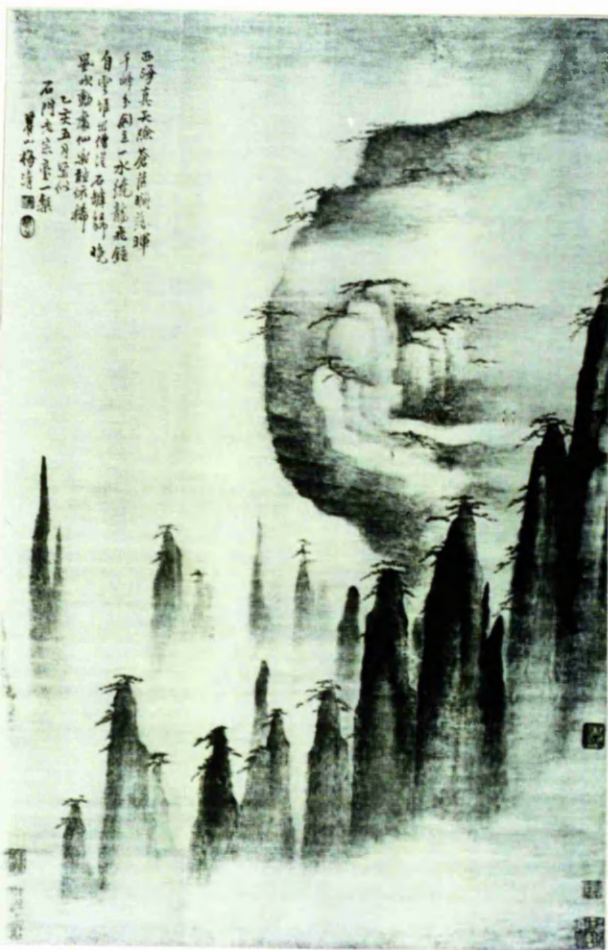


Fig. 31. *Thousand Peaks of the West Sea*, signed as Mei Qing. Dated 1695. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 76 x 48.2 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: May 30, 1990), Lot 67.



Pl. 190. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 12. *West Sea Gate*. Author's photograph. (For the inscription see Pl. 269)

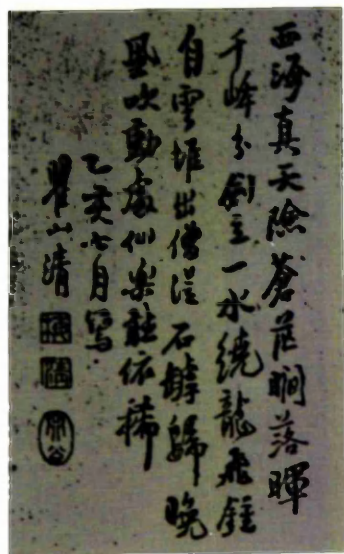


Fig. 30. Inscription of Fig. 29.

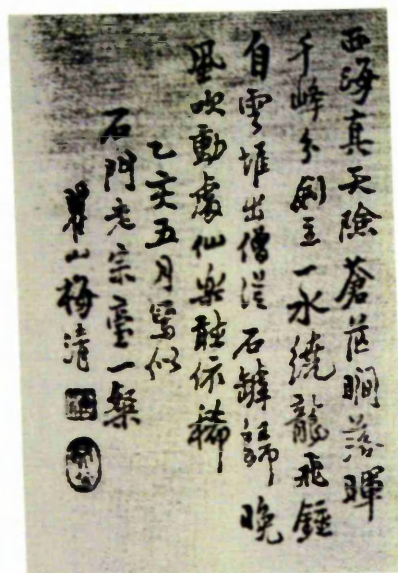
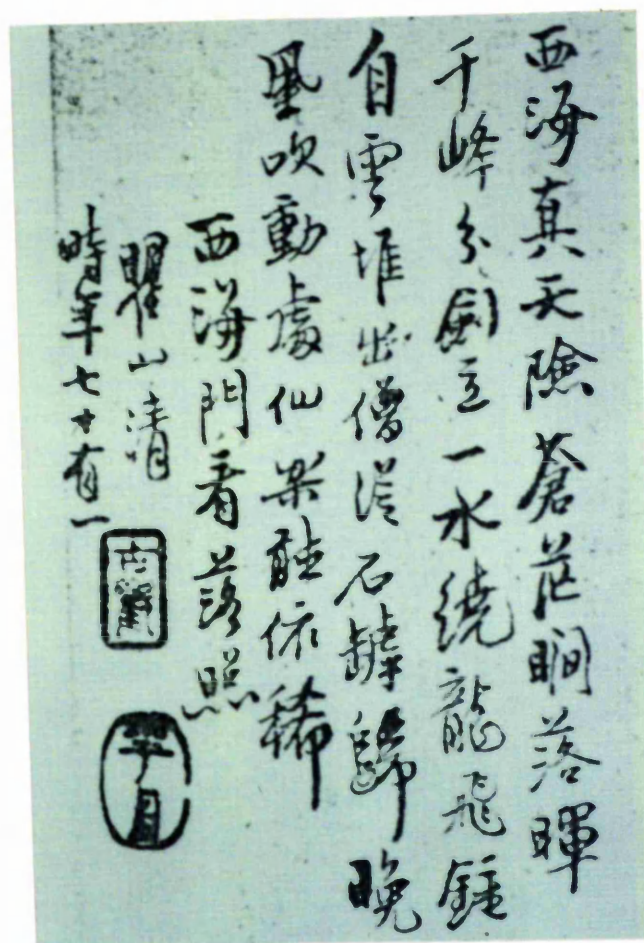


Fig. 32. Inscription of Fig. 31.



Pl. 269 Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 190.

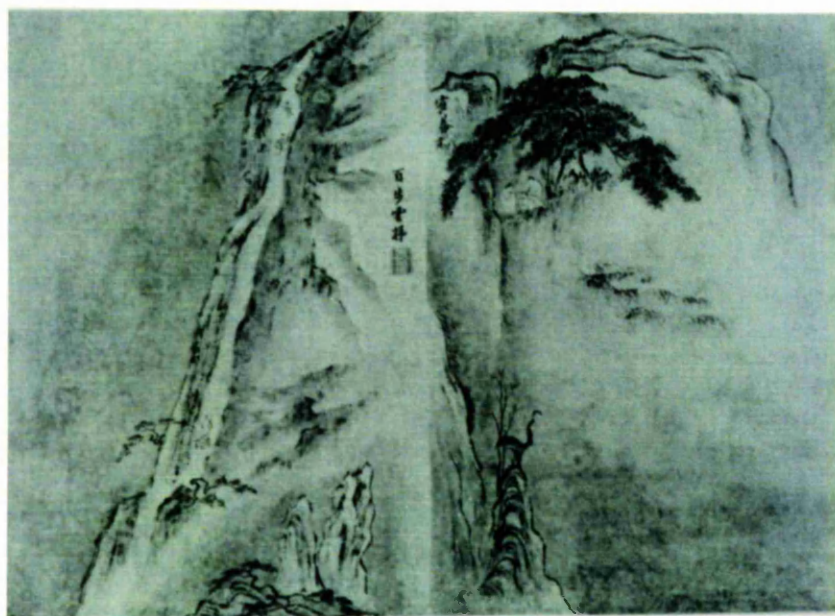


Fig. 33. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Album, ink and light colour on paper, 32.6 x 44.8 cm. Lanqian shanguan Collection. Leaf 1. (A) *Hegai Pine*; (B) *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

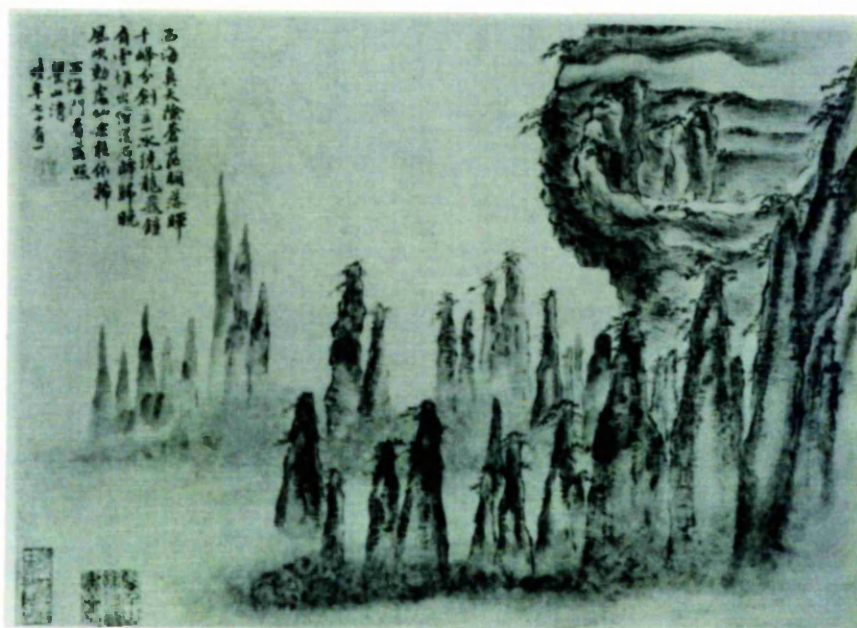


Fig. 34. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 2. *West Sea Gate*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

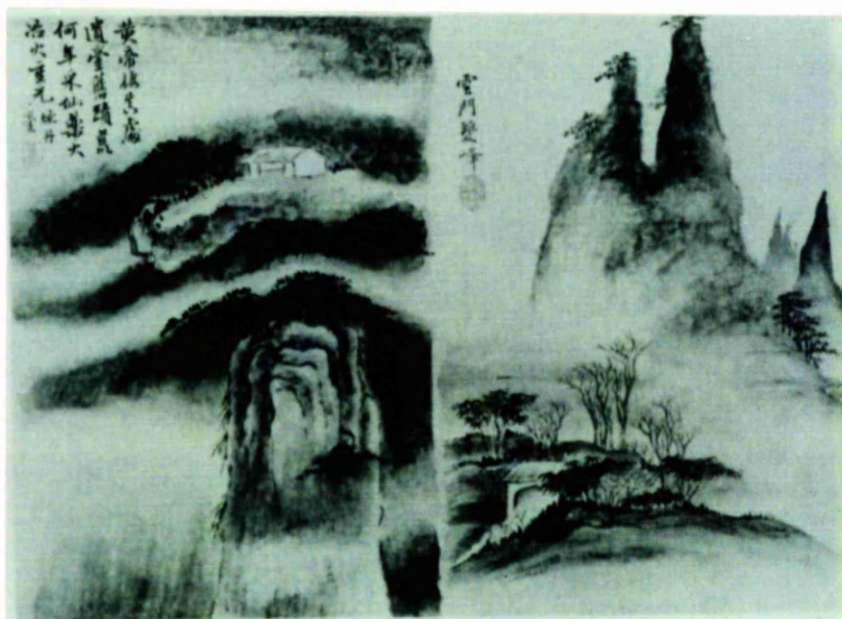


Fig. 35. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 3. (A) *Two Peaks of Cloudy Gate*; (B) *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

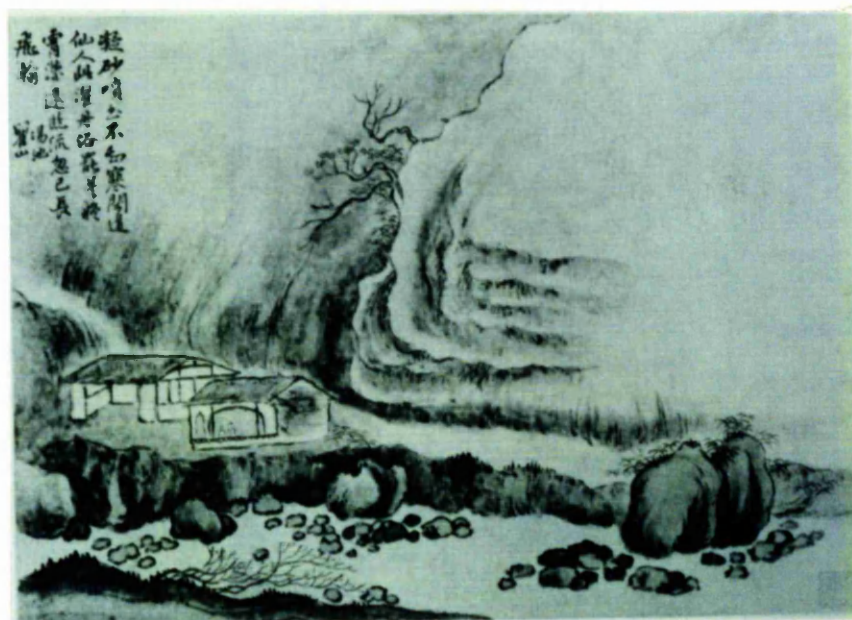


Fig. 36. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 4. *Hot Springs*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

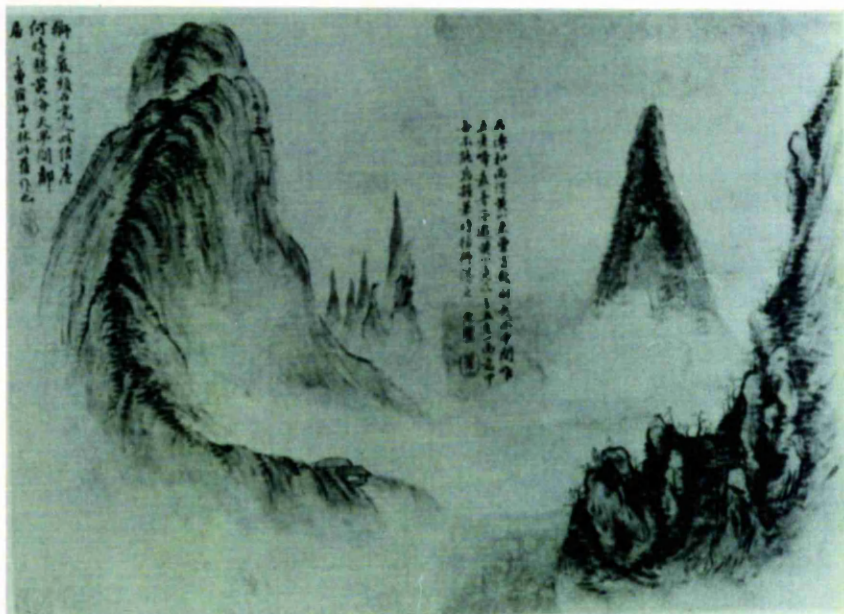


Fig. 37. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 5. (A) *Wulao Peak*, (B) *Lion Forest*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

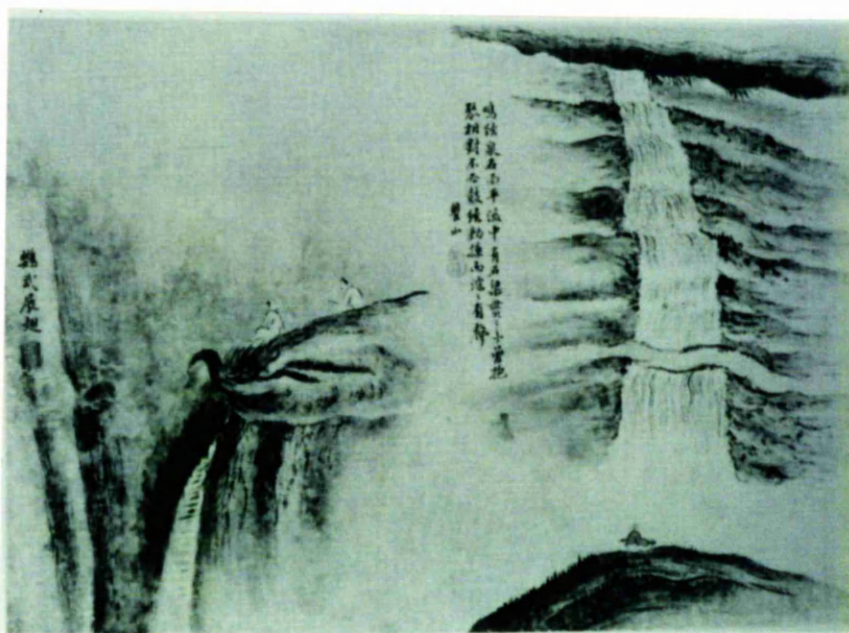


Fig. 38. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 6. (A) *Sounding Strings Spring*, (B) *Flapping Parrot*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.



Fig. 39. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 7. *Nine Dragon Pool*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

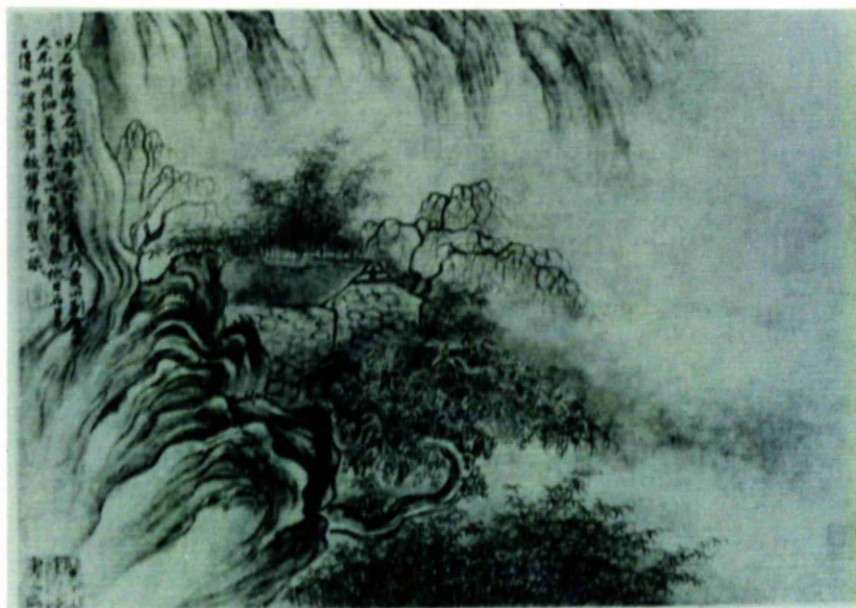


Fig. 40. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 8. *Heshi Dwelling*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

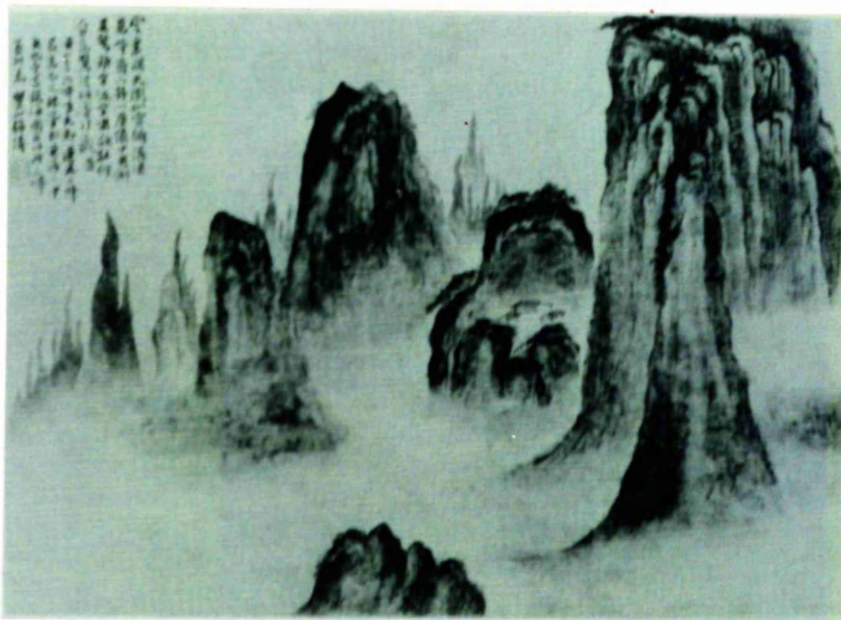


Fig. 41. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 9. *Wenshu Plateau*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

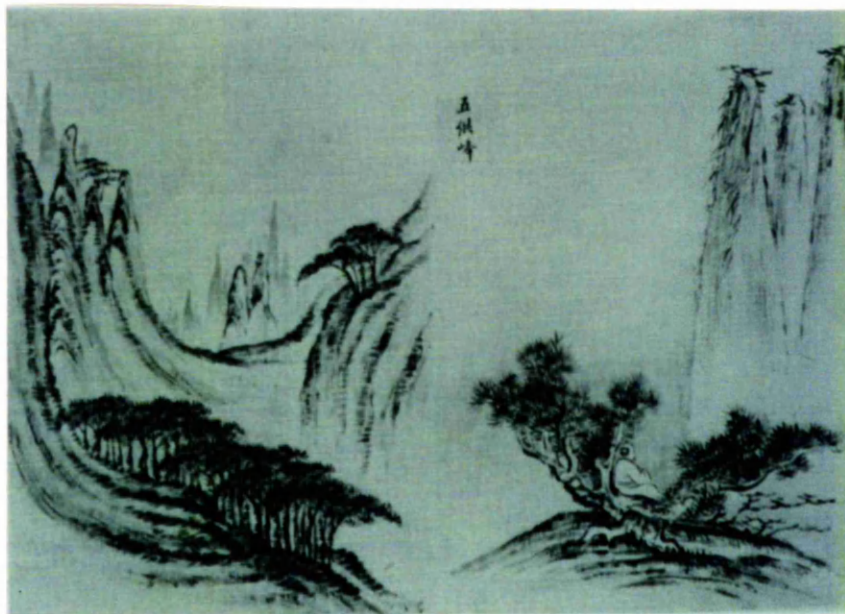


Fig. 42. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 10. (A) *Wugong Peak*, (B) *Pine Valley*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

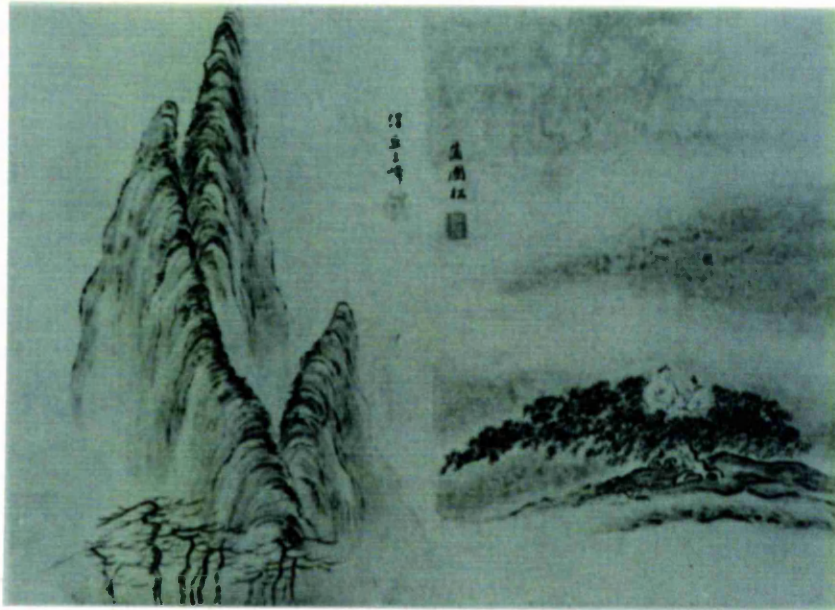


Fig. 43. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 11. (A) *Round Mat Pine*; (B) *Three Peaks of Fuqiu*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

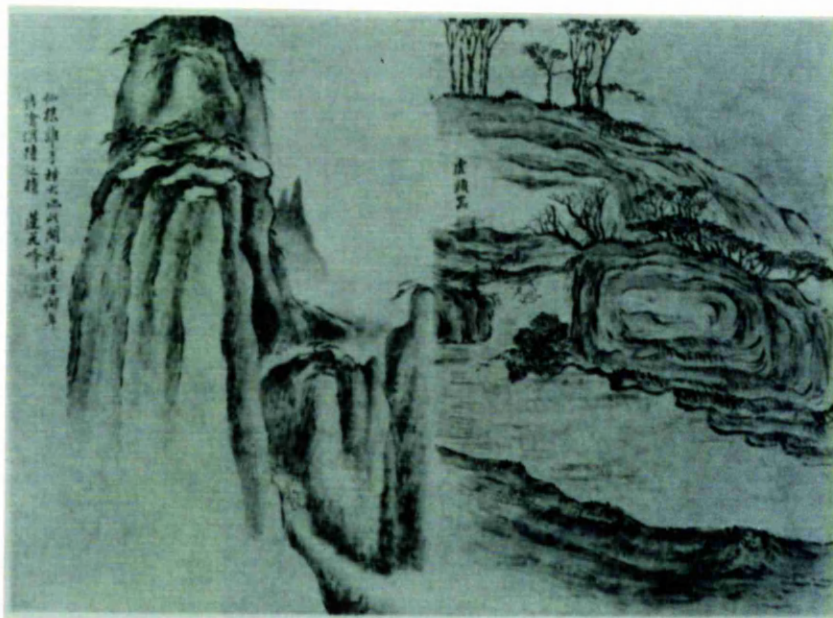


Fig. 44. *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 12. (A) *Tiger Head Grotto*; (B) *Lotus Blossom Peak*. From *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, S4-054.

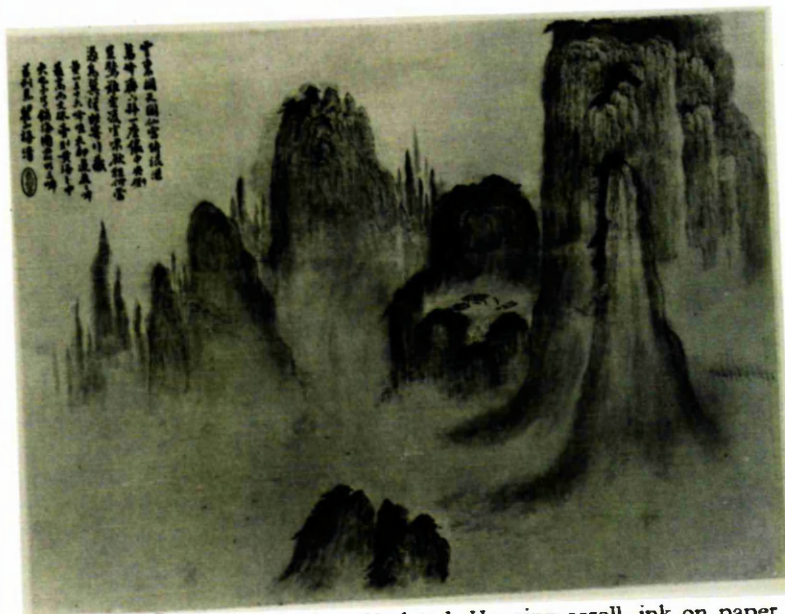
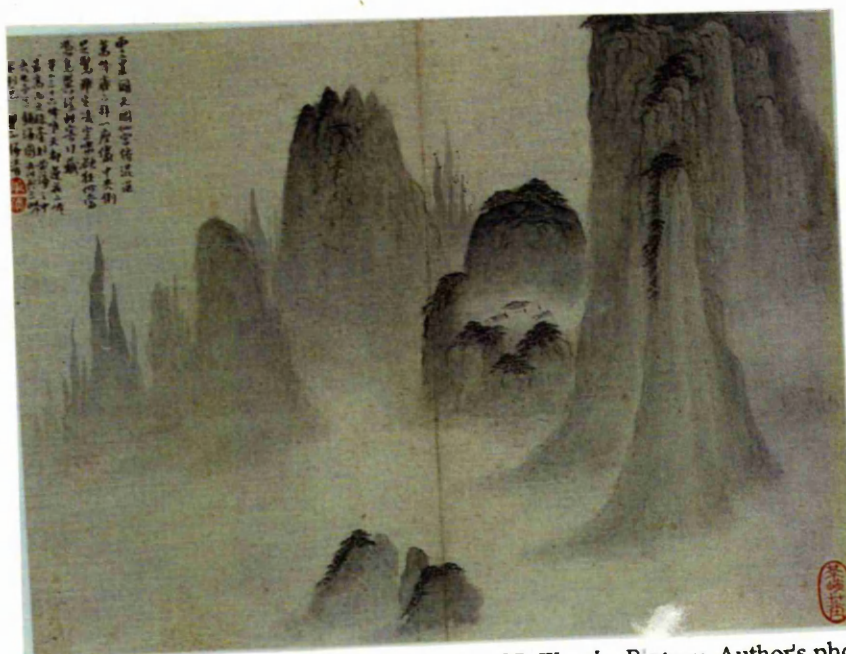
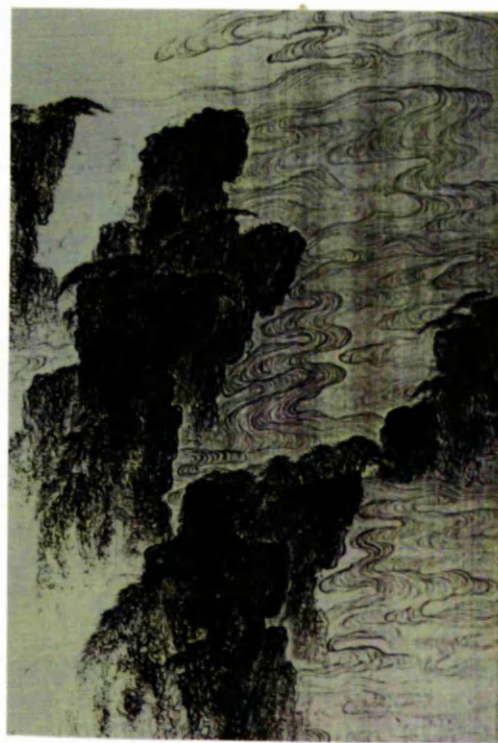


Fig. 45. *Wenshu Temple*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 34.3 x 44.5 cm. Courtesy of the Sen-oku Hakko Kan.



Pl. 185. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 7. *Wenshu Plateau*. Author's photograph.

Fig. 46. *Wenshu Temple at Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 215 x 54.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From Christie's *Important Classical Chinese Paintings* (New York: Dec. 1989), Lot 38.

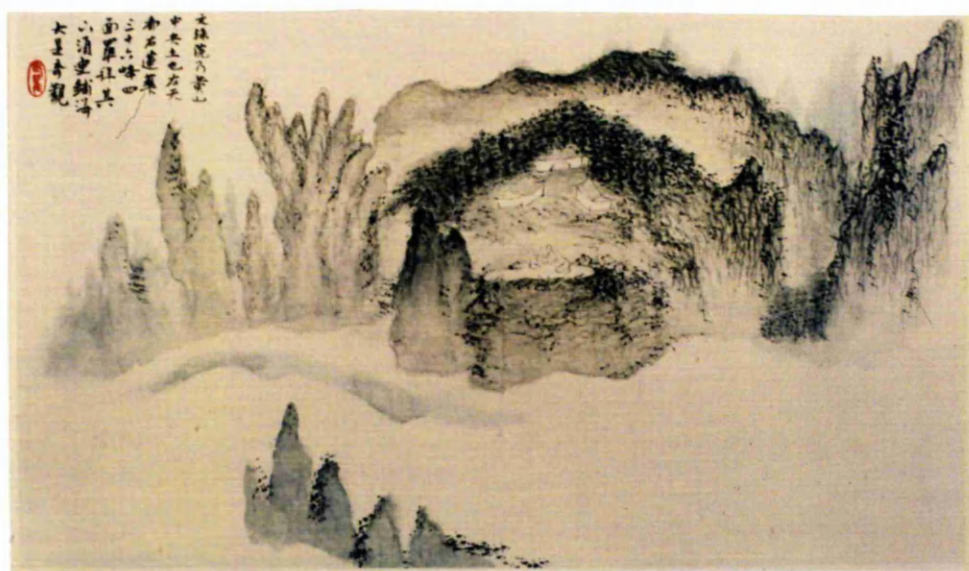


Detail of Pl. 270.

Pl. 270. Mei Chong: *Sea of Clouds at Wenshu Temple of Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 218 x 49 cm. Guangzhou Art Gallery. From *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, Fig. 50.



Fig. 47. *Wenshu Plateau in the Yellow Mountains*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 105.5 x 40.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From *Challenging the Past: The Painting of Chang Dai-chien (1899-1983)*, Fig. 6.



Pl. 114. Mei Qing: *Sixteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 11. *Wenshu Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1980), Pl. 11. (For the inscription see Pl. 271)



Pl. 125. Mei Qing: *Ten Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. *Wenshu Temple*. From *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* (1961), Pl. 3. (For the inscription see Pl. 272)

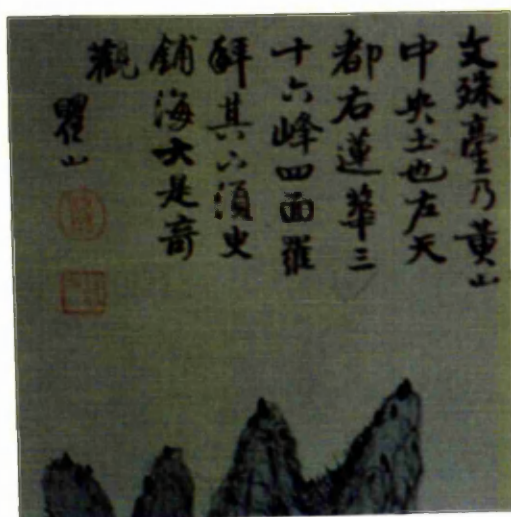
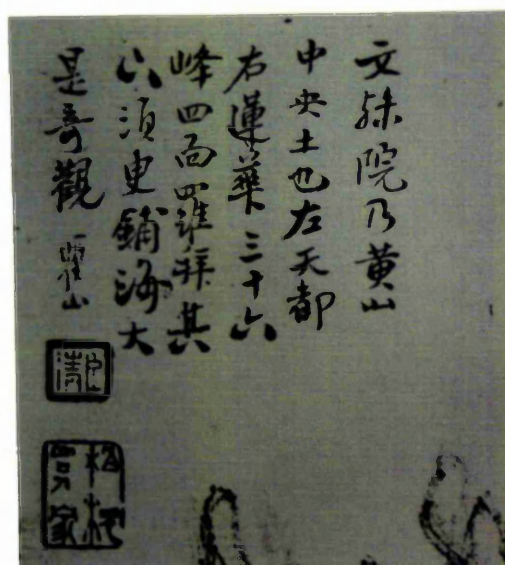
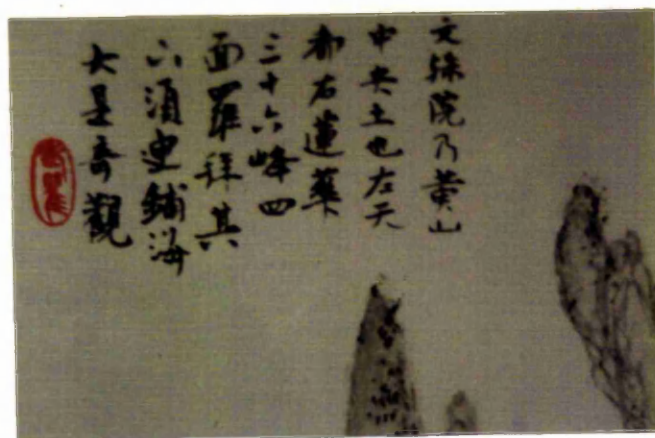


Fig. 48. Inscription of Fig. 47.



Pl. 272. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 125.



Pl. 271. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 114.

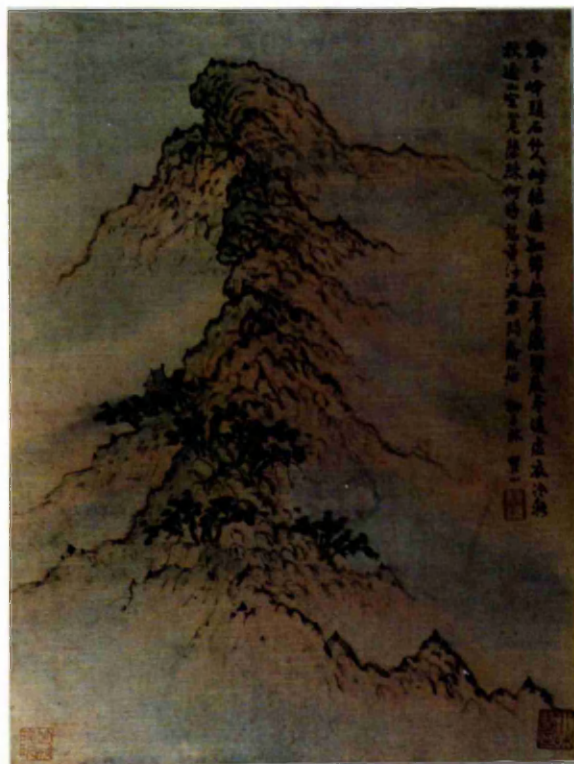


Fig. 49. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Album, ink and colours on paper, 43 x 32 cm. Sun Daguang Collection, Suzhou. Leaf 1. *Lion Peak*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 108.

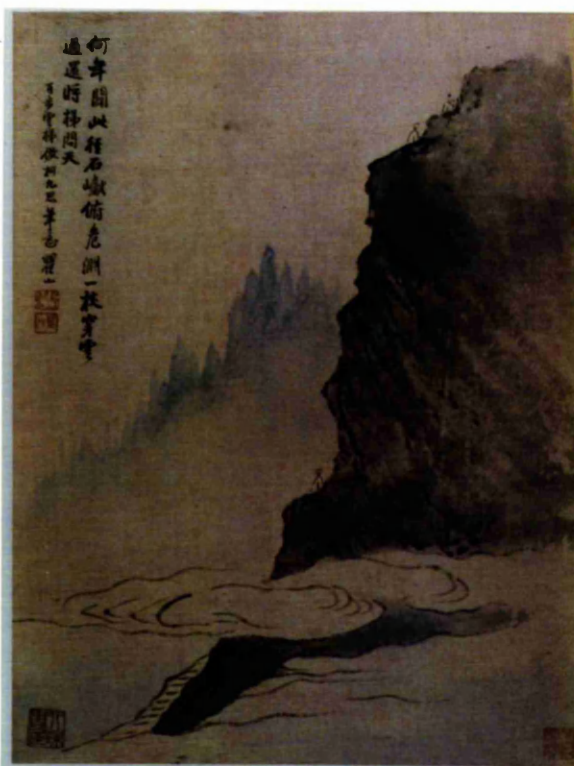


Fig. 50. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 2. *One Hundred Cloudy Steps*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 109.



Fig. 51. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 3. *Radiant Brightness Peak*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 110.

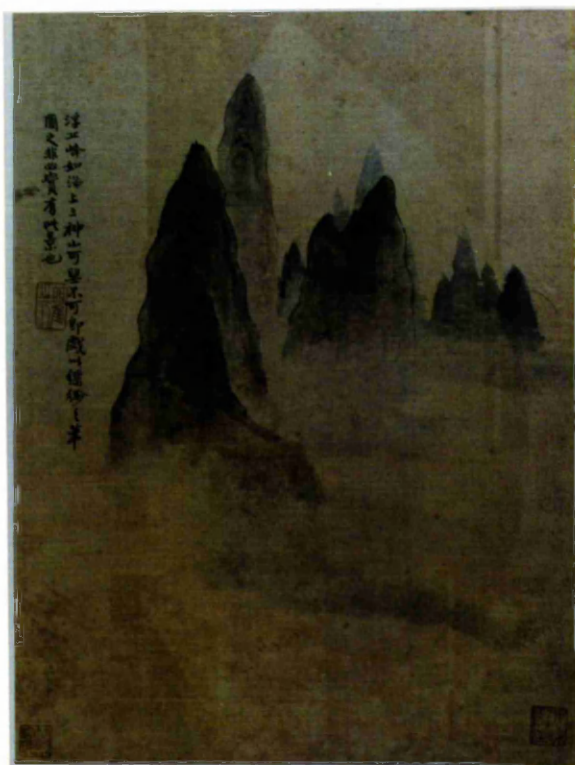


Fig. 52. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 4. *Fugu Peak*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 111.



Fig. 53. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 5. *Wenshu Plateau*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 112.



Fig. 54. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 6. *Lotus Blossom Peak*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 113.



Fig. 55. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 7. *Cloudy Gate Peak*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 114.



Fig. 56. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 8. *Cuiwei Temple*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 115.

Fig. 57. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 9. *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 116.

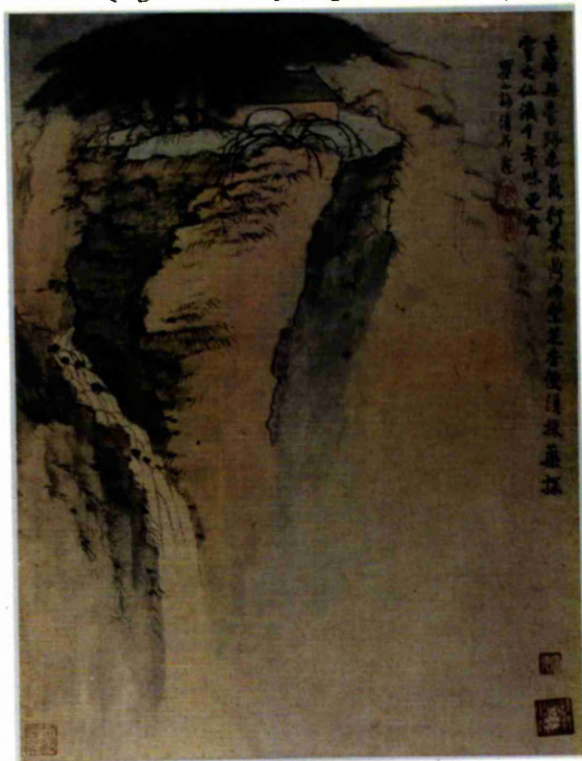


Fig. 58. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 10. *Sounding Strings Spring*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 117.

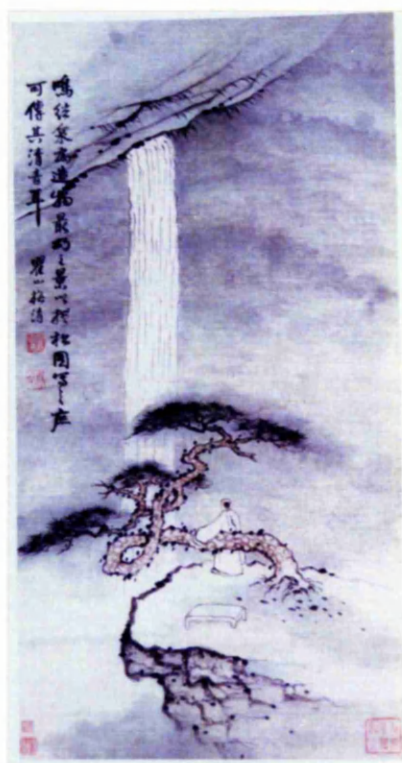


Fig. 75. *Sounding Strings Spring*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 73 x 38 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From *Christie's Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 1, 1994), Lot 158.



Fig. 59. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 11. *Heavenly Capital Peak*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 118.

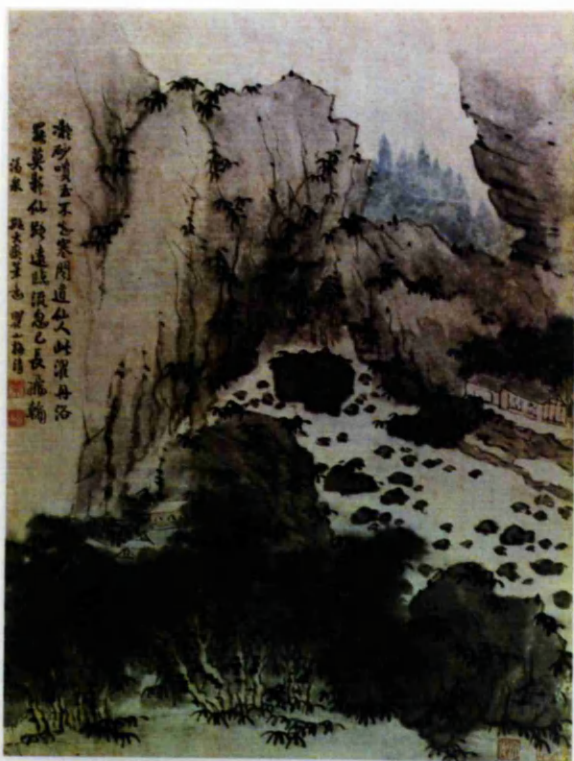


Fig. 60. *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Leaf 12. *Hot Springs*. From *Siwei shuwu zhencang shuhua ji*, p. 119.

Fig. 61. *Lotus Blossom Peak in Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, 130 x 35.6 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From Christie's *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York: June 1, 1989), Lot 113.

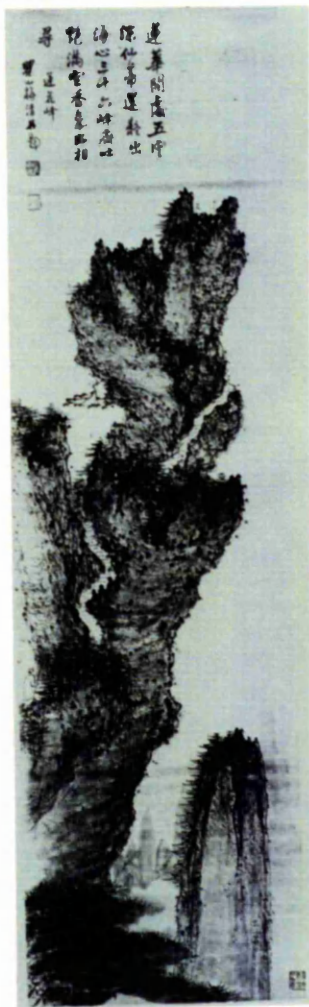
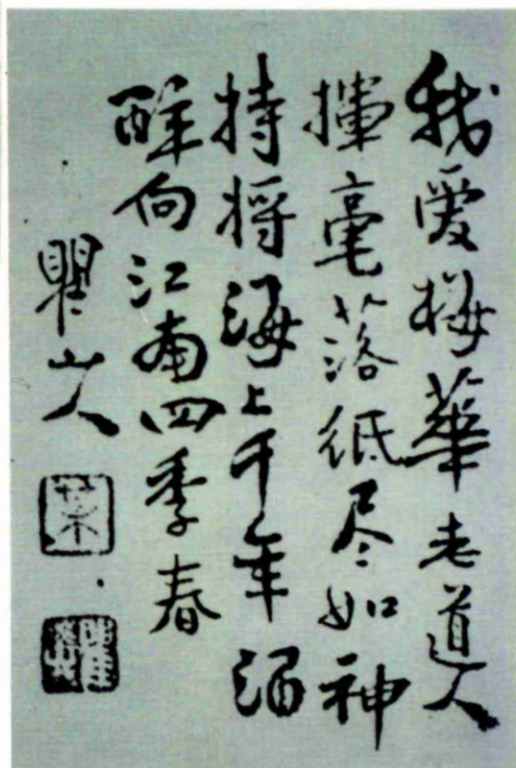


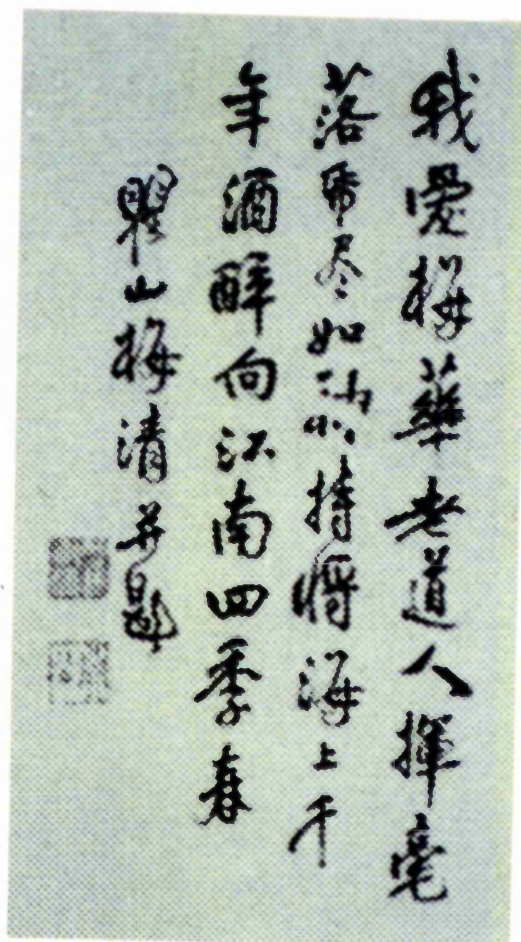
Fig. 62. *Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen*, signed as Mei Qing. Hanging scroll. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. Author's photograph.

Pl. 273. Chang Dai-chien: *Landscape in the Style of Mei Qing and Shitao*. Dated 1928. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 127.5 x 65 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From *Challenging the Past*, Fig. 46.



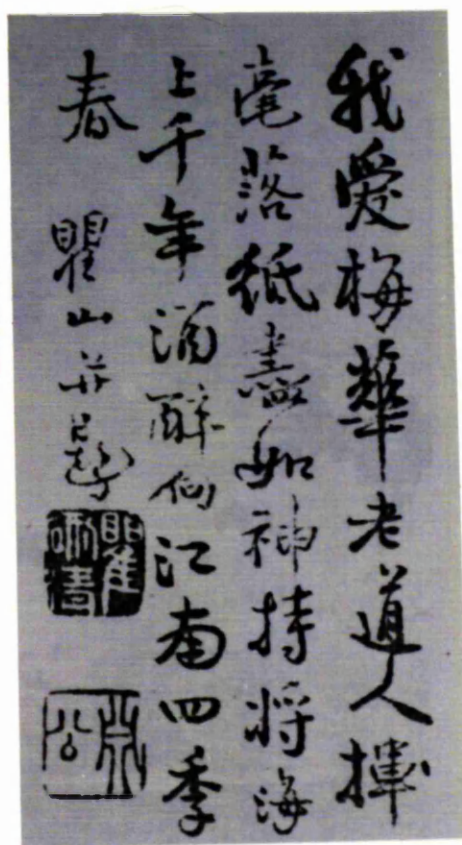
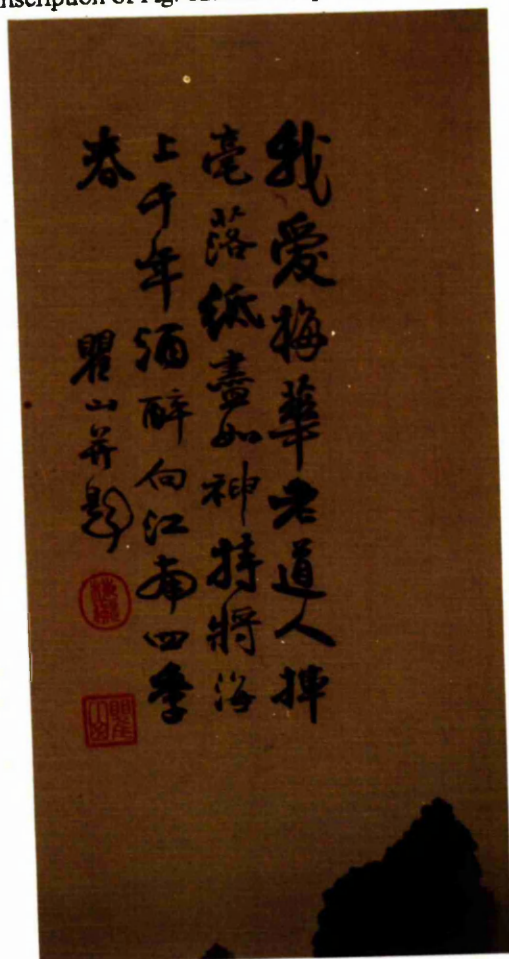
Pl. 274. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 42: *Style of Wu Zhen*. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Pl. 275. Mei Qing: *Landscape of Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scroll, 155.9 x 48.9 cm. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum. (For the inscription see Pl. 276)



Pl. 276. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 275.

Fig. 63. Inscription of Fig. 62: *Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 277. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 86: *Style of Wu Zhen*. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 24.

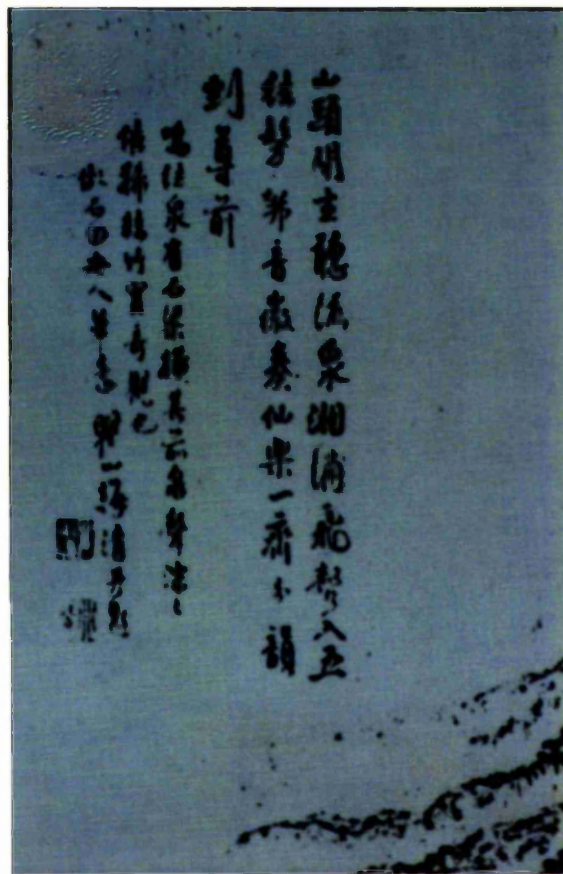
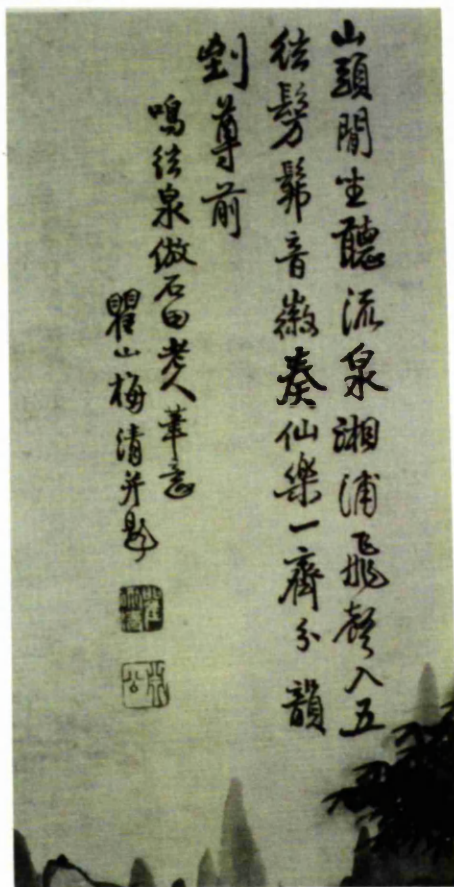


Fig. 64. *Sounding Strings Spring in Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, 109.5 x 46.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. From *Langqian shanguan minghua mulu*, Fig. 59.



Pl. 85. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Leaf 3. Style of Shen Zhou. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 21.

Fig. 65. Inscription of Fig. 64: *Sounding Strings Spring in Mt. Huang*. From *Langqian shanguan minghua mu*, Fig. 59.



Pl. 278. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 90: *Sounding Strings Spring*. From the photograph in the seminar room of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.



Fig. 66. *Pine and Rock*, signed as Mei Qing. Dated 1695. Hanging scroll. Whereabouts unknown. From *Shenzhou daguan* (xubian), no. 10.



Pl. 84. Mei Qing: *Landscapes after Various Styles of Ancient Masters*. Dated 1695. Album. Whereabouts unknown. Leaf 2. Style of Bi Hong and Wei Yan. From *Mei Qushan huaji*, Pl. 20.

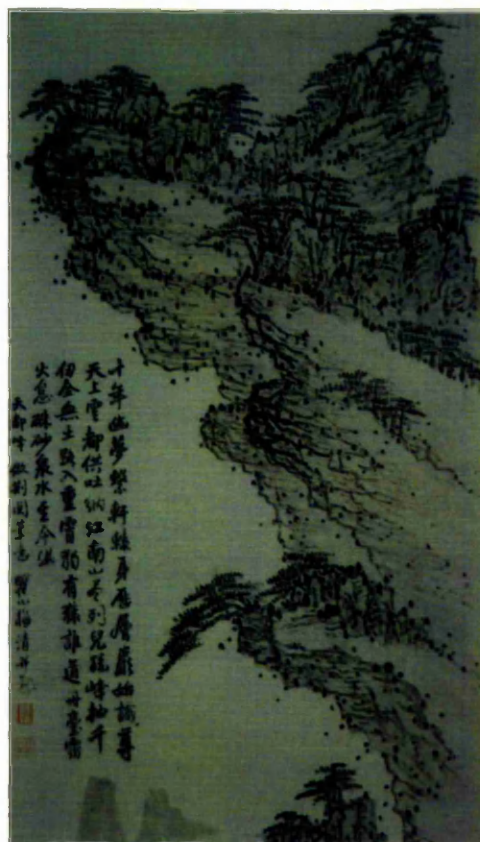
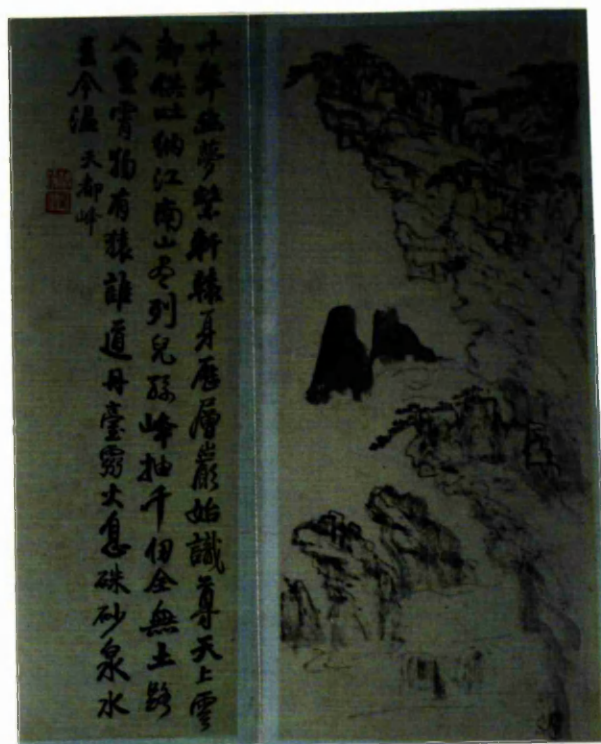


Fig. 71. Inscription of Fig. 67.

Fig. 67. *Four Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 153 x 42 cm. Chih Lo Lou Collection, Hong Kong. Scroll 1. *Heavenly Capital Peak*. From *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, cat. no. 40.



Pl. 279. Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 239: *Heavenly Capital Peak*. Courtesy of Christie, Manson & Woods International Inc.



Fig. 72. Inscription of Fig. 68.

Fig. 68. *Four Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Scroll 2. *Wenshu Plateau*. From *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, cat. no. 40. (For the inscription see Fig. 72)



Pl. 280 Mei Qing: Inscription of Pl. 229: *Wenshu Temple*. Courtesy of Christie, Manson & Woods International Inc.

Fig. 69. *Four Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Scroll 3. *White Dragon Pool*. From *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, cat. no. 40.



Fig. 70. *Four Views of Mt. Huang*, signed as Mei Qing. Scroll 4. *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. From *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, cat. no. 40.

Fig. 73. *The Lonely Pine*, signed as Mei Chong. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 171.5 x 49 cm. Hsu-po Studio Collection, Hong Kong. From *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy in the Hsu-po Studio*, Pl. 43.



Fig. 74. *The White Clouds of Mt. Tai*, signed as Mei Chong. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 175 x 57.5 cm. Chih Lo Lou collection, Hong Kong. From *Paintings and Calligraphy of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Chih Lo Lou Collection*, cat. no. 41.



Pl. 281. *Sea of Clouds at Mt. Huang*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 282. Photograph of *Peaks of the West Sea*. From *The Portfolio of Huangshan Scene Photos*, Pl. 14.



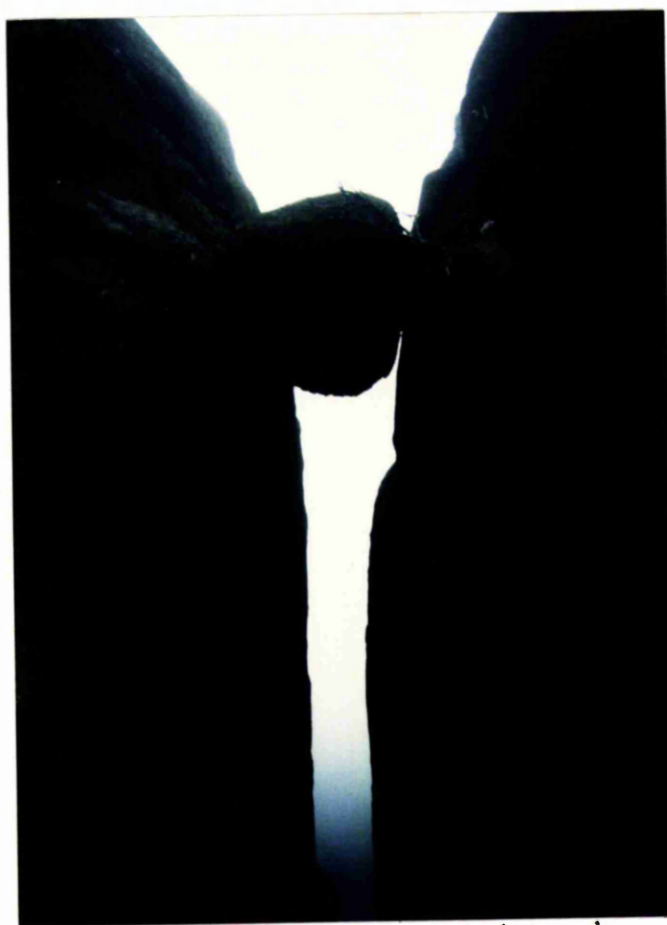
Pl. 283. *Pines at Mt. Huang.* Author's photograph.



Pl. 284. Photograph of *Pine Groves in the Cloud Sea.* From *The Portfolio of Huangshan Scene Photos*, Pl. 22.



Pl. 285. *Sending Off Pine at Mt. Huang* (over 450 years). Author's photograph.



Pl. 286. *Rocks at Mt. Huang*. Author's photograph.



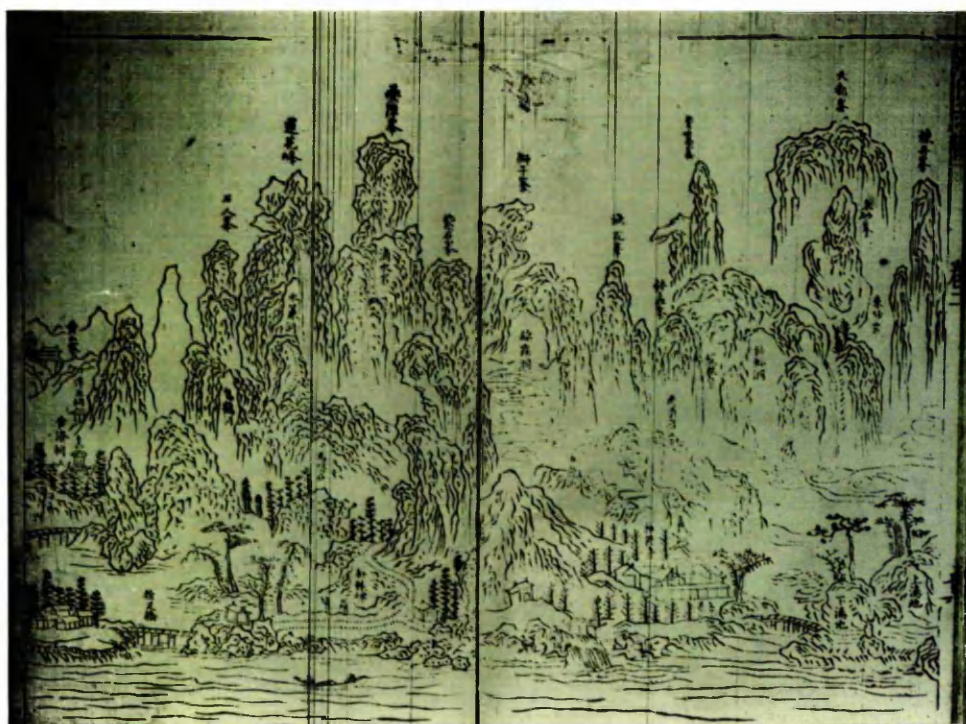
Pl. 287. Wu Li: *The Old Snow Man on Mt. Huang*. Dated 1703. Hanging scroll. Private collection, Beijing. From *A History of Later Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, Pl. 223.



Pl. 288. Photograph of *The Old Snow Man on Mt. Huang*. From *Huangshan*, p. 32.



Pl. 289. *Mt. Huang*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Sancai tuhui*. Dated 1607.



Pl. 290. *Mt. Huang*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Hainei qiguan*. Dated 1573-1619.



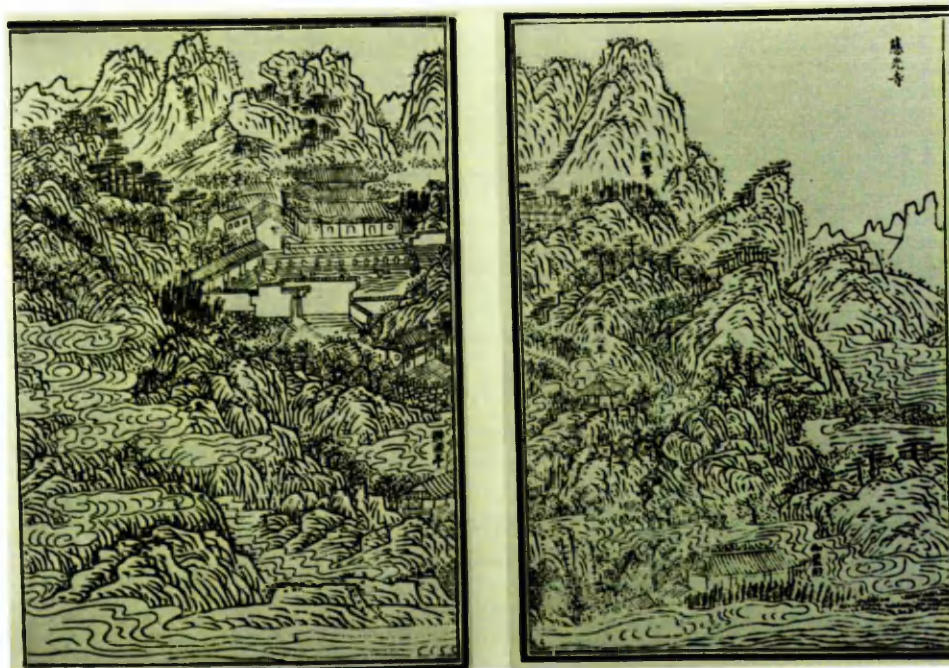
Pl. 291. Zheng Zhong: *Merciful-Brilliance Temple*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Tianxia mingshan tu*. Dated 1633.



Pl. 292. Zheng Zhong: *Merciful-Brilliance Temple*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Huangshan zhi*. Dated 1674.



Pl. 293. Zheng Zhong: *Merciful-Brilliance Temple*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Huangshan zhi dingben*. Dated 1679.



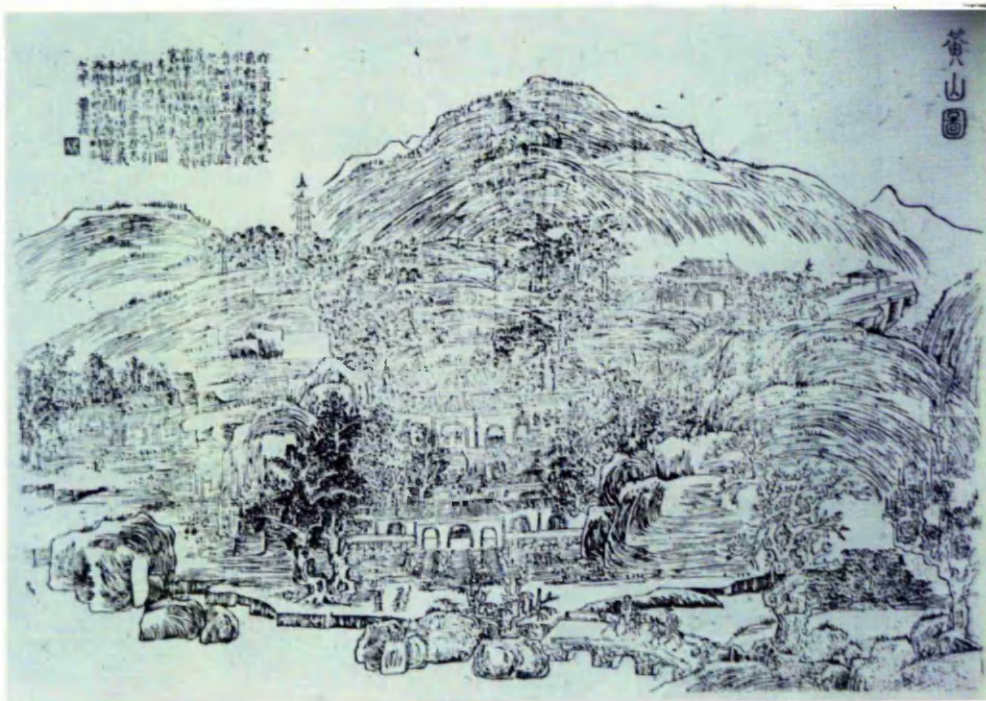
Pl. 294. Xue Zhuang: *Merciful-Brilliance Temple*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Huangshan zhi xuji*. Dated 1698.



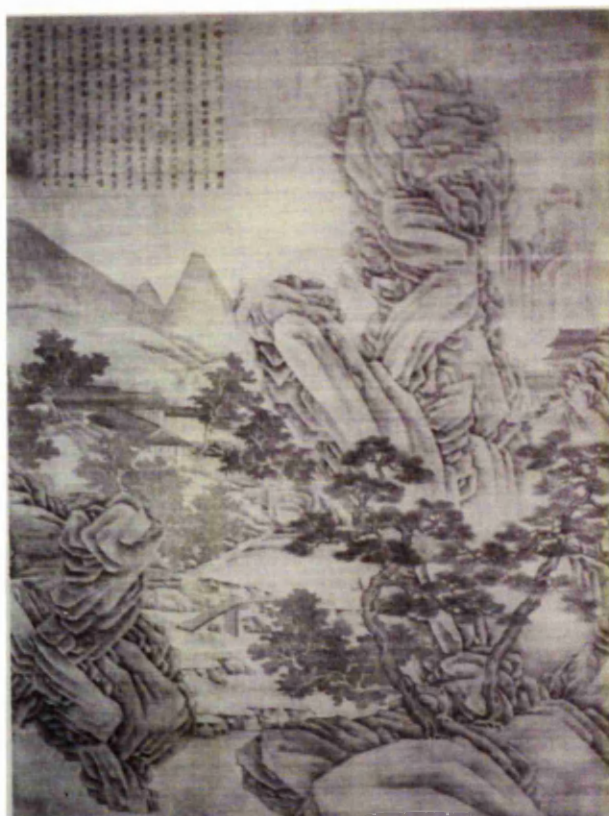
Pl. 295. Attributed to Xu Ben: Section from *Scenes of Mt. Huang* handscroll. Undated. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum: Yuan to Ch'ing Periods*, Pl. 27.



Pl. 296. Sun Yi: *The Cinnabar Peak*. Dated 1657. Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on paper, 114 x 46.4 cm. Chien-lu collection, Ann Arbor. From *Studies in Connoisseurship*, cat. no. XII, 9.



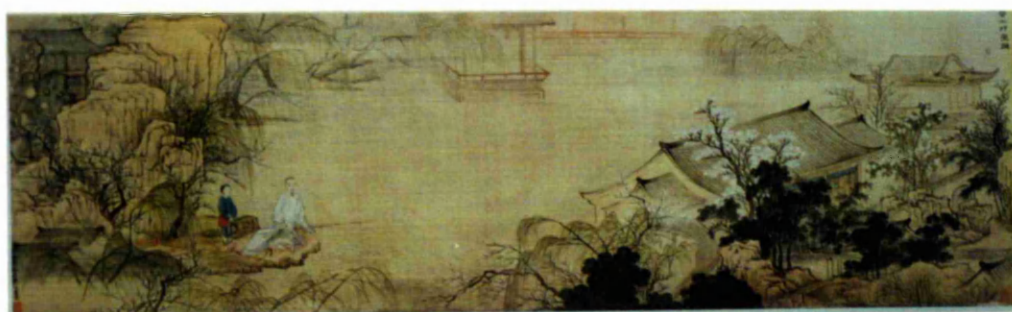
Pl. 297. Xiao Yuncong: *Mt. Huang*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Taiping Shanshui Tu*. Dated 1648.



Pl. 298. Xiao Yuncong: *Strange Peak*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 130 x 94.5 cm, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. From *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 222.



Pl. 299. Xiao Yuncong: Sections from *Pines and Rocks of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1669. Handscroll, ink on paper, 47.5 x 490 cm. Zhejiang Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 33.



Pl. 300. Yu Zhiding: *Thatched House at Mt. Huang*. Dated 1702. Handscroll, ink and colour on silk, 40.3 x 132.7 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Paintings from the Forbidden City*, cat. no. 53.

Pl. 301. Hongren: *The Beginning to Believe Peak of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1663. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 314 x 84 cm. Guangzhou Art Gallery. From *Paintings of the Ming & Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 29.



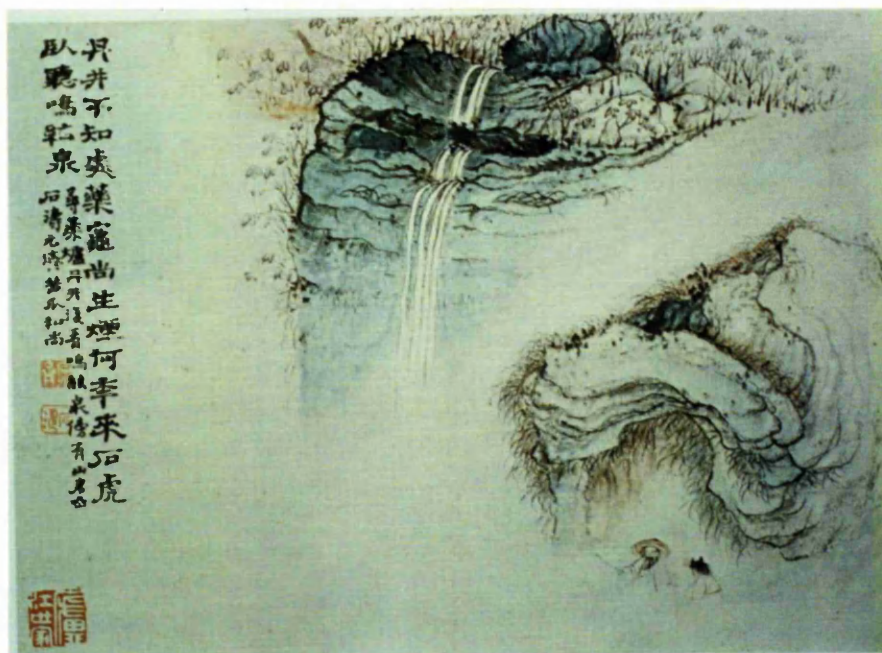
Pl. 302. Jiang Zhu: *Mt. Huang*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 105.5 x 38.2 cm. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 147.



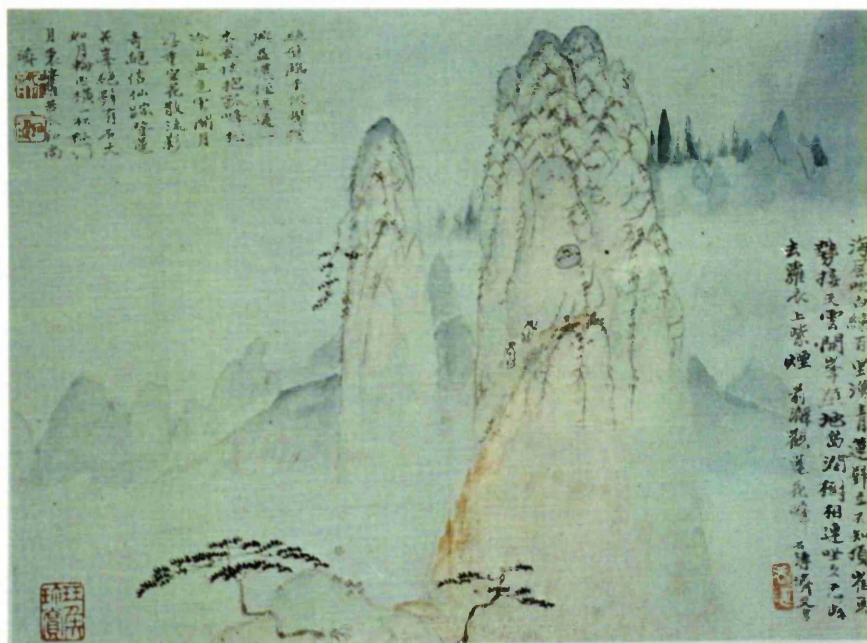
Pl. 303. Hongren: *Refining Cinnabar Platform* from the *Sixty Views of Mt. Huang* album. Undated. Ink and colours on paper, 21.2 x 18.3 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, Pl. 115.



Pl. 304. Jiang Zhu: *Refining Cinnabar Platform* from the *Yumu shangxin* album. Undated. Ink on paper, 25.9 x 15.5 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 149.



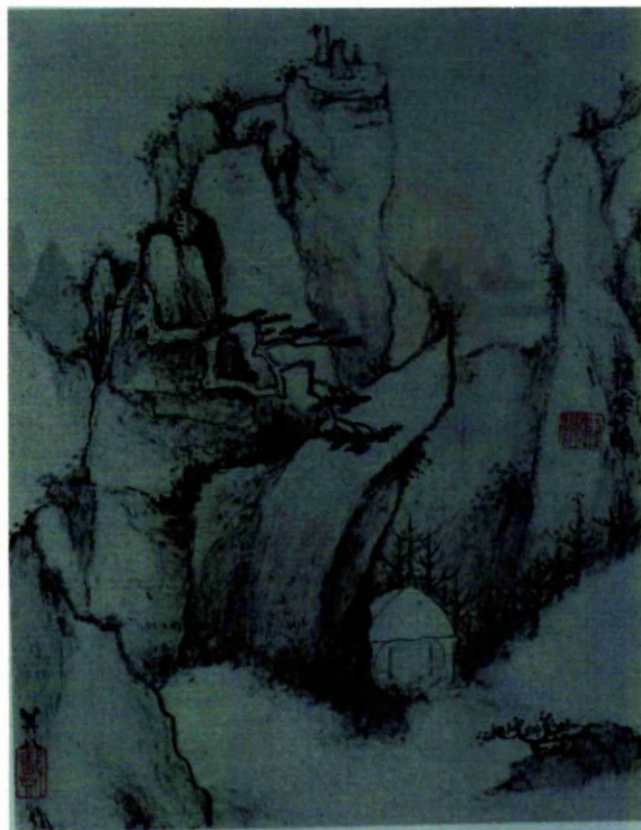
Pl. 305. Shitao: *Sounding Strings Spring* from the *Eight Views of Mt. Huang*. Album, ink and colours on paper, 20.3 x 27.2 cm. Undated. Sumitomo Kichizaemon Collection. From *Bunjinga suihen*, *Chugokuhen* 8, Sekito, Pl. 45.



Pl. 306. Shitao: *Lotus Blossom Peak* from the *Eight Views of Mt. Huang* album. From *Bunjinga suihen*, *Chugokuhen* 8, Sekito, Pl. 44.



Pl. 307. Hongren: *Lotus Blossom Peak* from the *Sixty Views of Mt. Huang* album. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 50



Pl. 308. Dai Benxiao: *Lotus Blossom Peak* from the *Twelve Views of Mt. Huang* album. Dated 1675. Ink on paper, 21.5 x 17 cm. Guangdong Provincial Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 93: Leaf 8.

Pl. 309. Dai Benxiao: *White Dragon Pool*. Undated. Ink on silk, 186.5 x 50.4 cm. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan*, p. 134.



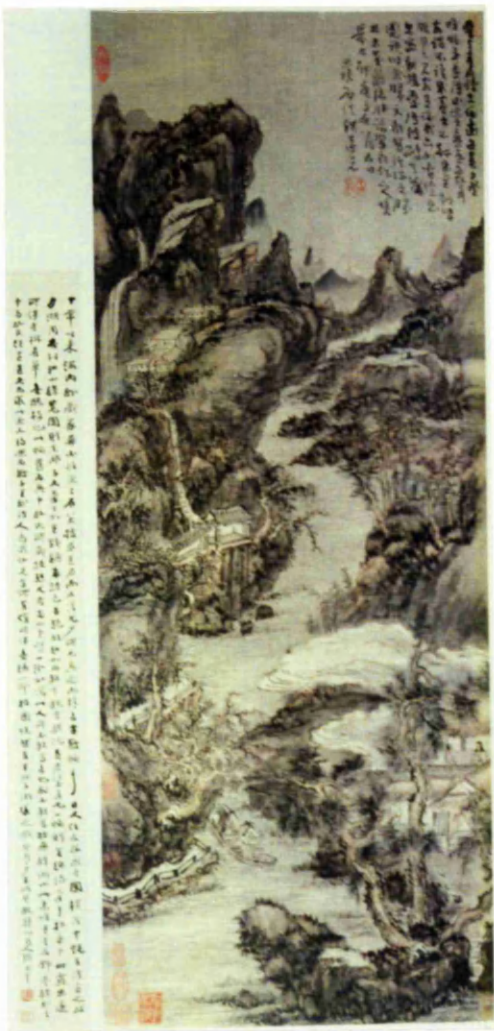
Pl. 310. Mei Qing: *White Dragon Pool*. Undated. Ink on paper, 137.8 x 71.8 cm. Lushun Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 100.

Pl. 311. Dai Benxiao: *Back Sea* from *Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 188.8 x 54.4 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2645.



Pl. 312. Cheng Sui: *Old Temple in the Remote Mountains* from *Album of Landscape*. Undated. Ink on paper, 27.5 x 22.4 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua bian 9, Pl. 37.

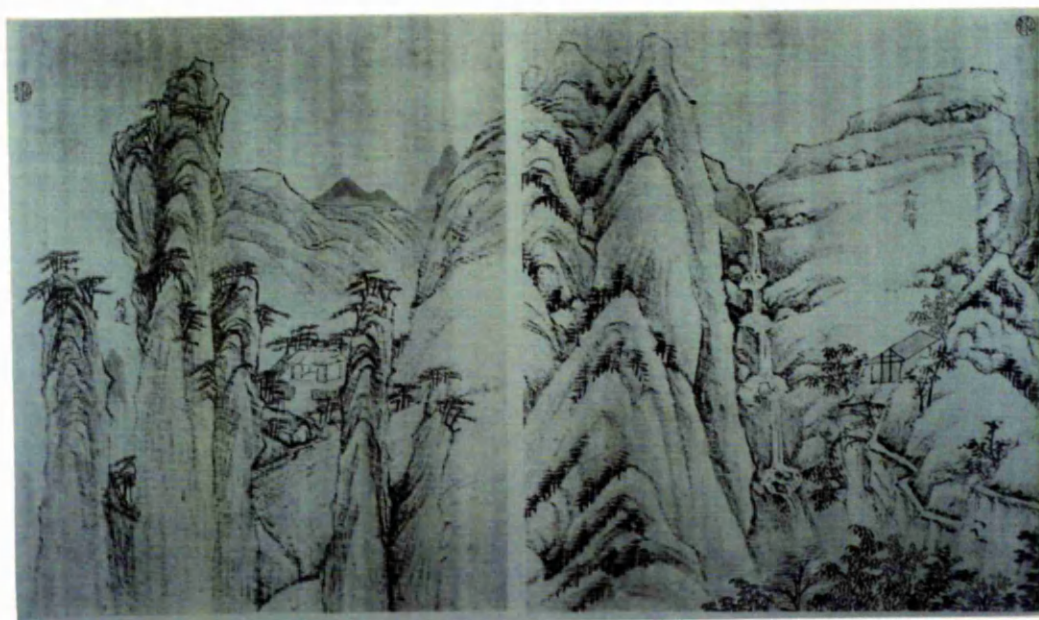
Pl. 313. Kuncan: *Flowing Stream at the Heavenly Capital*. Dated 1660. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 101.5 x 38.5 cm. Hsu-po Studio Collection, Hong Kong. From *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy in The Hsu-po Studio*, Pl. 10.



Pl. 314. Kuncan: *Landscape*. Dated 1660. Hanging scroll, 118.5 x 40 cm. Hsu-po Studio Collection, Hong Kong. From *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, Fig. 239.

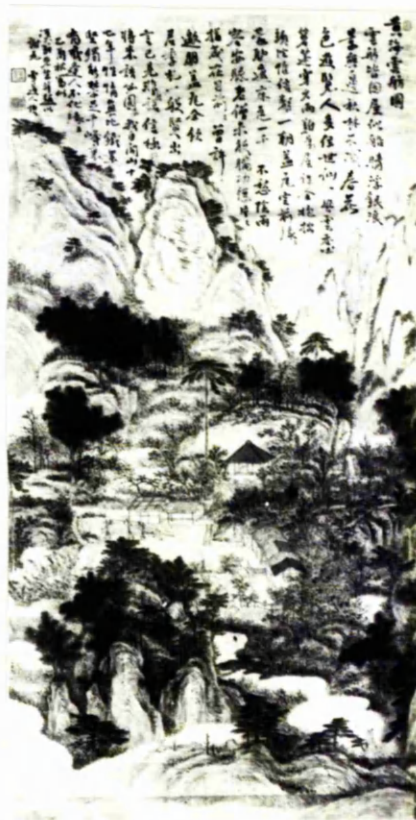


Pl. 315. Zheng Min: *Nine Dragon Pool*. Dated 1673. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 75.3 x 28.1 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huìhua bian 9, Pl. 40.



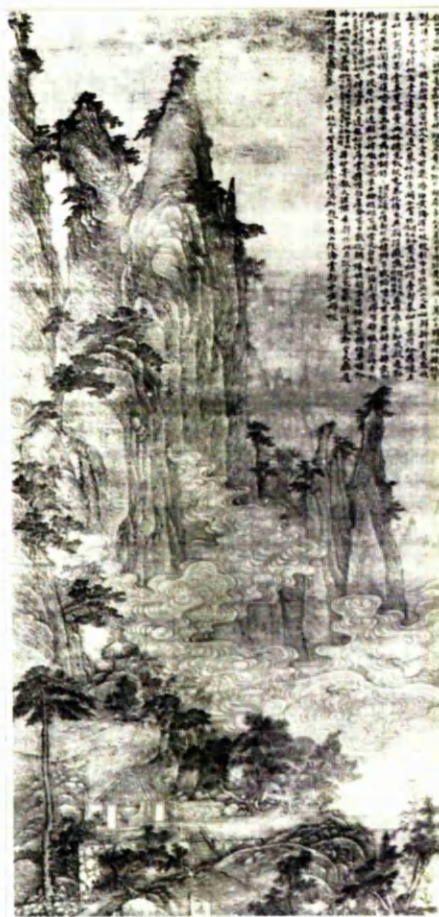
Pl. 316. Hongren: *Nine Dragon Pool* from *Sixty Views of Mt. Huang* album. Undated. From *Nanga Taisei*, vol. XIII, p. 12.

Pl. 317. Zheng Min: *Refining Cinnabar Platform from Four Views of Mt. Huang*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.7 x 42.4 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3074.



Pl. 318. Xue Zhuang: *Cloudy Boat in Mt. Huang*. Dated 1705. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 181 x 93.5 cm. Changzhou City Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 6, no. 15-23.

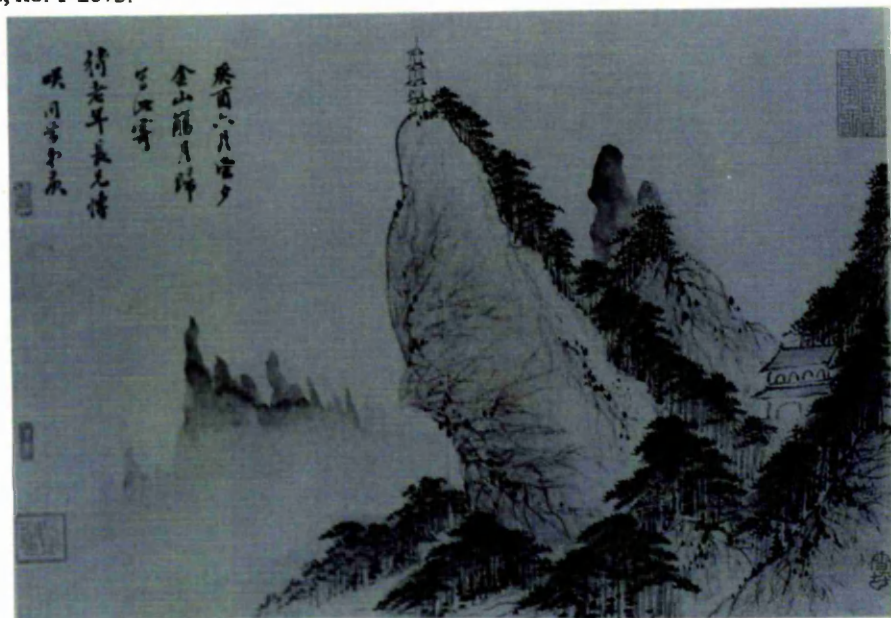
Pl. 319. Xue Zhuang: *Cloudy Boat in Mt. Huang*. Dated 1718. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 100 x 57.7 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. From *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, Pl. 171.



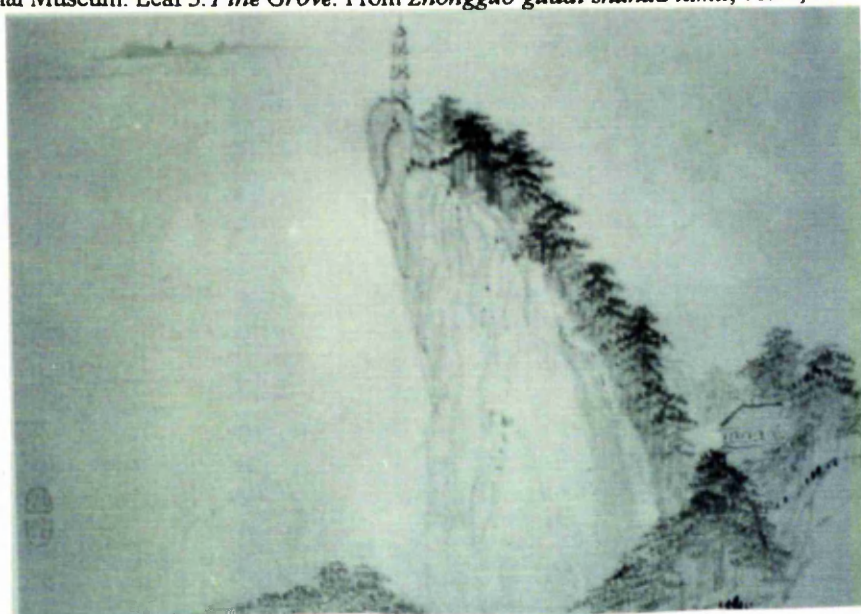
Pl. 320. Yi Zhi: *The Landscape of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1722. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 115 x 53.5 cm. Suzhou Lingyanshan Temple. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 6, no. 2-25.



Pl. 321. Mei Geng: *Landscape* from *Joint Handscroll of Orchids, Pines and Landscape* handscroll. Dated 1689. Ink and colour on paper, 20.5 x 56 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2673.



Pl. 322. Mei Geng: *Album of Landscapes*. Dated 1693. Album, ink and colour on paper, 28.2 x 40.5 cm. Shanghai Museum. Leaf 3. *Pine Grove*. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3097.



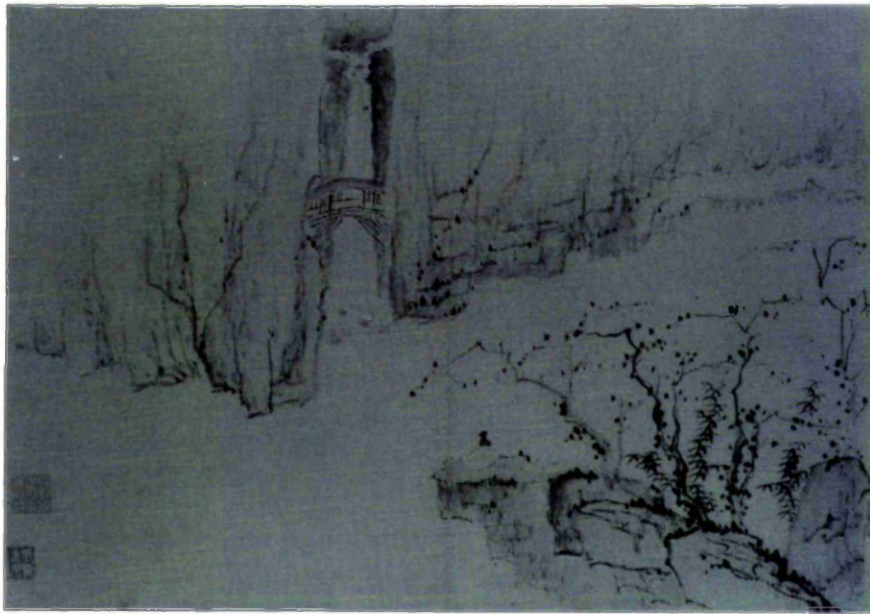
Pl. 325. Mei Qing: *The Journey of Zhi River*. Dated 1692. Album, ink and colour on paper, 29.9 x 40.5 cm. Shanghai Museum. Leaf 5. *Pine Grove*. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2677.



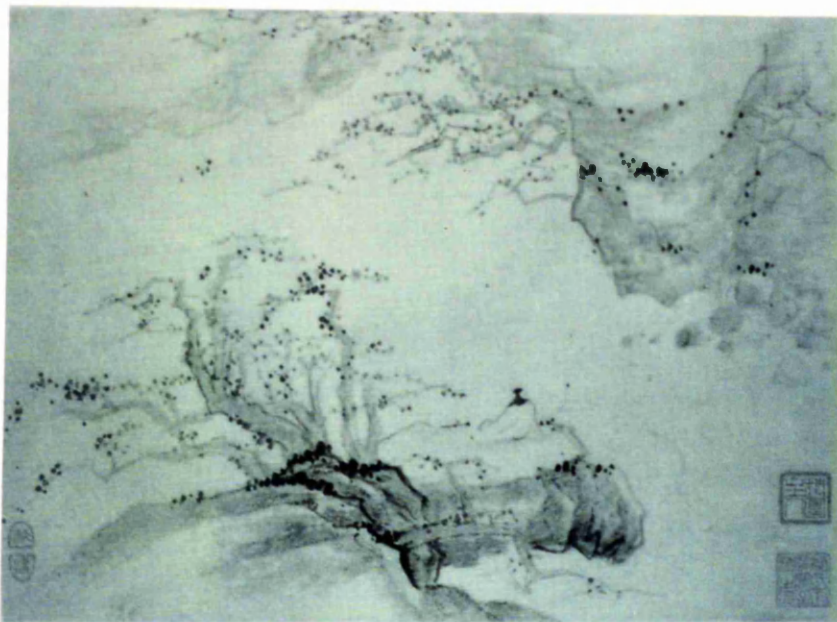
Pl. 323. Mei Geng: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 6. *A Man Walking along Seaside*. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3097.



Pl. 326. Mei Qing: *The Journey of Zhi River*. Leaf 8. *A Man Walking along Seaside*. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2677.

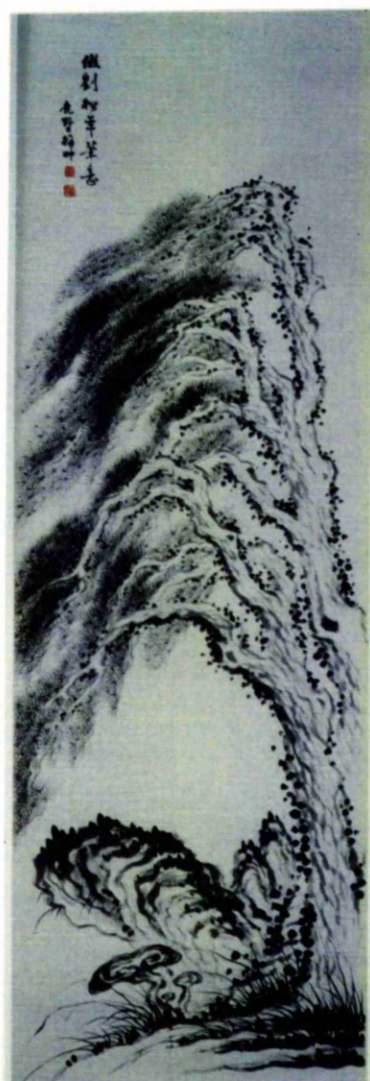


Pl. 324. Mei Geng: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 9. *Landscape. A Man Sitting on a Cliff*. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3097.

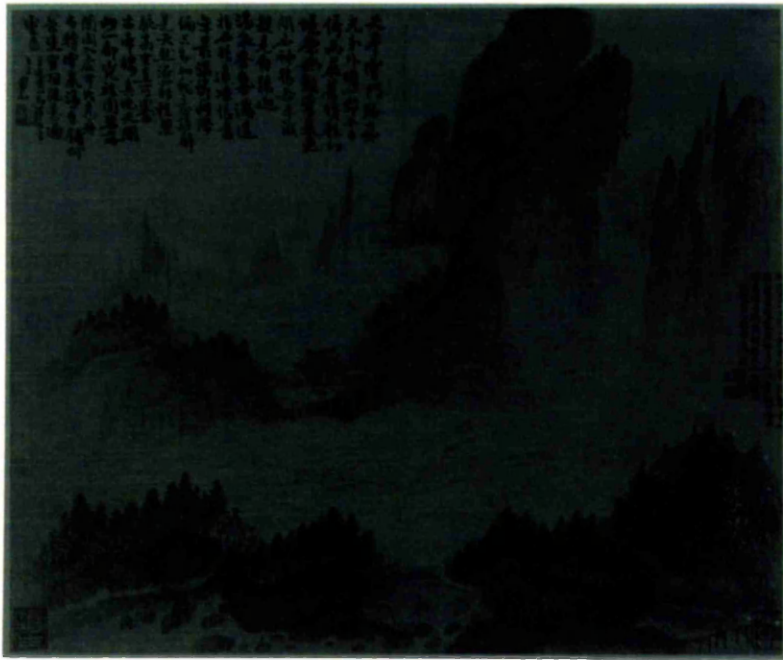


Pl. 327. Mei Qing: *The Journey of Zhi River*. Leaf 10. *A Man Sitting on a Cliff*. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2677.

Pl. 328. Mei Geng: *Pines and Rocks*. Dated 1698. Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 169.1 x 52.6 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3098.



Pl. 329. Mei Chong: *Pines and Rocks*. Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 154.1 x 47.3 cm. Shanghai Museum. From *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, no. 1-3347.



Pl. 330. Mei Chong: *Mt. Huang* from *Album of Landscapes*. Undated. Ink and ink and colours on paper, 28.5 x 33.6 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Leaf 5. From Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: Nov. 1990), Lot. 60.



Pl. 331. Mei Chong: *Taiping shisi* from *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 2. From Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: Nov. 1990), Lot. 60.

Pl. 332. Mei Chong: *Searching for Magnificence in a Remote Forest*. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 110.6 x 46.7 cm. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20, p. 30.



Pl. 333. Mei Qing: *Landscape in the Style of Guo Xi*. Dated 1692. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 180 x 65.5 cm. Shanghai Museum. Courtesy of the Shanghai Museum.



Pl. 334. Mei Qing: *Landscape* from *Joint Album of Landscapes*. Dated 1695. Whereabouts unknown.
From *Yilin yuekan*, no. 76.



Pl. 335. Mei Chong: *Landscape* from *Joint Album of Landscapes*. Undated. Whereabouts unknown.
From *Yilin yuekan*, no. 76.



Pl. 336. Mei Geng: *Landscape* from *Joint Album of Landscapes*. Dated 1691. Whereabouts unknown. From *Yilin yuekan*, no. 76.



Pl. 337. Mei Wei: *Fisherman* from *Joint Album of Landscape by Mei Clan*. Undated. 21x 31.7 cm, ink and colour on paper. Anhui Provincial Museum. From *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 20, p. 37.

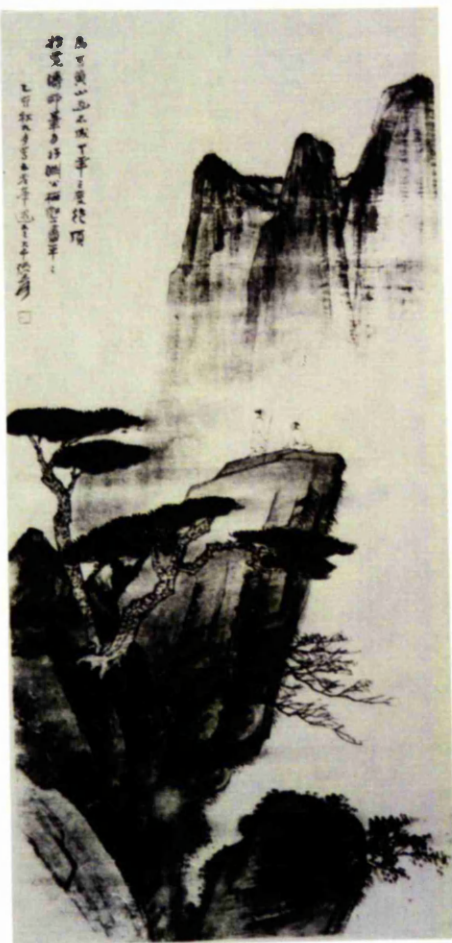


Pl. 338. Chang Dai-chien: *The Wenshu Temple in the Mt. Huang*. Dated 1931. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 130.9 x 56.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: Nov. 1991), Lot 137.



Pl. 339. Shitao: *Wenshu Temple and Heavenly Capital Peak* from *Eight Views of Mt. Huang*. From *Bunjinga suihen, Chugokuken 8, Sekito*, Pl. 48.

Pl. 340. Chang Dai-chien: *Scholars on Mt. Huang*. Dated 1945. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 83.8 x 38.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From Sotheby's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: Nov. 1990), Lot 225.



Pl. 341. Qian Shoutie: *Landscape in the Style of Shitao and Kuncan*. Dated 1929. ink and colour on paper, 106 x 38.4 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From *The Mountain Retreat: Landscape in Modern Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 17.



Pl. 342. He Tianjian: *The Wenshu Plateau of Mt. Huang*. Dated 1940. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 103.5 x 47.2 cm. Whereabouts unknown. From *The Mountain Retreat: Landscape in Modern Chinese Painting*, cat. no. 9.



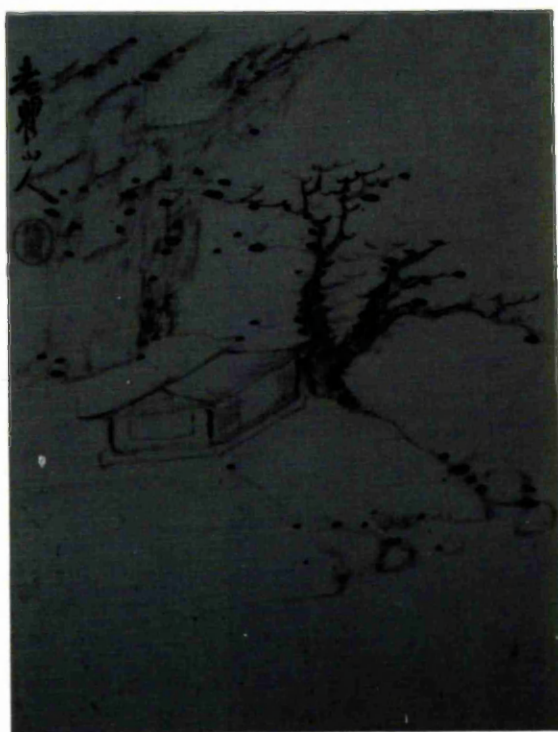
Pl. 343. Liu Haisu: *Album of Landscapes*. Dated 1972. Ink on paper. Whereabouts unknown. Leaf 4. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan*. From *Haisu dashi shanshui xiaojing*, Pl. 4.



Pl. 146. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 10. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



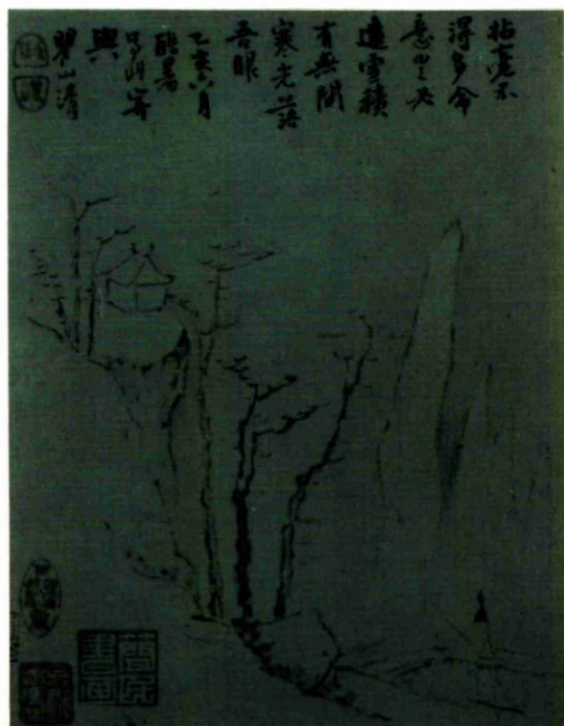
Pl. 344. Liu Haisu: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 6. *A Hut beside a Bare Tree*. From *Haisu dashi shanshui xiaojing*, Pl. 6.



Pl. 139. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 3. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



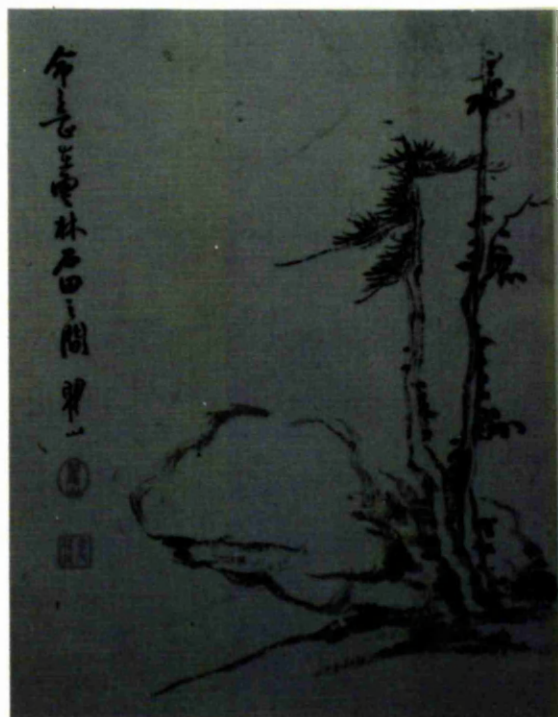
Pl. 345. Liu Haisu: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 7. *Wintry Landscape*. From *Haisu dashi shanshui xiaojing*, Pl. 7.



Pl. 148. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 12. *Landscape*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.



Pl. 346. Liu Haisu: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 8. *Rocks and Trees*. From *Haisu dashi shanshui xiaojing*, Pl. 8.



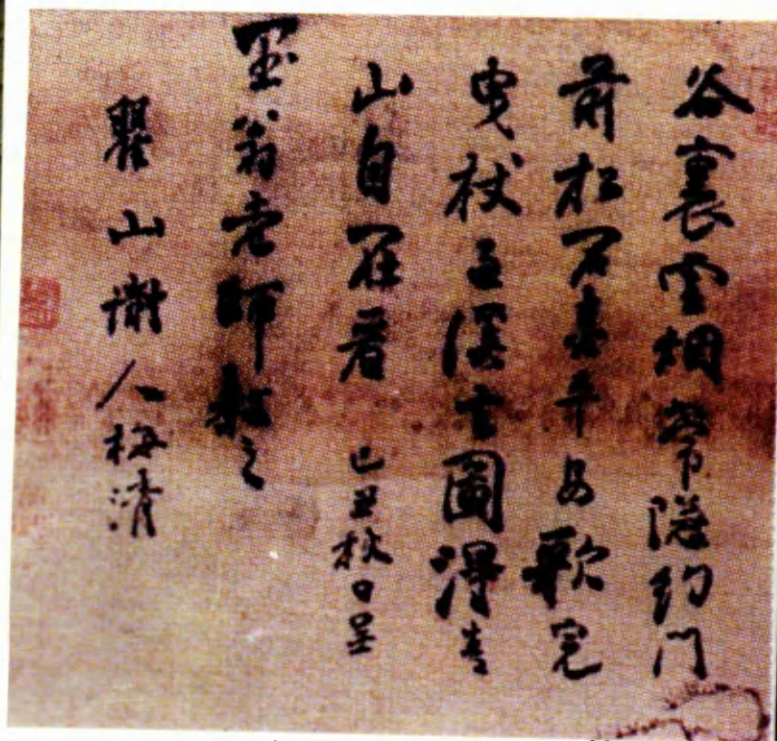
Pl. 142. Mei Qing: *Album of Landscapes*. Leaf 6. *Trees and Rock in the Styles of Ni Zan and Shen Zhou*. From *Zongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, no. 1-2684.

Pl. 347. Liu Haisu: *Heavenly Capital Peak*. Dated 1982. Ink and colours on paper. Whereabouts unknown. From *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, Pl. 6.11.

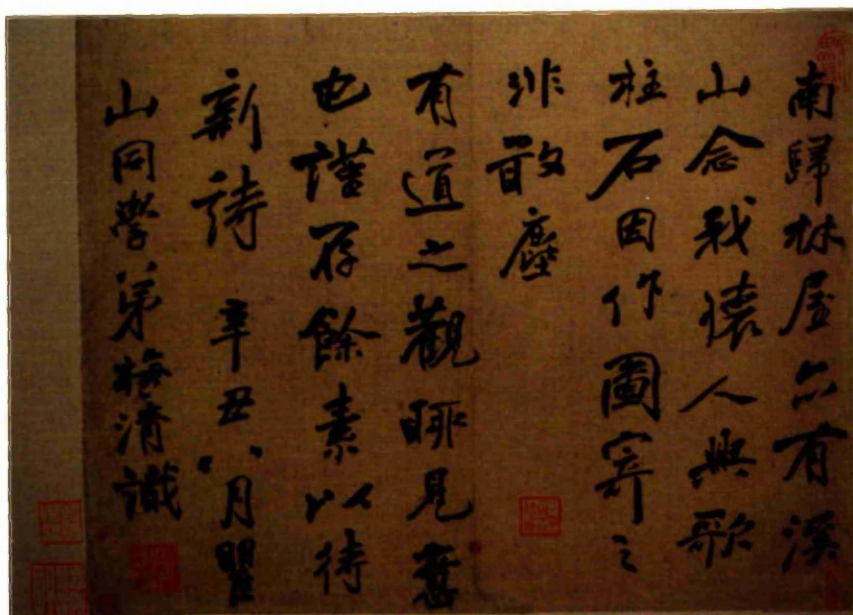


Pl. 181. Mei Qing: *Nineteen Views of Mt. Huang*. Leaf 3. (B) *Refining Cinnabar Platform*. Author's photograph.

Pl. 348. Mei Qing: *Gentlemen in Pine Valley*. Dated 1649. Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 156.8 x 52.1 cm.
From Christie's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 1, 1994), Lot 163A.



Pl. 349. Inscription of Pl. 348: *Gentlemen in Pine Valley*. From Christie's *Fine Chinese Paintings* (New York: June 1, 1994), Lot 163A.



Pl. 350. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Dated 1661. Album, ink on paper, 23.7 x 29.2 cm. Shanghai Museum. Colophon by Mei Qing. Author's photograph.



Pl. 351. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Leaf 1. *Cave-residence*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 352. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Leaf 2. *Walking along the Stream*. Author's photograph.



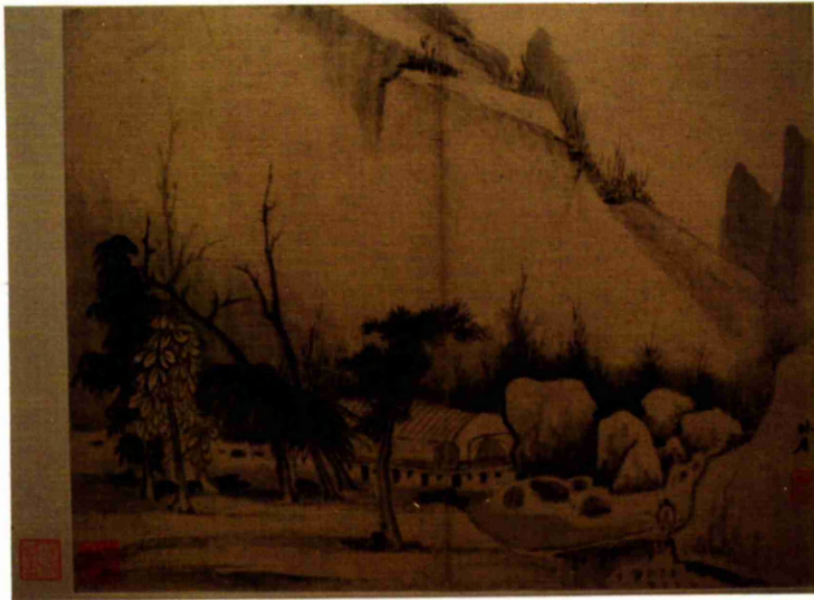
Pl. 353. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Leaf 3. *Fishing-cliff*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 354. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Leaf 4. *The Villa beside the Pond*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 355. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Leaf 5. *Cliff*. Author's photograph.



Pl. 356. Mei Qing: *Returning to the Southern Forest House*. Leaf 6. *Forest House*. Author's photograph.